

*Government Oriental Series -- Class B, No. 6*

# HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

( ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL  
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW )

BY

PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M. A., LL. M.

**Vol. I**

**Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute**

**1930**







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BY

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Vol. I

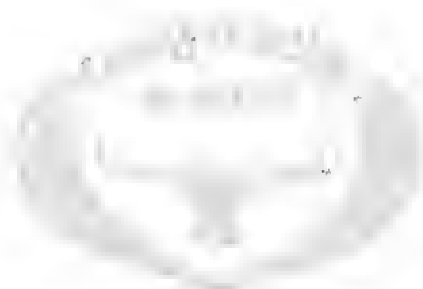


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## PREFACE

WHEN preparing materials for my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha it occurred to me that a brief history of Dharmaśāstra on the lines of the history of Aitihāsa Literature that I prefixed to my edition of the Sāhityadarpaṇa would not fail to be of great use to Indian students of Dharmaśāstra. As I pursued my studies in Dharmaśāstra I found that the materials were so vast and of such a varied character that to compress them into a brief introduction would hardly do justice to the subject and would not convey an adequate idea of their richness and their importance to the study of social institutions, comparative jurisprudence and other branches of knowledge. Ultimately I made up my mind to bring out independently a history of Dharmaśāstra. At first I intended to treat in a single volume of the chronology of the Dharmaśāstra and the historical developments of the various topics comprised therein from the earliest times. The chronological portion alone took all the leisure I could spare during five years. During this period for some years I suffered from a very painful internal complaint which had at one time almost induced me to lay aside the work in despair. Latterly however I felt much better and I thought it desirable to issue the chronological portion of the work in a volume by itself. Following as I do the exacting profession of an advocate, and not being in the best of health, I feel great misgivings whether I shall carry out my original intention by publishing another volume on the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra such as marriage and other saṁskāras, judicial procedure and actions at law, daily observances, vrātas, śrāddha and impurity, from Vedic times down to modern days. I hope, however, that, time and health permitting, I may be able to issue the second volume also in a few years more. As the Śāstris entertain strange notions about the changes of usages that occurred in India, about the vicissitudes of Indian social institutions and about chronology in general and as their influence upon the masses of India is very great, I intend in the near future to translate this work into Sanskrit and Marāṭhi, my own vernacular, in the hope that their outlook may undergo a welcome change on perusing this work.



## PREFACE

What remains is the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. I must first mention the veteran scholar Dr. Jolly whose *Recht und Sitte* in the German *Grundriss* was the model I set before me and to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I derived valuable help from the labours of eminent scholars such as Dr. Bühler, Rao Sahab V. N. Mandlik, Prof. Hopkins, Mr. M. M. Chakravarti, Mr. K. P. Jayasval, who worked before me in the same field. I am very thankful to the authorities of the India Office and to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Kuppasvami Sastri, Dr. Bhattacharya ( of Baroda ) and Prof. H. D. Velankar ( of Wilson College, Bombay ) for giving to me all facilities for consulting the valuable collections of Sanskrit Mss. in their charge. For help in various directions I am obliged to Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, Dr. S. K. De, Mr. P. K. Gode, Mr. G. N. Vaidya and a host of other friends. I am conscious that, in spite of all this help, the work contains numerous deficiencies, lapses and omissions. For these I crave the indulgence of scholars.

Bombay,  
28th August 1930

P. V. KANE



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Ānan. }  
or } = Ānandāśrama series, Poona.  
Ānan. P. }

Āp. }  
or } = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.  
Āp. Dh. S. }

Āp. Gr. S. = Āpastambagrhyasūtra.

A. S. B. = Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Baud. or Bau. Dh. S. or Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra  
( Mysore edition ).

Bau. Gr. S. = Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra (Mysore edition by Dr. Shama  
Śastri ).

B B R A S. = Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports.

Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter ( edited by Messrs. Ratanlal  
and Dhirajlal ).

B. I. or B. I. S. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

Br. Upaniṣad or Br. Up. = Bhṛadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

B. S. or BSS. = Bombay Sanskrit series.

Cat. = Catalogue.

Caturvarga. = Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri ( B. I. series ).

C. O. = Calcutta Oriental Series.

D. C. = Deccan College collection of Sanskrit mss. now lodged at  
the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.

Gau. }  
Gaut. } = Gautama-dharmasūtra ( Ānandāśrama edition ).

Gr. S. = Gr̥hya-sūtra.

H. D. A.



H. A. S. L. = Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

Hir. = Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra.

H. O. S. = Harvard Oriental series.

Hp. cat. or Hp. Nepal cat. = Mahamahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri's  
catalogue of palmleaf and paper mss.  
belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal.

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. L. R. = India Law Reports series, Bom. standing for Bombay,  
Cal. for Calcutta, All. for Allahabad and Mad. for  
Madras series.

Ind. Ant. or I. A. = Indian Antiquary.

I. O. cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. at the India Office in  
London (ed. by Dr. Eggeling).

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

JBORS = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

Jivananda Sm. = Dharmaśāstra-saṁgraha, published by Jivananda  
at Calcutta in 1876 (two parts).

L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals, the number of the volume  
being inserted between L. R. and I. A.

Mad. H. C. R. = Madras High Court Reports.

M. Gr. S. or Mānava Gr. S. = Mānava-Gr̥hyasūtra.

Mit. = Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya.

Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.

N. = Nāradaśmṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

P. Gr. S. = Pāraskarag̥hyasūtra.

P. S. series = Punjab Sanskrit series.

R̥g. = R̥gveda.

R. u. S. = Recht und Sitte (by Dr. Jolly).

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series.

S. B. H. = Sacred Books of the Hindus Series.

Tai. = Taittirīya.



Tai. S. = Taittiriya-saṁhitā.

Tri. Cat. = Triennial Catalogue of Madras Government Sanskrit mss.

Tri. ed. = Trivandrum edition.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyā-Saṁhitā.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra ( B. S. series ).

Viś. = Viśvarūpa.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. or Vi. = Viṣṇudharmasūtra ( ed. by Dr. Jolly ).

V. S. = Vedāntasūtra.

W. B. = West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law ( 3rd ed. ).

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

आ. घ. सू. or आप. घ. or आप. घ. सू. = आपस्तम्बग्रन्थसूत्र.

आप. ध. सू. or आ. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण.

काम. = कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

कौ. = कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र ( Dr. Shamasastri's edition ).

गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

जीमूत. = जीमूतवाहन.

ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण.

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक.

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण.

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता.

नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु.

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय ( B. S. series ).

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी.

पू. मी. सू. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र.

प्रायश्चित्त. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

बौ. घ. = बौधायनग्रन्थसूत्र.

बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात ( B. I. series ).

मनु. = मनुस्मृति.



मिता. = मितासरा

मेघा. = मेघातिथि's भाष्य on मनुस्मृति

या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

वि. वि. = विवादविन्तामणि of वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर ( B. I. edition ).

विश्व. = विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. ( Tri. ed ).

वीर. = वीरमिश्रोदय ( on व्यवहार ed. by Jivananda ).

व्य. म. = व्यवहारमूल of नीलकण्ठ ( my edition ).

व्य. मा. = व्यवहारमातृका of जीवतवाहन.

शतपथ or शतपथब्रा. = शतपथब्राह्मण.

सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

सरस्वती<sup>०</sup>  
or  
स. वि } = सरस्वतीविलास.

स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ( ed. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure ).



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

( N. B. Errors in printing that can be easily detected have been passed over ).

Sec. 4 pp. 12-20 *The Dharmasūtra of Gautama*. Mr. Batakrişna Ghose ( in I. H. Q. vol. III for 1927, p. 607 ff ) has an exhaustive note on the mutual relations of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. He holds that Gautama is not the oldest extant author, that Āp. and Gautama stand in the same relation as Manu and Yājñavalkya, that Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is not older than Āpastambadharmasūtra, that the reference to the views of some in Gautama 15. 30 may easily be to Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 21. Some of the reasons on which he relies for these views have already been examined in the body of the work. That the extant sūtra of Gautama has been in some places revised may be admitted ; but that Gautama as an author on dharma preceded Āpastamba's work cannot be denied. There is nothing of chronological value so far as Gautama is concerned in Āpastamba's rejection of the view of Śvetaketu that even a married man should continue Veda-study. That Āpastamba says nothing about mixed castes is on a par with his silence as to *niyoga* and the secondary sons. Āpastamba knew the lowest castes such as Caṇḍāla and Paulkasa and Vaiṇa ( Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 6 ). As to beef-eating allowed by Āpastamba, vide p. 45 of text and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ( S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 11 where beef-eating is not allowed to a dikṣita ). Doctors of law were not agreed on many points of dharma and hence no certain chronological conclusion about individual authors can be drawn merely from their views on certain points. It is not correct to say as Mr. Ghose does that Āpastamba knows no fines for crimes. Āpastamba does say that in case of dispute between litigants elders were to decide, that in case of doubt they were to decide by inference or divine proof, that witnesses were to tell the truth and that if the witnesses were found to be false they were to be fined ( II. 11. 29. 5-8 ). This shows that fines were not unheard of in Āpastamba's days and if he omits a detailed statement the reason must be sought for elsewhere



than in his being prior to all dharmasūtras. Fines for crimes are as old as the Taittiriya Saṁhitā II. 6. 10. 2.

Sec. 9 p. 56 l. 18 read 'note 41' for 'note 46.'

Sec. 10 p. 60 ll. 25-27. After the words 'the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kāṭha' the following should be added 'Vācaspati in his Śraddha-kalpa alias Pitṛbhaktitarāṅgiṇi says that the sūtra of Viṣṇu is meant for students of the Kāṭhaśākhā, as Viṣṇu is a sūtra-kāra of that Śākhā'; यच्चान्नि परिस्तीर्य पौष्णं श्रवयित्वा पुषा गा इति विष्णुस्तुताधुक्तं तत्कठशाखिपरं तस्य तत्सूत्रकारत्वात् । ms. of पितृभक्ति° in the India Office, folio 17a ( I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730 ). The sūtra referred to is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 9.

Sec. 11 p. 71 Vide Ind. Ant. vol. 25 for 1896 pp. 147-48 for an account of the ms. of the Hāritadharmaśūtra found by the late Pandit Vaman Śāstri Islāmpūrkar.

Sec. 13 p. 84 l. 10 read '110' for '108'.

Sec. 14 *The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*. There is a perennial stream of articles and works inspired by the Arthaśāstra. Some of them that appeared after this work was sent to the press and some that had appeared before but had been omitted through oversight are noticed here. Dr. Stein has a note on the word 'suruṅgā' occurring in the Arthaśāstra and its connection with the Greek word 'syrinx'; (vide I. H. Q. vol. I. pp. 429-432) and holds that the Arthaśāstra must be later than the 2nd century B. C. The same scholar contributes a note on 'Pāṇḍyakavāṭa' occurring in the Arthaśāstra II. 11 (in I. H. Q. vol. IV p. 778) and concludes from comparison with Bṛhat-saṁhitā and other works that the list of countries cannot be earlier than 6th century A. D. I am glad to note that the veteran *savant* Dr. Jolly (in 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik' for 1927 pp. 216-221) approves of my view that the original name was Kauṭilya and not Kauṭalya. In the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskara-varman ( E. I. vol. 19 p. 245, at p. 248) donces of Kauṭilya-gotra are mentioned. The verse in the second Act of the Mālatīmādhava of Bhavabhūti ( गुणापेक्षाकृत्यं कथमिदं ह्यपक्रान्तमथवा कुतोपत्यस्तेहः कुटिलनयनिष्णातमनसाम् 1) contains a hit at



the name Kautilya and his teaching. Mr. E. H. Johnston contributes in the J R A S for 1929 pp. 77-102 an article on 'two studies in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya,' wherein he examines the works of Aśvaghoṣa, the Laṅkāvatāra and the Jātakamālā and holds that the Arthaśāstra is not much earlier than Aśvaghoṣa and not later than 250 A. D. It is gratifying to see that from the untenable position of relegating the Arthaśāstra to the 3rd century A. D., western scholars are receding to the first century of the Christian era. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar contributes an appreciative and lengthy review of Dr. Meyer's work 'Das altindische Buch vom Welt-&c' in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1928 pp. 348-383. Dr. Meyer has brought out another work 'on Hindu Law-books and their relation with one another and with Kautilya' (über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtschriften &c.). This work compels admittance for the author's patience and industry, but is seriously marred throughout by wild generalisations, perverse and startling propositions unsupported by weighty evidence. He makes Gautama the latest of the Smṛtis and Nārada one of the earliest, places Nārada several centuries before the Christian era, regards the compiler of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti as a stupid brāhmaṇa. He is blissfully ignorant of the references to Gautama occurring in the Tantravārtika, which I collected in my paper on 'the Tantravārtika and the dharmaśāstra literature' (JBBRAS vol. I new series for 1925 pp. 66-67). He propounds the absurd theory that the Brāhmaṇas were people like gypsies roving about in bands without any morals or principles of conduct. I can agree with some of his conclusions, viz. the non-existence of a Mānavadharmaśāstra, the non-existence of a floating mass of verses on which authors of dharmaśāstra could draw. Mr. Batakriṣṇa Ghose submits Dr. Meyer's work to a scholarly and trenchant criticism in I. H. Q. for 1928 vol. IV. pp. 570-592. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently published in a book-form his lectures on 'some aspects of ancient Hindu polity.' Vide I. H. Q. vol. V (1929) p. 780 for an article on 'salaries and allowances in Kautilya'.



- Sect. 15 pp. 105-107 *Vaikhānasadharmaprasna*. Dr. Eggers recently published (Göttingen, 1929) his work 'Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa', which is reviewed in JRAS for 1929 pp. 916-918.
- Sec. 29 pp. 129-131 *Sumantu*. For a dharmasūtra of Sumantu, vide Madras Tri. cat. of Sanskrit mss. (1919-1922) pp. 5160-62.
- Sec. 31 p. 154 read 'In other places' for 'In another places'.
- Sec. 34 pp. 170-175 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. Dr. Hans Losch writes a monograph on 'Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti un Beitrag zur Quellen-kunde des Indischen Rechts' (Leipzig 1927). His conclusions may be briefly summarised as follows : ( I ) the text of Yājñavalkya that we have and that is commented upon is not the original, but is enlarged with interpolations such as Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti ( which are borrowed from Agnipurāṇa chap. 266 and 164 respectively by the compiler of Yāj. Smṛti), the section on rājadharmā (which is a versified copy of ideas contained in arthaśāstra literature ), verses 60-205 of the third chapter ( of Yāj. ) : ( II ) the 2nd book of Yāj. ( on vyavahāra ) is a later addition corresponding to an older redaction of the Agnipurāṇa ; ( III ) that the first and 3rd books of Yāj. are a recast of an ancient text which has been better preserved in the Garuḍapurāṇa. I have shown in my history of Sanskrit Poetics that the Agnipurāṇa was compiled about 900 A. D. and in this book it has been shown that the Garuḍapurāṇa must have been compiled about the same time, that it summarises Parāśara-smṛti and that it presents a text of Yāj. which is intermediate between that of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā. Dr. Losch's work adduces no proofs that would shake these conclusions. I am pleased to find that Mr. Chintaharāna Chakravarti holds ( JASB for 1928 vol. 24 p. 467 ) that the *nti* portion of Garuḍapurāṇa belongs to the 9th or 10th century. The indefatigable scholar Dr. Meyer appears to have criticized Dr. Losch in a monograph ( vide review of it by Mr. Batakrishna Ghose in I. H. Q. for 1929 pp. 367-375 ). Mr. Batakrishna Ghose holds that vyavahāra did not originally form part of the Yājñavalkya



smṛti on the ground that otherwise it is very difficult to explain its absence in the Garuḍapurāṇa. But this is quite unconvincing. We have no sure criterion for judging on what bases the eclectic purāṇas (Agnipurāṇa and Garuḍapurāṇa) proceeded. But in the case of the Garuḍapurāṇa the omission of the vyavahāra section is easily explicable in several ways. The Garuḍapurāṇa was concerned more with purely religious matters and so omitted the rather secular chapter on vyavahāra. One might ask, why did the Agnipurāṇa omit the first and third kāṇḍas of Yājñavalkya if they existed in its day. One may with equal logic argue that those two kāṇḍas did not exist in the Yājñavalkya smṛti when the Agnipurāṇa was compiled.

P. 181 The late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar outdid even Western scholars in assigning Yājñavalkya to a date not earlier than the 6th century A. D. In his work 'Vaishnavism and Śaivism' (p. 148) the learned doyen of modern Sanskrit studies in Western India holds that the worship of Gaṇeśa is a late one, as it is not mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. The veteran scholar did not notice the points brought out in my book (such as the mention of nakṣatras from Kṛttikā). He is willing to assign Amarasimha to the 5th or 6th century A. D. (ibid. p. 45). The great lexicographer mentions Vināyaka and his synonyms (such as ekadanta &c.), but the words Mita, Sammita that are given as the appellations of Vināyaka in Yāj. are conspicuous by their absence in Amara's lexicon. Hence the conclusion is that Amara wrote centuries after Yājñavalkya and that Vināyaka worship had taken a complexion before Amara flourished that was very different from what it was in Yājñavalkya's day.

Mita and Sammita occur as names of Maruts in the Taittirīya Sāmhita.

P. 186 That गजच्छाया and व्यतीपात had nothing to do with 'rāsīs' follows from the following. 'बोनी महाप्रबोद्धा कुजरच्छायसंज्ञितः । महेन्द्रपादां संस्थे च शशिन्यके करे स्थिते ॥' (quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 319 as from ब्रह्मपुराण); अथजाश्विपनिहात्राभावेऽतमस्तके । यद्यमा राविचारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥ quoted in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघुनन्दन as from बृहन्संह.

H. D. B.



Sec. 38 pp. 213-221 *Kātyāyana*. Mr. Narayana Chandra Bandopadhyaya has recently published (Calcutta 1927) about 800 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra culled from five *nibandhas*. In the Hindu Law Quarterly recently started in Bombay I am editing a reconstruction of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra (reconstructed text from twenty *nibandhas*, references to the places whence verses are taken, translation, notes &c.). About 300 verses have been printed in the first two issues for January and April 1930.

Sec. 38 p. 215 read 'Manu' for Bhṛgu' in l. 11.

Sec. 39 pp. 221-223 *Āṅgiras*. In the 2nd Act of the *Malatīmādhava* (p. 104 of Bhandarkar's edition) we have a prose quotation from Āṅgiras 'गीतश्रावमर्थोक्तिरसा यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरनुबन्धस्तस्यासृष्टिरिति'. In the *Āpastambagrhya* (l. 3. 19-21) this is cited without name as the view of some 'बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नमरोगाद्युपयच्छेत । बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति वरसंपद् । यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यासृष्टिर्नेतरवादिष्येत्येके'. It is not likely that Bhavabhūti who was a great scholar would commit a mistake and it is extremely probable that he had a sūtra of Āṅgiras before him.

Sec. 44 pp. 226-227 *Pitāmaha*. Dr. Karl Scriba collected together from several *nibandhas* about 200 verses of Pitāmaha and published them with translation (Die Fragmente des Pitāmaha, Leipzig, 1902) on the eight constituents of karaṇa (i. e. the court of justice), fifty *chālas*, twenty-two wrongs (in which king acted *suo motu*), ordeals (162 verses) and the four kinds of ascetics.

Sec. 64 pp. 275-279 *Dharmesvara Bhojadeva*. In the Madras Tri. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 4562 No 3078 there is a ms of Bhujabalanibandha by Bhojarāja in 18 chapters on astrological matters in relation to vratas, marriage &c.

In the *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara quotations from a *Kṛtyasamuccaya* of Bhūpāla or Bhūpālasamuccaya are cited (at pp. 278, 289, 449, 461, 496 &c.). It appears that this is entirely a different work from the *Rājamārtanḍa* and the *Bhujabalabhima*.

Sec. 68. p. 285. l. 20 read 'Misarumiśra' for 'Harinātha'.



Sec. 71. pp. 294-296 *Kāmadhenu*. That Bhoja was not the author of the *Kāmadhenu* follows from the following words of the *कृत्तरत्नाकर* ( p. 156 ) 'एतानि वाक्यानि अलङ्कारद्वयान्तर्गतोप-  
वाक्यमध्ये भूपालकामधेनुकल्पतरु लिखितानि.' At p. 30 of the same work the *कामधेनु* is spoken of as equal in authority to the *Rājā* ( *राजहृत्ययोगक्षेम* ). These references show that the *Kāmadhenu* was not regarded by *Caṇḍeśvara* as the work of *Bhūpāla* ( or *Bhojadeva* ); other passages of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* where *Gopāla*, *Kalpataru*, and *Bhūpāla* are spoken of in the same breath indicate that *Gopāla* was as great an authority as the *Kalpataru*; and knowing as we do that *Caṇḍeśvara* looked upon *Kāmadhenu*, *Kalpataru*, *Pārijāta*, *Prakāśa* and *Halāyudha* as his best authorities, it follows that *Gopāla* was the author of the *Kāmadhenu*. Vide *कृत्तरत्नाकर* pp. 277, 443 ( गोपालकामधेनुकल्पतरुपरिजतेषु ह ).

Sec. 72 pp. 298-299 *Halāyudha*. There is a Ms. of a work called *Paṇḍitasarvasva* in the *Madars Tri. cat.* of Sanskrit mss. for 1919-22 p. 5165. In the manuscript itself there is no reference to the author or his parentage. It is a large work and deals with वर्णाश्रमाचार, देवताधिकार, उपास, शौच, अशौच, आह, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, विवाहाविसंस्कार, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, प्रतिष्ठा, स्त्रीधर्म, विजय, अमृतविचार, ह्यादि. From the style it seems more likely that it is not the work of *Halāyudha*.

In the *Ekādaśitattva* (*Jivananda* vol. II p. 51) and *Śuddhi-tattva* (*Jivananda* vol II p. 327) *Halāyudha* is said to be the author of *Sarivatsarapradipa*.

Sec. 73 pp. 301-306 *Bhavadevabhāṭṭa*.

There was another work of *Bhavadevabhāṭṭa* called *Sam-bandha-viveka*. This work is mentioned in the *Saṁskāra-tattva* (*Jivananda* vol I p. 890) and in the *Vivāhatattva* ( vol. II p. 143 ).

Sec. 74 pp. 306-308 *Prakāśa*.

The *Vivādaratnākara* and other *Ratnākara*s of *Caṇḍeśvara* generally refer to *Prakāśa* only, but sometimes *Caṇḍeśvara* speaks of *Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa* e. g. on p. 326 of *Kṛtyaratnākara* we have 'जाबालमत्स्यपुराणवाक्यपरामर्शाद्विरहित-  
सकलपुत्रैः साग्निसिद्धैस्तदुपेक्षितं कार्यमिति स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाशकार इति



कल्पतरौ लिखितमन्यैश्चानुमोदितं तल्लघु. This also shows that Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa was a work referred to by the Kalpataru and so earlier than 1100 A. D.

Sec. 87 pp. 354-359 Hemādri.

In the Marathi Quarterly of the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala, vol. X part 2 p. 84, Mr. Y. K. Deshpande quotes from a work called Bhānuvijaya of the Mahānubhāva sect passages wherein Hemādri is charged with having been won over by Turks (Mahomedans) and with having brought about the imprisonment of Bhānubhaṭṭa alias Bhāskara Kavīśvara Vyāsa (a Mahānubhāva saint) 'जरि करावा रणकन्दन । हेमाद्रि तुर्का लागले पण । दिल्लीखेर देवोनि धन । मंत्री पा वश केला ॥ भालुगर्णी असाहर्णेपणे । अहिता प्रेरिले दुर्मेने । तुर्का काई असे आंगवणे । हेमाद्रियेची बंधाविले ॥'.

But in the absence of other corroborative evidence hardly any reliance can be placed on this charge, as it might have been levelled at Hemādri in revenge for his imprisoning a leader of a dissenting sect like that of the Mahānubhāvas.

P. 359 In the Śivadigvijaya (printed at Baroda in śake 1817) at p. 442 Hemādapanta (Hemādri) is credited with having brought from Laṅkā (Ceylon) 'in śake 1193 (1271-2 A. D.) the 'Piśacca lipi' (Modi script).

P. 368 l. 16 Read 'contemplate' for 'complete'.

P. 398 foot note 969 Read 'अलभत ह्यनयं' for 'अलभत तनयं.'

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## SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

### Sec. 1 *Meaning of dharma :*

... pp. 1-4

Defies exact rendering in English - In the Rgveda, used as adjective or noun - means 'upholder or supporter' in some Rgvedic passages - in most Rgveda passages means 'religious ordinances or rites' and in rare cases 'fixed principles or rules of conduct' - in Aitareya-brāhmaṇa dharma means 'whole body of religious duties-' in Chāndogya-Upaniṣad *dharma* means 'peculiar duties of āśramas-' *dharma* came to mean 'duties and privileges of a person as a member of the Āryan community, as member of one of the varṇas or as in a particular stage of life' - the same meaning in Taittiriya Upaniṣad (I. 11), Bhagavadgītā, Manusmṛti and other smṛtis - according to Medhātithi, dharma five-fold viz., varṇadharma, āśramadharma, varṇāśramadharma, naimittikadharma, guṇadharma - this meaning of dharma taken in this work - definitions of dharma according to Jaimini, Vaiśeṣikasūtra, Hārta, Mahābhārata and Buddhist works - subjects treated in this work, viz. sources of dharma, contents of works on dharma, their chronology.

### Sec. 2 *Sources of dharma :*

... pp. 4-7

According to Gautama, Āpastamba, Vasīṣṭha, Manu, Yājñavalkya - principal sources were Veda, smṛtis and custom - Vedas do not contain positive precepts on dharma, but give information incidentally - examples from Vedic literature suggesting dharmaśāstra rules.

### Sec. 3 *When dharmaśāstra works were first composed*

... pp. 8-10

It is difficult to say when composed - Nirukta (III. 4-5) exhibits controversies about inheritance and quotes a verse (śloka) from some work on dharma - Bühler's view about such verses - Gautama and Baudhāyana speak of dharmaśāstra - Baudhāyana and Āpastamba mention numerous sages on *dharma* - Vārtika of Kātyāyana and Jaimini speak of dharmaśāstra - Patañjali on dharmasūtrakāras - dharmaśāstra works existed prior to Yāska or at least before 600 B. C. and in 2nd centnry B. C. dharmasūtras had become authoritative - method of dealing with the whole dharmaśāstra literature followed in this



book, first dharmasūtras, then early metrical smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, later versified smṛtis, then commentaries and digests, such as the Mitākṣarā - chronology of early writers very difficult to settle - Max Müller's view that works in continuous śloka metre followed sūtra works not acceptable.

Sec. 4 *Dharmasūtras* : ... pp. 10-12

Many of them formed part of the Kalpa and were studied in distinct sūtra-carāṇas - dharmasūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana presuppose grhyasūtras of their carāṇa - no dharmasūtras extant corresponding to the śrauta and grhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Mānava-Tantravārtika on what dharmasūtra was studied in what particular Vedic Śākha - all dharmasūtras gradually became authoritative in all schools - close connection between grhyasūtras and dharmasūtras on certain topics - scope of dharmasūtras - grhyasūtras sometimes refer to dharmasūtras - points of distinction between dharmasūtras and the other smṛtis.

Sec. 5 *Dharmasūtra of Gautama* : ... pp. 12-20

Gautama's is the oldest extant dharmasūtra - specially studied by followers of Sāmaveda - Gautama one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṇāyaṇīya school of Sāmaveda - Gautamadharmasūtra points to close connection with Sāmaveda - Gautama refers to his own previous dicta - contents of 28 chapters of Gautamadharmasūtra - the work is entirely in prose - Gautama's language agrees more with Pāṇini's rules than Āpastamba's - explanation of this - Haradatta prefers Pāṇinian readings of Gautama's text - some sūtras of Gautama quoted in the Mitākṣarā and other works not found in extant text - extent of literature known to Gautama - the only author named is Manu - the meaning of 'ācāryaḥ' whose views are cited by Gautama - earliest reference to Gautama on dharma is in Baudhāyana - dharmasūtra - Baudhāyana ( III. 10 ) borrows chap. 19 of Gautama - close correspondence between many other sūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana - Vasiṣṭha ( 4. 34 and 36 ) refers to views of Gautama - Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is borrowed from 19th of Gautama - many sūtras the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - Gautama referred to by Manu as son of Utathya - Gautama referred to by Yājñavalkya, Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya, Medhātithi - Gautama's reference to Yavana - probable age between 600 -



400 B. C. - Haradatta and Maskarin commented on Gautama - Asahāya also did so - śloka - Gautama and Vṛddha - Gautama.

Sec. 6 *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* :

... pp. 20-32

Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Black Yajurveda - arrangement of Baudhāyana kalpa according to Dr. Burnell and Dr. Caland - Baudhāyanagrhya presupposes the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra - grhya (III.9.6) speaks of pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana and sūtrakāra Āpastamba - tarpaṇa in Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 27) mentions Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin - contents of Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra - extant sūtra has not come down intact - fourth praśna probably an interpolation - third praśna also not free from doubt - Baudhāyana III. 10 taken from Gautama - Baudhāyana III. 6 agrees closely with Viṣṇudharmasūtra 48 - Dr. Jolly thinks both borrowed from a common source - probably Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana - repetitions exist even in the first two praśnas - form and structure of Baudhāyana - quotes numerous verses, even in the first two praśnas - language of Baudhāyana often departs from Pāṇinian standard - literature known to Baudhāyana - several authors on dharma together with their views mentioned by Baudhāyana - Asura Kapila said to be originator of āśramas - Śabara, Kumārila, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi refer to Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - home of Baudhāyana - Baudhāyana is styled pravacanakāra and Āpastamba sūtrakāra - Bühler holds that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher - age of Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - later than Gautama - Bühler's reasons for placing Baudhāyana a century or two earlier than Āpastamba not convincing - divergences between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba - style of Baudhāyana compared with that of Āpastamba - Baudhāyana to be placed between 500-200 B. C. - numerous sūtras of Baudhāyana identical with those of Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha - Baudhāyana mentions several appellations of Gaṇeśa, just as Mānavagrhya does and mentions seven planets, Rahu and Ketu - Govindasvāmin commented on Baudhāyana.

Sec. 7 *Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba*:

... pp. 32-46

The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Black Yajurveda divided into 30 praśnas, dharmasūtra constituting 28th and 29th praśnas thereof - Āpastamba is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍīkeya school of Taittirīyāśakha - Āpastambagrhya and dharma sūtras are compos-



tions of same author - some sūtras of the two are identical - Āp. grhya does not treat of some topics as they are dealt with in dharma sūtra - contents of Āp. dharmasūtra - form and structure of Āp. dharmasūtra - Āp. is more archaic and un-Pāṇinian than any other dharmasūtra - many unfamiliar words in Āp. - several verses quoted in Āp. - literature known to Āp. - Āp. mentions six āṅgas of Veda and ten writers on dharma by name - Śvetaketu and Āp. - Hārīta quoted frequently by Āp. - Āp. controverts several views - striking coincidences between Gautama and Āp. - Āp. quotes a verse from Purāṇa and speaks of the view of Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa - Āpastamba and Manu - Āpastamba presupposes many rules of the Mimāṃsā and agrees closely with Jaimini's sūtras - age of Āp. Dh. S. - quoted by Śābara, Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi - home and personal history of Āpastamba not known - Āp. is later than Gautama and probably Baudhāyana - his age between 600-300 B. C. - Āp. condemns *niyoga*, rejects secondary sons, does not admit *paiśāca* and *Prājāpatya* forms of marriage - divergence between the views of Āp. and Gautama and other sūtrakāras - Haradatta's is the only commentary extant on Āp. - Āpastamba smṛti in verse.

Sec. 8. *Hiranyakeśidharmasūtra* : ... pp. 46-50

*Hiranyakeśidharmasūtra* forms 26th and 27th *prāśnas* of the *Hiranyakeśikalpa-Hiranyakeśin's* can be hardly called an independent work, as it borrows hundreds of sūtras word for word from Āp. - a few additions made to Āp. in *Hiranyakeśi Dh. S.* - *Hiranyakeśin's* readings are smoother and more classical than Āpastamba's - arrangement of sūtras also is somewhat different in the two - com. of Mahādeva called *Ujjvalā* on *Hiranyakeśin* is almost the same as Haradatta's on Āp. - Bühler thinks Mahādeva borrows from Haradatta - Mahādeva's com. in a few places contains more matter than Haradatta's and Mahādeva differs from Haradatta.

Sec. 9 *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra* : ... pp. 50-60

Different editions of *Vasiṣṭha* contain different numbers of chapters - Kumārila says it was specially studied by Ṛgvedins - explanation of this statement - nothing special in the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* to connect it with Ṛgveda - contents of the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* - style of Vas. Dh. S. resembles Gautama's - many sūtras of Vas. identical with Gautama and Baudhāyana - form of *Vasiṣṭha*



dharmasūtra resembles Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - Medhātithi and Mitākṣarā quote from almost all chapters of extant Vasiṣṭha and so does Viśvarūpa - literature known to Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha prohibits learning language of Mlecchas - authors on dharmaśāstra named by Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's references to the views of Manu are made with reference to a work of Manu almost identical with the present Manusmṛti and do not compel us to formulate the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler wrong in taking Vas. Dh. S. 4. 8 as a quotation from Mānavadharmasūtra - Only Vas. Dh. S. 12.16 and 19. 37 where Manu is quoted have no corresponding verses in the present Manusmṛti - Over forty verses are entirely common to Vas. and present Manusmṛti - conclusion that Vas. contains borrowings from the present Manusmṛti or its prototype in verse - Vas. Dh. S. 22 is same as Gautama 19 - Dr. Jolly's view that Vas. Dh. S. 28.10-15 and 18-22 are borrowed from Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. 56 and 87 or its original the Kāthakadharmasūtra is wrong - home of Vas. to the north of Narmadā, according to Bühler - this is mere speculation - earliest reference to Vasiṣṭha as a writer on dharma is in Manu (8-140) - age of Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's views are ancient, particularly about secondary sons, about Dattaka son, about *nīyoga* and remarriage - he mentions only six forms of marriage - but in other matters differs from Gaut. or Baudh. viz. on adoption, on documents - Vas. Dh. S. between 300-100 B. C. - whether Vas. 18. 4 (Rāmaka v. l. Romaka) contains a reference to the Romans - Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, an early compilation - there is a Brhad Vasiṣṭha and a Jyotir Vasiṣṭha - Yajñasvāmin commented upon Vas. Dh. S.

#### Sec. 10 *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* :

... pp. 60-70

Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains 100 chapters and yet sūtra not extensive - several chap. (40, 42, 76) contain only one sūtra and one verse - first chap. and last two are entirely in verse, the rest in mixed prose and verse - Viṣṇu Dh. S. closely connected with Kāthasākhā - Dr. Jolly says chap. 21, 67, 73 and 86 of Viṣṇu closely correspond with Kāthaka gṛhya - but Viṣṇu Dh. S. is not the work of the author of Kāthaka gṛhya - contents of Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu resembles Vas. Dh. S. - its peculiar feature that it professes to be revealed by God Viṣṇu - its style, easy and diffuse - work contains old



and new material - hundreds of sūtras are prose renderings of hundreds of verses occurring in our Manu - hypothesis of a common origin or borrowing by both from a floating mass of verses untenable - extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu - Viṣṇu contains verses identical with the Bhagavadgītā and Yājñavalkya smṛti - Dr. Jolly's view that Yājñavalkya borrows his anatomical section from Viṣṇu not correct - Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains long list of tirthas, the word Jaiva for Jupiter - those wanting in Yājñavalkya - extant Viṣṇu Dh. S. later than Manusmṛti and Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Viśvarūpa does not quote a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name, though he refers to Viṣṇu (ch. 97) for orders of saṁnyāsins - Mitākṣarā quotes hardly any verse from Viṣṇu - Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā quote Viṣṇu profusely - verses were added at a late date to original sūtra - literature known to Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu mentions the seven days of the week, recommends the practice of *sati*, speaks of pustakas, of many good and evil omens among which the sight of yellow-robed Buddhist ascetics is included - it prohibits speech with Mlecchas and journeys to Mlecchā countries, it dilates on worship of Vāsudeva - though Viṣṇu agrees in some respects with Kāthaka-grhya, on some points it differs from it - date of older kernel of Viṣṇu may be 300 to 100 B.C. - additions made after 3rd century A.D. and before 7th century - some sūtras agree closely with Nārada - Brhad Viṣṇu and Vṛddha Viṣṇu and Laghu Viṣṇu - Nandapaṇḍita's com. on the Viṣṇu Dh. S. - probably Bhāruci also commented on it.

Sec. 11 *The dharmasūtra of Hārīta :*

... pp. 70-75

Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote Hārīta as an authority - Mr. Islampurkar secured a ms. of Hārīta-dharmasūtra at Nasik in 30 chapters - contents of that ms. - its relation to Maitrāyaṇīyasamhitā - it mentions the Kāśmirian word "Kaphella" - quotations in commentaries and digests show that Hārīta dealt exhaustively with the same topics that are found in other dharmasūtras - Kumārila mentions Hārīta as dharmasāstrakāra but does not assign him to any particular carāṇa as he does Āpastamba and others - notable doctrines of Hārīta - mentions worship of Ganeśa - Hārīta's verses on vyavahāra quoted in nibandhas are later than the sūtra - Laghu Hārīta and Vṛddha Hārīta - latter in verse is later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana.



Sec. 12 *The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita* : ... pp. 75-79

From Tantravārtika it appears that dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was studied by Vājasaneyins - Mahābhārata (Śānti 23) contains story of brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita - Various compilations ascribed to Śaṅkha alone or Likhita alone or to both - Restoration of Dharmasūtra in Annals of Bhandarkar Institute (vol. VII, VIII) - Verse Śaṅkhasmṛti stricter than prose Śaṅkha-Likhita - com. on dharmasūtra mentioned in Kalpataru and Vivādaratnākara - doctrines of dharmasūtra similar to those of other dharmasūtras - speaks of twelve secondary sons - allows *nīyoga* - speaks of several ordeals - defines Āryāvarta as between Sindhu - Sauvira and Kāmpilya - Literature known to Śaṅkha Likhita - probable age between 300-100 B. C.

Sec. 13 *Mānavadharmasūtra ; Did it exist ?* ... pp. 79-85

MaxMüller and Weber responsible for the theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra now lost - hardly any data for the sweeping generalisation of Max-Müller that all genuine dharmasāstras are nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharmā* - one main plank of this theory that the continuous employment of the śloka metre was unknown in the sūtra period is now exploded - Bühler supports Max Müller's theory by some additional arguments - Vasiṣṭha IV. 5-8 on which Bühler relies not properly understood by him - Vasiṣṭha (19-37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the Anuṣṭubh metre and not found in extant Manu and Bühler thinks it is taken from Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler's reliance on a fragment of Uśanas which is corrupt is not worth consideration - Bühler relies on Kāmandakiyanitisāra (II. 3. and XI. 67) where Mānavas are said to hold that there are three vidyās for a king and that Manu said that king's council should consist of 12 ministers - These views not the same in extant Manu - Bühler's conclusion not correct - Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing Kauṭiliya - Bühler's generalisation about Mānava or Mānavāḥ without foundation - Kumārila, Śaṅkara, and Viśvarūpa all employ 'Mānava' for Manusmṛti - Bühler relies on analogy of the complete set of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana sūtras for holding that a Mānavadharmasūtra existed - Proper explanation of Vas. Dh. S. IV. 5-8 - Bühler not right in saying that Vas. Dh. S. 11. 23, 12. 16, 23. 43 either contradict Manu or find no counterpart



therein - analogy of Āpastamba sūtras of no use - excepting the three caranās of the Black Yajurveda, no caranā of any Veda has a dharmasūtra attributed to the founder of that caranā - an explanation suggested - existing materials not sufficient to establish theory that a Mānavadharmasūtra once existed.

Sec. 14 *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya* :

... pp. 85-104

First translated by Dr. Shāma Śāstri and text published in 1909 - other editions - numerous works and articles inspired by the publication of Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra - Kauṭilya is oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra - scope of arthaśāstra and relation to dharmasāstra - arthaśāstra an upaveda of Atharvaveda - purpose of this śāstra - rule in case of conflict between Dharmasāstra and Arthaśāstra - Cāṇakya, Kauṭilya and Viṣṇugupta are names of the same person - glowing tribute paid to Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta by Kāmaṇḍakīyanīṭisāra, Tantrākhyāyikā, Daṇḍin - Bāṇa and Pañcatantra on Kauṭilya as author of Arthaśāstra - Brhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya contained his story - Mudrārākṣasa connects his name with Kuṭila - controversy as to whether Kauṭilya can be the work of a busy minister of Candragupta Maurya - Jolly, Winternitz and Keith hold that extant work is not by the minister of Candragupta - Megasthenes' silence about Cāṇakya explained - whether the Kauṭilya is the product of a school or of an individual author - Kauṭilya's views cited about 70 times in the work in the third person - explanation of this - Dr. Jolly wrong in his explanation of *apadeśa* ( in XV. 1 ) - Keith thinks that an author would not parade an uncomplimentary epithet like Kauṭilya ( derived from kuṭila ) - Is the name Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya - works on gotra and pravara give various forms such as Kauṭali, Kauṭilya and Kauṭili - form, style and contents of the Kauṭilya - a few verses interspersed in the work, generally at the end - in all 340 verses excluding *mantras* - some verses are certainly quotations - work abounds in numerous technical and rare words - deviations from Pāṇini - summary of contents - section on judicial administration interesting - greatest correspondence between Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya - some striking examples - it is Yājñavalkya that borrows - reasons - Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage



of juristic principles than Kauṭilya - close agreement between Manu smṛti and Kauṭilya also - but they differ on *niyoga*, as to nomenclature of vyavahārapadas, about heirship of mother and paternal grandmother, on remarriage of widows, divorce, gambling - Kauṭilya long anterior to the extant Manusmṛti - Kauṭilya's five references to Mānavas explained - references to Svāyambhuva and Prācetas Manu contained in the Mahābhārata suggest that there were two works in verse on dharma and politics attributed to these or perhaps one work containing both, subsequently recast as the extant Manusmṛti - only two views ascribed to Mānavas in Kauṭilya not found in extant Manusmṛti - in the dharmasthīya section the only other authors or schools cited are Bārhaspatyas and Auśanasas - none of the dharmaśāstras of Gautama and others are anywhere quoted by name - views cited on the question as to whom a child belongs (to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten) can be traced to Baudhāyana, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - views of Ācāryas cited in the Kauṭilya - Kauṭilya later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than extant Manusmṛti - date of Kauṭilya - it is certainly not later than 2nd century A. N. and not earlier than 325 B. C. - schools named by Kauṭilya and also individual authors - views of Ācāryas are quoted over fifty times and Kauṭilya differs in each case - meaning of 'ācāryas' - literature known to Kauṭilya - Sanskrit official language and the work mentions guṇas of composition - Kauṭilya agrees with Kāmasūtra in several respects - Dr. Jolly and Prof. Keith opine that both works composed about same time - points of difference between the two works - countries and peoples mentioned by Kauṭilya - silks from Cīna and blankets from Nepal - corporations of Licchavis, Vṛjikas and others mentioned - meaning of 'rājāśabdopajīvināḥ' (in XI-1) - best breeds of horses - Mlecchas sold or pledged children - references to Buddhists and Ājivakas - weights to be made from stones of Magadha and Mekala - doubtful whether Kauṭilya knew extant text of Mahābhārata - most of the stories cited as illustrations by Kauṭilya occur in the Mahābhārata, but some divergence exists in the case of Janamejaya, Māṇḍavya - Kauṭilya's knowledge of drugs and of rasa (mercury) - references to shrines of Śiva, Skanda &c. - traditional date of 300 B. C. more likely to be correct than 3rd cen-



tury A. D. approved of by Dr. Jolly and Winternitz - two commentaries on Kauṭīliya, *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan and *Pratipada-pañcīkā* of Bhāṭṭasvāmin - sūtras attributed to Caṇakya - several niti collections in verse ascribed to Caṇakya are later than Kauṭīliya.

Sec. 15 *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* : ... pp. 105-107

*Vaikhānasa* is one of the six sūtra cārāṇas of the black Yajurveda mentioned by Mahādeva in his *Vaijayanti* on *Satyāśāḍha śrautasūtra* - *Vaikhānasa* occurs in *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana*, *Vasiṣṭha* (9. 10) and *Manu* (6. 21) - *Vaikhānasadharmapraśna* divided into three *prāśnas* - contents of the work - its age later than *Gautama* and *Baudhāyana* - names more mixed castes than even some of the verse *smṛtis* - devotion to *Nārāyaṇa* looms very large in the work - Dr. Caland's view that *Manusmṛti* borrows from *Vaikhānasagṛhya* not correct.

Sec. 16 *Atri* : ... pp. 107-110

*Atri* named in *Manu* (III. 16) - *Ātreya* *dharmaśāstra* in nine *adhyāyas* - summary of contents - form of *Atridharmaśāstra* - several works styled *Atri* - *smṛti* - summary of *Atrisamhitā* printed by *Jīvananda* - *Atri* quoted as an authority on adoption - *Laghu Atri* and *Vṛddhātreya* *smṛti* - *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana 65. 1) quotes a verse of *Atri*.

Sec. 17 *Uśanas* : ... pp. 110-116

*Uśanas* wrote on politics, as *Kauṭīliya* shows - *Mahābhārata* (Śānti 56. 29-30) refers to work of *Uśanas* on politics - *Nitiprakāśikā* on *Śukra* as arranger of *rājaśāstra* - An *Auśanasa* *dharmaśāstra* in verse - contents - peculiar views of *Uśanas* about offspring of inter-caste marriages - several verses common to *Uśanas* and *Manu* - names the views of numerous writers on *dharma* - *Haradatta* and *Smṛticandrikā* knew a work of *Uśanas* dealing with all branches of *dharma* - *Uśanas* *smṛti* in verse - verses of *Uśanas* on *vyavahāra* - *Śukranītisāra* edited by *Oppert*.

Sec. 18 *Kaṇva and Kāṇva* : ... pp. 116-117

Ap. Dh. S. (I. 6. 19) shows that *Kaṇva* and *Kāṇva* were two distinct authors - verses of *Kaṇva* quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*.



- Sec. 19 *Kaśyapa and Kaśyapa* : ... pp. 117-118

Baudhāyana ( Dh. S. I. 11.20 ) cites a verse in which Kāśyapa's view is contained - there was a dharmasūtra of Kāśyapa - a Kāśyapa smṛti in prose contained in Deccan College Mss. - contents thereof-Śrīticandrikā includes Kāśyapa among 18 upasmṛtis.

- Sec. 20 *Gārgya* : ... p. 119

A sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma existed - Gārgya and Vṛddha Gārgya - a Gārgisainhitā on astronomy and astrology - Jyotiṛ Gārgya and Brhad Gārgya.

- Sec. 21 *Cyavana* : ... p. 119

Seems to have written a sūtra work on dharma.

- Sec. 22 *Jātukarṇya* : ... pp. 119-120

A verse of Vṛddha Yājñavalkya names Jātukarṇya as a dharmasāstrakāra - quotations in verse in Mitākṣarā and later works.

- Sec. 23 *Devala* : ... p. 120

A dharmasūtra of Devala existed once - Mitākṣarā and other works also contain quotations in verse on ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha - this latter a later compilation - Devalasmṛti in 90 verses on purifications is also a late work - jurist Devala flourished about the same time as Brhaspati and Kātyāyana.

- Sec. 24 *Paṭhinasī* : ... pp. 121-122

An ancient sūtrakāra, as Viśvarūpa quotes his sūtras - Dr. Jolly thinks he belongs to Atharvaveda - Paṭhinasī on *satī*, inheritance, on absence of untouchability under certain circumstances.

- Sec. 25 *Budha* : ... p. 123

A sūtrakāra cited by Hemādri, Aparārka, Kalpataru and Jimūtavāhana - a brief compilation and not very early in age.

- Sec. 26 *Brhaspati* : ... pp. 123-126

An ancient teacher of arthaśāstra mentioned in Kauṭīliya - Mahābhārata ( Śānti 59. 80-85 ) credits him with compression of vast work of Brahmin on *trivarga* and mentions several of his views - Kāmasūtra speaks of Brhaspati as writer on *artha* - peculiar views of



**Brhaspati** according to Kautīliya - Brhaspati also wrote a prose work on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta - probably the authors of the two are different - 700 verses on vyavahāra ascribed to Brhaspati are quoted in the *Mitākṣarā* - this is an independent work composed between 300-500 A. D. - smaller compilations in verse ascribed to Brhaspati - *Barhaspatya Arthaśāstra* edited by Dr. Thomas is a late work.

**Sec. 27 Bhāradvāja and Bhāradvāja :** ... pp. 126-128

A śrautasūtra and grhya of Bhāradvāja exist - Viśvarūpa's work establishes existence of a sūtra work on dharma of Bhāradvāja - there was smṛti in verse also attributed to Bhāradvāja - Kautīliya shows that Bhāradvāja was an ancient author on politics - some views of Bhāradvāja - Mahābhārata on Bhāradvāja - verses on vyavahāra attributed to Bhāradvāja - this probably different from work on politics.

**Sec. 28 Śātātapa :** ... pp. 128-129

A sūtra work of Śātātapa on dharma dealing with prāyaścitta, śrāddha and ācāra must have existed - verses of Śātātapa quoted in *Mitākṣarā* and other later works - this is probably different from smṛti work - several verse compilations ascribed to Śātātapa - *Vṛddha Śātātapa* and *Bṛhat Śātātapa*.

**Sec. 29 Sumantu :** ... pp. 129-131

A sūtra work on ācāra and prāyaścitta ascribed to Sumantu existed - Yājñavalkya and Parāśara do not enumerate Sumantu among expounders of dharma - Sumantu mentioned in Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata - verses from Sumantu on dharma are cited by Aparārka - this is a different work - numerous verses on vyavahāra quoted from Sumantu in *Sarasvativilāsa*.

**Sec. 30 The Smṛtis :** ... pp. 131-135

Two senses of the word smṛti, viz. all orthodox ancient non-Vedic works ( such as Pāṇini's grammar, Śrauta sūtras, Mahābhārata Manu, &c.) and ( a narrower sense) dharmasāstra - smṛti, a source of dharma according to Gautama and others - number of smṛtis went on increasing - Yājñavalkya enumerates twenty writers of smṛtis, Parāśara 19 - *Tantravārtika* speaks of 18 dharmasamhitās - Catur-



viṃśatimata gives views of 24 writers - a smṛti called Śaṭ - triṃśan-mata - Pajñhīnasi enumerates 36 and so does Aparārka - Vṛddha Gautama enumerates 57 - Viramitrodaya enumerates 18 smṛtis, 18 upasmṛtis and 21 more - total number of smṛtis about 100 - these are products of widely separated ages - some entirely in prose, some entirely in verse, some are mixed - chronology of smṛtis presents perplexing problems - two or three smṛtis go under the same name, e. g. Hārīta, Atri, Śātātapa - sectarian zealots fabricate certain smṛtis - the prefixes laghu, brhat and vṛddha applied to smṛtis - well-known verses are ascribed to different authors, as authors quote from memory.

### Sec. 31 *The Manusmṛti* :

... pp. 135-158

Numerous editions - Manu as the father of mankind in the R̥gveda and other Vedas - Manu and the deluge in Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa - Manu in the Nirukta - Manu quoted as law-giver in Gautama, Apastamba and Mahābhārata - introduction to Nārada-smṛti and Manu - how the Manusmṛti is narrated - four versions of Svāyambhuva śāstra according to Bhaviṣyapurāṇa - almost impossible to say who composed extant Manusmṛti - Bühler's theory that our Manu is a recast of Manavadharmasūtra shown above to be unsustainable - the Mānavagṛhya differs from Manusmṛti in several particulars - Vīṇayakaśānti of Mānavagṛhya and tests for selecting a bride not contained in our Manu - Mahābhārata distinguishes between Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetasā Manu, former promulgating dharma-śāstra - these two works combined in the present Manu - extant Manu has 12 chapters and 2694 verses - its style - contents of Manu-smṛti - extent of literature known to Manusmṛti - the author of the Manusmṛti is not the first legislator - age of Manusmṛti - external evidence - Medhātithi's is first extant commentary - Viśvarūpa quotes 200 verses - Śaṅkara, Kumārila and Śabara refer to Manu - Brhaspati had the present text of Manu before him - Aśvaghoṣa in his Vajrasūci quotes several verses from 'Mānavadharmā' some of which are found in our Manu - Rāmāyaṇa ( Kiṣkindhā 18. 30-32 ) contains Manu VIII. 318 and 316 - Manu attained present form long before 2nd century A. N. - there are earlier and later strata in Manu - contradictory statements as to Brāhmaṇa marrying a śūdra woman, about appropriate forms of marriage, about niyoga, about H. N. D.



flesh-eating - Bühler's conclusion is that cosmological and philosophical portions in 1st and 12th books, rules about mixed castes and duties of castes in 10th book are later additions - all additions made before 3rd century A. D. - Manusmṛti has not suffered several recasts - quotations cited as Vṛddha Manu and Bṛhan-Manu are later than Manusmṛti - extant Manu older than Yājñavalkya - Manu mentions Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cinas - extant Manusmṛti composed between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. - relation of Mahābhārata and Manu - conflict of views between Mandlik, Hopkins and Bühler - Hopkins holds that there was a mass of floating verses ascribed to mythical Manu on which both Manusmṛti and Mahābhārata drew - Bühler says that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu - Manu mentions stories and names that occur in the Mahābhārata but these names go into Vedic antiquities - Manu never names the Mahābhārata, while the latter often refers to 'rājadharmas or śāstra of Manu' or to 'what Manu said' - Both Hopkins and Bühler hold that the Anuśāsanaparva and Śāntiparva knew a Manusmṛti, but earlier books, whenever they speak of Manu, refer to floating mass of popular verses - this conclusion not correct - final conclusion, viz., long before 4th century B. C. there was a dharmaśāstra in verse attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu, there was another work on rājadharma attributed to Prācētesa Manu, that probably there was one work, then between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. Manusmṛti was recast - extant Mahābhārata later than extant Manusmṛti - influence of Manu spread to Cambodia and other countries beyond India - Manu had several commentators, Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Kullūka, Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmacandra - Asahāya commented on Manu - Udayakara is another commentator and so is Dharaṇidhara - Nārāyaṇa flourished between 1100-1300 A. D. - Rāghavānanda later than 1400 A. D. - Vṛddha Manu and Bṛhan-Manu - explanation as to how these originated.

Sec. 32 *The two Epics :*

... pp. 158-160

Rāmāyaṇa is relied upon as a source of dharma though less frequently than the Mahābhārata - Ayodhyakāṇḍa and Aranyakāṇḍa contain disquisitions on politics - age of the epics a difficult problem more appropriate for a separate treatise - table indicating where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.



Sec. 33 *The Purāṇas* :

... pp.160-167

Purāṇas as a class of literature mentioned in Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Gautama Dh. S., Mahābhāṣya - extant purāṇas are recasts made of older material - some of the extant Purāṇas like Vāyu earlier than 6th century A. D. - Names of principal 18 Purāṇas - 18 Upapurāṇas - Matsyapurāṇa contains much dharmaśāstra material - Agnipurāṇa contains disquisition on rājadharma and chapters 253-258 contain almost the whole of the vyavahāra section of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍapurāṇa borrows about 400 verses from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - chronology of Purāṇas passed over - Divergence as to the names of the principal 18 purāṇas and as to their extent - Purāṇas very valuable for study of social and religious questions as to mediæval and modern India - Padmapurāṇa divides 18 Purāṇas into three groups of sāttvika, rājasa, tāmasa and divides eighteen smṛtis also in the same way - table showing which dharmaśāstra topics are dealt with in which purāṇa.

Sec. 34 *The Yājñavalkyasmṛti* :

... pp. 168-190

Yājñavalkya, a name most illustrious among Vedic sages - stories about strained relations between Vaiśampāyana and Yājñavalkya - Yājñavalkya and Janaka in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa - Yājñavalkya, a great philosopher in the Brhadāraṇyaka - Yājñavalkya smṛti claims that the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra were composed by the author of the smṛti - slight variation in the number of verses contained in Yājñavalkyasmṛti according to Viśvarūpa, Mitākṣarā and Aparārka - arrangement of verses different in Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā, particularly in the prāyaścittakāṇḍa - readings of the two commentators also differ - Agnipurāṇa affords excellent check for consideration of text of Yājñavalkya - Readings of Agnipurāṇa compared with those of Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā - conclusion is that the Agnipurāṇa represents a text midway between Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā - So Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current about 900 A. D. - total number of verses on vyavahāra in the Agnipurāṇa is 315, out of which the first 31 are not taken from Yājñavalkya - almost all of these 31 taken from Nārada - Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93) expressly says that the dharma promulgated by Yājñavalkya was imparted therein - Garuḍa (chap. 93-106



contains dharmasāstra material taken from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍa (93-102) deals with ācāra and 102-106 with prāyaścitta - Garuḍapurāṇa omits rājadharmā section of Yājñavalkya - only a few verses of Yāj. are repeated word for word, while a summary only is given of several verses - comparison of the text of the Garuḍapurāṇa with Viśvarūpa's text and that of the Mitākṣarā - Garuḍapurāṇa represents text intermediate between Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā - are there different strata in Yājñavalkya? text mainly the same from 700 A. D. and little evidence to show that the text of Yājñavalkya as we have it contains several strata - comparison of Yājñavalkyasmṛti with Manusmṛti - close agreement in phraseology between the two - Yājñavalkya usually tries to compress Manu's dicta - Yāj. adds Vinayakaśānti and Grahaśānti and ordeals, while Manu omits first two and cursorily refers to two ordeals - Yāj. silent on origin of world which we have in Manu - style of Yājñavalkya - contents of smṛti - literature known to Yājñavalkyasmṛti - enumerates 19 authors on dharmā - close agreement between Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Yājñavalkya and between Kautīlya and Yāj. - Manu and Yāj. differ on several points and Yāj. represents a more advanced state of thought than Manu - Manu allows brāhmaṇa to marry śūdra girl, Yāj. does not - Manu condemns niyoga, Yāj. does not - same case with gambling - Yāj. takes Vinayakaśānti from Mānavagr̥hya - Yājñavalkyasmṛti in intimate relation to white Yajurveda and literature appurtenant to it - Yājñavalkya closely agrees with Pāraskaragr̥hya - Dr. Jolly's theory that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasūtra of White Yajurveda is without foundation - date of Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Viśvarūpa separated from the smṛti by several centuries - probable date of Yājñavalkya between 100 B. C. and 300 A. D. - Laṅkāvatārasūtra (gāthās 814-816) refers to Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Dr. Jolly thinks that Yāj. shows acquaintance with Greek astrology - Dr. Jacobi's theory that naming of week days after planets first introduced by Greeks and borrowed by Indians - these theories untenable - Yāj. does not mention week days, but only the nine planets (in I. 296) - Yāj. does not mention the zodiacal signs - he arranges the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī (I. 268) as the Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa does - 'susthe indau' in Yāj. explained by Viśvarūpa without reference to zodiacal signs - from Vedic times nakṣatras divided into auspicious and inauspicious - Yājñavalkya's reference to nānakas - Yāj. regards sight of yellow-



robed people as an evil omen - Dr. Jolly's date of 400 A. D. for Yājñavalkya is far too late - there is a Vṛddha-Yāj., a Yoga-Yāj., and a Bṛhad-Yāj. - Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed much earlier than 800 A. D. as Vācaspati-miśra quotes a half verse from Yoga-Yāj. and Aparārka quotes profusely from him - mss. of Yoga-Yājñavalkya in Deccan College collection in 12 chapters and 495 verses and of Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya in 12 chapters and 920 verses - Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya of the mss. are entirely different works - several commentaries on Yājñavalkya, viz. of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi.

Sec. 35 *Parāśarasmr̥ti* : ... 190-196

Yāj. mentions Parāśara, but the extant Parāśarasmr̥ti is probably a recast of an older smṛti - Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) gives a summary of 39 verses of Parāśarasmr̥ti - From Kauṭilya it appears there was a work of Parāśara on politics - extant Parāśara in 12 chapters and 592 verses deals with ācāra and prāyaścitta alone - Parāśara, an ancient name - Parāśara mentions 19 smṛti writers - contents of the smṛti - Parāśara has peculiar views - authors cited by Parāśara - views of Manu frequently cited - several identical verses in Manu and Parāśara - age of Parāśarasmr̥ti between 100-500 A. D. - a Bṛhat-Parāśara saṁhitā in 12 chapters and 3000 verses - contents thereof - it is a late work - Vṛddha Parāśara quoted by Aparārka.

Sec. 36 *The Nāradasmr̥ti* : ... pp. 196-207

Two versions of Nārada on vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one - com. of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa is contained in Dr. Jolly's edition - Nārada not mentioned by Yāj. or Parāśara in list of expounders of dharma - three introductory chapters on judicial procedure and on sabhā, then 18 *vyavaharapadas*, then an appendix on theft from Nepal ms. - some difference in the names of titles between Nārada and Manu - printed Nārada contains 1028 verses - about 700 verses of Nārada quoted in digests - Viśvarūpa's and Medhātithi's quotations from Nārada agree with printed Nārada - Agnipurāṇa chap. 253 contains thirty verses of Nāradasmr̥ti defining the eighteen titles from ṛgādāna to prakīrṇaka in the same order - Nārada's verses on ācāra, śrāddha and prāyaścitta quoted in Smṛti candrikā, Hemādri - probably this is a different Nārada - form, style and metre of Nārada - Literature known to Nārada - 50 verses are



identical in Manu and Nārada - many more verses of Nārada closely correspond to Manu's - Nārada based upon Manu, almost the same as the extant one - Some verses of Mahābhārata are the same as Nārada's - some verses of Kauṭilya and Nārada agree - points in which Manu and Nārada differ - many subdivisions of topics in Nārada - some topics peculiar to Nārada, viz. 14 kinds of impotent persons, three punarbhūts and four svairiṇīs - Nārada somewhat later than Yāj. - Nārada propounds several juristic and political principles, fixes the period of minority at 16 - Nārada earlier than 8th century at the latest - Bāṇa's reference to Nāradiya explained - Nārada wrote a work on politics also - one half verse common to Vikramorvaśīya and Nārada - 'dināra' occurs in Nārada - Dr. Jolly says Nārada is later than 300 A. D. - Jolly's assumption wrong - dināras may have been introduced into India about beginning of Christian era - Nārada flourished between 100-300 A. D. - home of Nārada cannot be ascertained - Dr. Jolly's theory that he came from Nepal is pure guess-work - Jyotir-Nārada, Brhan-Nārada, Laghu-Nārada - Mahābhārata quotes Nārada's view on flesh-eating, on utpātas.

Sec. 37 *Brhaspati* :

... 207-213

The complete smṛti of Brhaspati on vyavahāra not yet discovered - Brhaspati closely follows Manu, pointedly refers to Manu's text and explains and defines the laconic terms of Manu - Brhaspati treats of nine ordeals - order in which topics of vyavahāra were dealt with in Brhaspati - Brhaspati first to clearly distinguish between civil and criminal justice-elaborate rules of procedure - close agreement between Nārada and Brhaspati on many points - Brhaspati agrees closely with Manu, but differs from him as to partibility of clothes and as to maximum interest on corn, fruit, wood and beasts of burden - age of Brhaspati - later than Manu and Yāj. - Brhaspati uses the words nāṇaka and dināra - probably of same age as Nārada - Kātyāyana who is regarded as an ancient sage by Viśvarūpa about 825 A. D. frequently refers to the views of Brhaspati - Dr. Jolly wrong in assigning Brhaspati to 6 or 7th century - Brhaspati flourished between 200-400 A. D. - home of Brhaspati cannot be determined - verses of Brhaspati on ācāra, śrāddha, āsauca and saṁskāra in Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and other works - a Vṛddha Brhaspati and a Jyotir-Brhaspati.



Sec. 38 *Kātyāyana* :

... pp. 213-221

Work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra not yet recovered – account given here based on quotations – Nārada and Bṛhaspati are models of Kātyāyana – on several points he presupposes Nārada – Nārada very brief on strīdhana, while Kātyāyana's treatment is classical – Kātyāyana first to give definitions of some kinds of strīdhana – Kātyāyana often refers to Bṛhaspati's views – About 900 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra quoted in digests – he refers to Bṛghu 20 times – only a few of these are found in Manu – Many of the views attributed in Kātyāyana to Manu are not found in extant Manusmṛti – some of the views ascribed to Mānavas by Kātyāyana differed from the views of the extant Manusmṛti – some verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana and Manu, Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati in the digests – Kātyāyana is in advance of Nārada and Bṛhaspati in the matter of definitions and as to rules on strīdhana – Kātyāyana probably first to distinguish between *jayapatra* and *paścātkāra* – date of Kātyāyana – later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati – flourished between 400–600 A. D. – Medhātithi (on Manu 7. 1) quotes a Kātyāyana sūtra in prose – Bṛhat Kātyāyana and Vṛddha Kātyāyana – Hemādri speaks of Upa-Kātyāyana – the Karmapradīpa of Kātyāyana or Gobhila-smṛti in 500 verses – contents thereof – authors named by Karmapradīpa – some verses of it identical with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Mahābhārata – Karmapradīpa profusely quoted in Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā and to a lesser degree by Mitākṣarā – some quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana on topics other than vyavahāra are not found in the Karmapradīpa – Kātyāyana composed some large work of which Karmapradīpa is part or abridgment – no sufficient data to identify jurist Kātyāyana and the author of the Karmapradīpa.

Sec. 39 *Āṅgiras* :

... pp. 221-223

Quoted frequently on all topics except vyavahāra by writers from Viśvarūpa-Smṛticandrikā quotes some prose passages from Āṅgiras – several compilations on prāyaścitta attributed to Āṅgiras – Bṛhad-Āṅgiras and Madhyamāṅgiras.

Sec. 40 *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga* :

... p. 223

Frequently quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā on ācāra, āśauca and śrāddha – one verse on partition – a prose quotation in Smṛticandrikā.



Sec. 41 *Karṣṇajini* : ... p. 223

Sec. 42 *Caturvīṃśatimata* : ... p. 223-225

Embodies in 525 verses the opinions of 24 sages - contents - quoted by Mitākṣarā and Aparārka, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi - probably compiled about 8th or 9th century A. D. - Bhaṭṭoji commented upon it.

Sec. 43 *Dakṣa* : ... pp. 225-226

Mentioned by Yāj. - Viśvarūpa quotes him several times - Aparārka quotes a prose passage - contents of printed Dakṣasmṛti in 220 verses.

Sec. 44 *Pitāmaha* : ... pp. 226-227

Quotations from Pitāmaha occur mostly on vyavahāra, particularly ordeals - he treats of nine ordeals - 50 *thalas* enumerated by Pitāmaha in which king took action without a complaint - views peculiar to Pitāmaha, viz. 18 lowest castes; eight constituents of hall of justice, &c. - mentions Bṛhaspati - flourished between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 45 *Pulastya* : ... p. 228

An expounder of dharma named in a verse of Vṛddha Yājñavalkya - Viśvarūpa, Mitākṣarā, Aparārka cite many verses on ahnika and śrāddha - Dānaratnākara cites a prose passage of Pulastya - composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

Sec. 46 *Pracetasa* : ... p. 229

A dharmaśāstra writer mentioned by Parāśara, though not by Yāj. - prose and verse quotations cited by Mitākṣarā and Aparārka - a few prose quotations in Haradatta on Gautama and Smṛticandrikā - Vṛddha Pracetasa and Bṛhat Pracetasa.

Sec. 47 *Prajāpati* : ... pp. 229-230

Prajāpati cited as authority by Baudhāyana Dh. S. ( II. 4. 15 ) and Vasīṣṭha ( III. 47 &c. ) - they mean probably Manu - a compilation in 198 verses ascribed to Prajāpati - Mit. and Aparārka and others quote Prajāpati on āśauca, prāyaścitta, śrāddha, ordeals and vyavahāra.



Sec. 48 *Marīci* : ... pp. 230-231

Quoted on āhnikā, āśauca, śrāddha and vyavahāra by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā - recommends writing as essential for sale, mortgage, gift and partition of immovables.

Sec. 49 *Yama* : ... pp. 231-235

Yama quoted in Vas. Dh. S. ( 18. 13-15 and 19. 48 ) - various printed compilations in verse ascribed to Yama — Brhad Yama in 5 chapters and 182 verses— Viśvarūpa and others quote about a hundred verses of Yama on all topics including vyavahāra—some of these found in printed text - a few prose passages of Yama quoted by Aparārka - Anuśāsanaparva 10.4. 72-74 quotes gāthās of Yama - some views of Yama on vyavahāra set out - Brhad Yama, Laghu Yama and Svalpa Yama.

Sec. 50 *Laugākṣi* : ... pp. 235-236

Mitākṣarā quotes verses on āśauca and prāyaścitta, while Aparārka quotes prose and verse passages on saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva &c.

Sec. 51 *Viśvāmitra* : ... p. 236

Named by Vṛddha Yājñavalkya - verses quoted on all topics except vyavahāra.

Sec. 52 *Vyāsa* : ... pp. 236-238

Printed compilation ascribed to Vyāsa in 250 verses - contents - about two hundred verses of Vyāsa on vyavahāra cited in Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works - his doctrines closely agree with those of Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana - some of his views on vyavahāra set out - flourished between 200-500 A. D. - Aparārka cites many verses from Vyāsa on saṁskāras, śrāddha &c. - probably Vyāsa the jurist is identical with the latter - Gadya-Vyāsa, Vṛddha-Vyāsa and Brhad-Vyāsa, Mahavyāsa and Laghu Vyāsa.

Sec. 53 *Ṣaṭ-triṁsan-mata* : ... pp. 238-239

This was a compilation like Caturviṁśati-mata - quotations from it cited in Kalpataru, Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and Aparārka - Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention it - date between 700-900 A. D. - no verse quoted from this on vyavahāra.



Sec. 54 *Samgraha or Smṛtisamgraha* : ... pp. 239-242

Quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā on several topics of dharma—quotations on vyavahāra are many and important for history of Hindu Law - views of Samgrahakāra and Dhāreśvara coincide in many respects and were criticized by Mitākṣarā - date of Samgraha between 8th and 10th centuries.

Sec. 55 *Saṁvarta* : ... pp. 242-244

Mentioned as dharmaśāstrakāra by Yāj. - cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Mitākṣarā - Aparārka quotes about 200 verses - some of his views on vyavahāra - contents of printed Saṁvarta in 230 verses - Bṛhat Saṁvarta and Svalpa Saṁvarta.

Sec. 56 *Hārīta* : ... p. 244

Verses from Hārīta on vyavahāra deserve special treatment - some of his views set out, e. g. definition of vyavahāra, four aspects of vyavahāra, importance of writing, defects of plaint and reply, protection of long possession, when title by itself is decisive against long possession, five kinds of sureties, treatment of erring wives - his date between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 57 *Commentaries and Nibandhas* : ... pp. 246-247

Dharmaśāstra literature falls into three periods, the first from 600 B. C. to 100 A. D. being the period of the dharmaśūtras and of the Manusmṛti, the 2nd from 100 A. D. to 800 A. D. of Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis and third from 700 to 1800 of commentators and authors of digests - first part of this last period contains commentaries - digests written from 11th century - no hard and fast line between commentaries and digests - these to be treated of in chronological order as far as possible.

Sec. 58 *Aśabhāya* : ... pp. 247-251

Portion of his bhāṣya on Nārada ( up to verse 21 of abhyupetyāśusrūṣa ) published by Dr. Jolly - Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised it - exact relationship of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's revision to original not clear, but he took great liberties - Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa was encouraged by



Keśavabhaṭṭa - Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 263-264) mentions Asahāya by name and quotes latter's explanation of Gautama 22. 13. - Hāratalā of Aniruddha speaks of bhāṣya of Asahāya on Gautama - from a passage of Sarasvatīvilāsa it appears that Asahāya commented on Manu also - Medhātithi on Manu 8. 156 quotes Asahāya - Mitākṣarā mentions the views of Asahāya - date of Asahāya between 600-750 A. D. - a few views of Asahāya set out, viz. definition of dāya, succession to Śulka of a woman, succession to a childless brāhmaṇa.

Sec. 59 *Bhartr̥yājña* : ... pp. 251-252

An ancient Bhāṣyakāra mentioned by Medhātithi (on Manu 8. 3) - his views cited by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana - he wrote bhāṣya on Kātyāyana śrautasūtra and Pāraskara gr̥hyasūtra - probably he commented on Gautamadharmasūtra - flourished about 800 A. D.

Sec. 60 *Viśvarūpa* : ... pp. 252-264

His commentary called Bālakriḍā on Yāj. published at Trivandrum - Mitākṣarā refers to it in introductory verses and on Yāj. (I. 80 and III. 24) - printed com. of Viśvarūpa on vyavāhāra portion of Yāj. is very meagre - literature referred to or quoted by Viśvarūpa - most of the quotations from Svāyambhuva found in extant Manu, but not so those ascribed to Bṛghu - quotes prose passages of Bṛhaspati on vyavāhāra - quotes a verse of Viśālākṣa on politics and refers to arthaśāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas - Kautīlya not named, yet Viśvarūpa seems to have had his work before him - Viśvarūpa's work saturated with doctrines of Pūrvaminīmānsā - quotes Śabara and Śloka-vārtika - quotes his own kārīkās on Yāj. I. 7. and other places - his philosophical views identical with Śaṅkarācārya's - Dr. Jolly's view that citations of Viśvarūpa in the Smṛticandrikā on certain points not traced in the printed Bālakriḍā examined and shown to be incorrect - some citations of Viśvarūpa's views in Gr̥hastharatnākara and Hemādri not found in printed text of Viśvarūpa - points in which Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā differ set out - Viśvarūpa must have flourished between 750 and 1000 A. D. - If Viśvarūpa identical with Sureśvara, pupil of Śaṅkara, then he flourished between 800-850 - reasons for identity set out - Maṇḍana and



Sureśvara nor identical – Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical, but not same as Sureśvara – a digest called *Viśvarūpanibandha* by another *Viśvarūpa* – a *Viśvarūpasamuccaya* mentioned by Raghunandana.

Sec. 61 *Bhāruci* : ... pp. 264-266

His views quoted by *Mitākṣarā* on *Yāj.* I. 81 and II. 124 – a *Bhāruci* mentioned as an ancient teacher of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* system by *Rāmānujācārya* in his *Vedārthasaṅgraha* – *Bhāruci* the philosopher is probably identical with *Bhāruci* the jurist – from notices in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* *Bhāruci* seems to have commented on the *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra* – *Bhāruci* and *Mitākṣarā* disagreed on numerous points.

Sec. 62 *Śrīkara* : ... pp. 266-268

Views of *Śrīkara* set out – first writer to propound the view that spiritual benefit was the criterion for judging of superior rights to succession – probably a *Maithila* – difficult to say whether he wrote a commentary or an independent digest – flourished between 800-1050 A. D.

Sec. *Medhātithi* : ... pp. 266-275

Wrote an extensive commentary on *Manu* – printed *bhāṣya* corrupt in 8th, 9th and 12th chapters – reference to king *Madana* having restored *Medhātithi's* *bhāṣya* explained – *Dr. Jolly* says *Medhātithi* was a southerner – this is wrong – He was a northerner and probably a *Kashmirian* – literature known to *Medhātithi* – *smṛtis* quoted by him – mentions *Asahāya*, *Bhartr̥yajña*, *Yajvan*, *Upādhyaya*, *R̥ju*, *Viṣṇusvāmin* – *Medhātithi* saturated with *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* – his reference to *Śārīka* explained – *Medhātithi* and *Śaṅkarācārya* – peculiar views of *Medhātithi* set out – wrote *Smṛti-vivēka* from which he quotes verses in his *Manubhāṣya* – date of *Medhātithi* – flourished between 825-900 A. D.

Sec. 64 *Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva* : ... pp. 275-279

*Mitākṣarā* (on *Yāj.* II. 135 and III 24) mentions views of *Dhāreśvara* – *Dhāreśvara* is to be identified with king *Bhojadeva* of *Dhārā* – works on numerous branches of knowledge attributed to *Bhoja* of *Dhārā* such as on *Poetics*, *Rājamṛgaṅka* (on astronomy), a com. on *Yogasūtras* – *Suddhikaumudī* of *Govindānanda* mentions



Rājamārtanḍa of Bhoja on śrāddha – Mitākṣarā and Dhāreśvara disagree on several points, e. g. on the question whether ownership was known from śāstra alone, on the meaning of 'dubitarah' in Yāj. – on other points the two agree – Bhūpālapaddhati or simply Bhūpāla or rāja refers to a work of Bhojadeva – Bhojabalabhūma of Bhojarāja quoted in Tithiatṭva and Āhoikatattva of Raghunandana as distinct from the Rājamārtanḍa – Bhoja reigned from 1000 to 1055 A. D. – Dharmapradīpa of Bhoja is the work of another Bhoja, who was son of Bhāramalla and king of Āśapura – it was written between 1400–1600 A. D.

Sec. 65 *Devasvāmin* : ... pp. 279–281

Said by Smṛticandrikā to have composed a digest of smṛtis – Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Āśvalāyanagr̥hya, relies on bhāṣya of Devasvāmin – he composed a digest on ācāra, vyavahāra and āśauca – Smṛticandrikā quotes his views on the meaning of Yautaka, on the meaning of dubitarah in Yāj., on Manu 9. 141 – A Devasvāmin commented on Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras and on the Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa – difficult to say whether he is identical with the writer on dharmaśāstra – Devasvāmin flourished about 1000–1050 A. D.

Sec. 66 *Jitendriya* : ... 281–283

He is frequently quoted by Jīmūtavāhana in his three works – Jitendriya held that the wives of a person whether separated or joint succeeded to their deceased husband – no early writer other than Jīmūtavāhana cites him – flourished between 1000–1050 A. D.

Sec. 67 *Bālaka* : ... pp. 283–284

Mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana, Śulapāṇi, Raghunandana – several views of Bālaka set out – flourished before 1100 A. D.

Sec. 68 *Bālarūpa* : ... pp. 284–286

The opinions of Bālarūpa are cited in the Smṛtisāra and Vivādacandra – also in the Vivādacintāmaṇi – he wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla – Bālaka and Bālarūpa are probably identical – Bālarūpa is certainly earlier than 1250 A. D. – Vivādacandra once speaks of 'author of Bālarūpa', suggesting thereby that Bālarūpa was a work.



Sec. 69 *Yogloka* : ... pp. 286-287

Known only from works of Jimūtavāhana and Raghunandana - Jimūtavāhana only rarely agrees with him and generally criticizes him and taunts him with being a logician merely - Bṛhad Yogloka and Svalpa Yogloka - Yogloka wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla - flourished between 950-1050.

Sec. 70 *Vijñāneśvara* : ... pp. 287-293

The unique position of the Mitākṣarā on account of being esteemed as of paramount authority by British Indian courts - the several names of the Mitākṣarā - quotes a host of smṛti writers and six predecessors as authors of commentaries and digests - personal history of Vijñāneśvara - profound student of pūrvamīmāṃsā - date of Vijñāneśvara - between 1070-1100 - one of many commentators of the Mitākṣarā three famous - peculiar doctrines of the Mitākṣarā - seems to have been author of Āśaucadaśaka also - several commentaries on Āśaucadaśaka by Harihara, Raghunātha and Bhaṭṭoji - Vijñāneśvara not the author of Triṃsat-śloki - Nārāyaṇa, a pupil of Vijñāneśvara, wrote Vyavahāra-śiromaṇi.

Sec. 71 *Kāmadhenu* : ... pp. 293-296

An ancient digest not yet discovered - quoted by Kalpataru, Hāralatā, and other works - Gopāla, the author of Kāmadhenu - Aufrecht's view that Śambhu is the author of Kāmadhenu wrong - Śambhu is a nibandhakāra on dharma cited by Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri - Mr. Jayasval wrongly ascribes Kāmadhenu to Bhoja - probable date of Kāmadhenu between 1000-1100 A. D.

Sec. 72 *Halāyudha* : ... pp. 296-301

A jurist quoted by Kalpataru, Smṛtisāra and other works - he flourished between 1000-1100 A. D. - he was probably a Maithila or a Bengal writer - Halāyudha, author of Abhidhānaratnamālā, Kavirahasya and Mṛtasañjīvanī (com. on chandaḥ-sūtra), is different - he hailed from the Deccan and flourished between 940-995 A. D. - another Halāyudha, author of Brāhmaṇasarvasva - personal history of this Halāyudha - judge of Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Bengal - Halāyudha's literary activity between 1175-1200 A. D. - another Halāyudha, author of Prakāśa, commentary on the śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana - he flourished between 1150 and 1500 A. D.



Sec. 73 *Bhavadevabhāṭṭa* : ... pp. 301-306

Author of *Vyavahāratilaka* - also of *Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati* or *Daśakarmapaddhati* - contents of latter - another work is *Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa* - light on personal history of Bhavadeva in inscription at Bhuvaneśvara - he was a great builder of temples and tanks - flourished between 1050-1150 A. D. - Bhavadeva and *Pradīpa* - other authors on *dharmaśāstra* named Bhavadeva.

Sec. 74 *Prakāśa* : ... pp. 306-308

An ancient work on *vyavahāra*, *dāna*, *śrāddha* &c. - whether an independent digest is doubtful - was probably a commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* composed between 1000-1100 A. D. - *Mahārṇava-prakāśa*, *Smṛtimahārṇava* or *Mahārṇava* quoted by Hemādri are all names for the same work - probably *Prakāśa* and *Smṛtimahārṇava-prakāśa* are identical.

Sec. 75 *Parijata* : ... pp. 308-309

Several works on *dharma* end in *Parijata* - an ancient work called *Parijata* quoted by *Kalpataru* - it dealt with at least *vyavahāra*, *dāna* - composed between 1000-1125 A. D.

Sec. 76 *Govindarāja* : ... pp. 309-315

Wrote com. on *Manusmṛiti* and a work called *Smṛtimañjari* - personal history of Govindarāja - he is not to be identified with king Govindacandra of Benares - Kullūka frequently criticizes Govindarāja - contents of *Smṛtimañjari* - date of Govindarāja between 1050-1140 A. D.

Sec. 77 *The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara* : ... pp. 315-318

An extensive work which exercised great influence over early Mithilā and Bengal writers - personal history of Lakṣmīdhara - work divided into fourteen *kāṇḍas* - their arrangement - contents of *vyavahāra*, *rājadharmā* and *dāna kāṇḍas* - date of *Kalpataru* between 1100-1150 A. D. - Caṇḍeśvara borrowed extensively from *Kalpataru*.

Sec. 78 *Jimatavāhana* : ... pp. 318-327

He is first of the three great Bengal writers on *dharmaśāstra* - only three works known, *Kalaviveka*, *Vyavaharamātrkā* and *Daya-*



bhāga - these three parts of a projected digest called Dharmaratna - object and contents of Kālaviveka - works quoted in Kālaviveka - profound study of Pūrvamināmsā displayed therein - contents of Vyavahāra-mātrkā - works quoted in it - Dayabhāga most famous of his works and of paramount authority in Bengal on Hindu Law - contents of Dayabhāga - doctrines peculiar to Dayabhāga - authors and works named in the Dayabhāga - personal history of Jimūtavāhana - his date - divergent views - literary activity lies between 1090-1130 A. D. - Did Jimūtavāhana know the Mitākṣarā ?

Sec. 79 *Aparārka* : ... pp. 328-334

Wrote a voluminous commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti - authors and works quoted by Aparārka - studiously avoids naming his predecessors who were writers of digests - peculiar views of Aparārka - evidence to show that Aparārka knew the Mitākṣarā - date of Aparārka - Smṛticandrikā criticizes Aparārka - Aparārka was a Śilāhara prince - inscriptions of Śilāharas - commentary written about 1125 A. D.

Sec. 80 *Pradīpa* : ... pp. 334-335

An independent work on vyavahāra, śrāddha, śuddhi and other topics - between 1100-1150 A. D.

Sec. 81 *Smṛtyarthisāra of Śrīdhara* : ... pp. 335-337

Contents of - personal history of Śrīdhara - authors and works relied on as authorities - Śrīdhara probably composed another larger work - date between 1150-1200 A. D.

Sec. 82 *Aniruddha* : ... pp. 337-340

An early and eminent Bengal writer - wrote Hāralatā and Pitrdayitā alias Karmopadeśinipaddhati - contents of Hāralatā and of Pitrdayitā - authors and works named in them - personal history of Aniruddha - flourished in 3rd quarter of 12th century.

Sec. 83 *Ballālasena* : ... pp. 340-341

Compiled at least four works, Ācārasāgara, Adbhutasāgara, Dānasāgara, Pratiṣṭhāsāgara - subjects dealt with in Dānasāgara - Adbhutasāgara left incomplete and finished by his son Lakṣmanasena - Dānasāgara valuable for checking the text of the *Purāṇas* -



literary activity in 3rd quarter of 12th century, as Dānasāgara was composed in śake 1091 - Aniruddha was guru of Ballālasena.

Sec. 84 *Harihara* : ... pp. 341-343

A writer on vyavahāra - he flourished before 1300 A. D. - Harihara composed commentary on Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra - this Harihara flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. - whether he was pupil of Vijñāneśvara - a Harihara comments on Āsaucadaśaka - jurist Harihara probably identical with bhāṣyakāra of Pāraskara - several Hariharas known.

Sec. 85 *Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 343-347

An extensive digest - printed text deals with śaṁskāra, ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha and āsauca - he wrote on prāyaścitta also - name variously written - profusely quotes Smṛtikāras, 600 verses of Kātyāyana alone on vyavahāra being quoted - authors and works named - author a southerner - contents - points in which Mitakṣarā and Smṛticandrikā differ - date between 1150 and 1225 A. D. - several works named Smṛticandrikā.

Sec. 86 *Haradatta* : ... pp. 347-353

His fame high as a commentator - his Anākulā on Āpastambagṛhya, Anāvila on Āśvalāyanagṛhya, Mitākṣarā on Gautamadharmasūtra, Ujjvalā on Āpastambadharmasūtra and a com. on the Āpastambamantrapāṭha - explains grammatical peculiarities at great length - he was a southerner - a great devotee of Śiva - tradition says Rudradatta and Haradatta are identical - Haradatta on widow's right of succession - interesting information from Haradatta - date, a difficult problem - between 1100-1300 A. D. - Haradatta, commentator of dharmasāstra works, is identical with Haradatta, author of Padamañjari - Haradattācārya mentioned in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa and Śivarahasya is probably the Haradattācārya cited in Sarvadarśanasamgraha - Hariharatāratamya and Caturvedatātparyasamgraha are works ascribed to Haradatta.

Sec. 87 *Hemādri* : ... pp. 354-359

He and Mādhava the two outstanding dakṣiṇātya writers on dharmasāstra - his Caturvargacintāmaṇi is a huge work of an encyclopaedia.  
M. D. F.



clopxedic character - projected to contain five sections - printed parts comprise vrata, dāna, śrāddha and kula - Hemādri a profound student of Pūrvamīmāṃsā - predecessors named by him - personal history of Hemādri - his connection with Yādavas of Devagiri - genealogy of the Yādavas - Caturvargacintāmaṇi composed about 1270 A. D. - com. on Śaunaka's Praṇavakalpa and a śrāddhakalpa according to Kātyāyana are attributed to him - Vopadeva, a friend and a protegee of Hemādri - references to Hemādri's work in grants.

Sec. 88 *Kullūkabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 359-363

A famous commentator of Manusmṛti - he drew largely upon Medhātithi's bhāṣya and Govindarāja - Sir William Jones on Kullūka - authors and works quoted by him - personal history - he wrote Smṛtīviveka, of which Aśaucasāgara, Śrāddhasāgara and Vivādasāgara were parts - contents of Śrāddhasāgara - this is full of Pūrvamīmāṃsā discussions - date of Kullūka uncertain - flourished between 1150-1300 A. D.

Sec. 89 *Śrīdatta Upadhyāya* : ... pp. 363-365

One of the earliest *nibandhakaras* on dharmasāstra from Mithilā - contents of Ācārādarsa and authors quoted therein - his Candogāhnikā - his Piṭrbhakti - authors quoted in it - his, Śrāddhakalpa - his Samayapradīpa - contents of the work - flourished between 1200-1300 A. D., probably about 1275-1300 A. D. - another Śrīdattamiśra, a Maithilā writer, who flourished towards end of 14th century.

Sec. 90 *Caṇḍeśvara* : ... pp. 366-372

Most prominent among Maithilā *nibandhakaras* - compiled extensive digest called Smṛtiratnākara in seven sections on dāna, kṛtya vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūjā, vivāda and grhastha - contents of Kṛtyaratnākara, Grhastharatnākara, Dānaratnākara, Vivādaratnākara and other ratnākaras - he also compiled Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, the Rājanītiratnākara, Dānavākyāvali and Śivavākyāvali - contents of Rājanītiratnākara - he drew principally upon five viz. Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Parijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha - authors and works quoted - personal history of Caṇḍeśvara - genealogy - he was minister of Harisimhadeva of Mithilā and later of Bhaveśa and weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. - literary activity between 1314-1370 A. D.



Sec. 91 *Harinātha* : ... pp. 372-374

Author of a digest called *Smṛtisāra* - names numerous authorities - contents - flourished in first half of 14th century - several works styled *Smṛtisāra*.

Sec. 92 *Mādhavācārya* : ... pp. 374-381

The most eminent of dākṣinātya writers on dharmaśāstra - two works on dharmaśāstra deserve special notice, viz. *Parāśara Mādhaviya* and *Kālanirṇaya* - authors and works quoted in them - contents of *Kālanirṇaya* - family and personal history of *Mādhavācārya* - his brother *Sāyaṇa* - *Mādhava* founded Vijayanagar in 1335 A. D. - pedigree of Vijayanagar kings - the two works were composed between 1340-1360 A. D. - literary activity of *Mādhava Vidyāranya* between 1330-1385 A. D. - *Mādhava Vidyāranya* different from *Mādhava mantrin* who was governor of Banavase and Goa - several commentaries of *Kālanirṇaya*.

Sec. 93 *Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* : ... 381-389

Four works attributed to *Madanapāla*, a great patron of learning like *Bhoja*, viz. *Madanapārijāta*, *Smṛtimahārṇava* or *Madanamahārṇava*, *Tithinirṇayasāra* and *Smṛtikaumudī* - *Madanapārijāta* really composed by *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* - contents of *Madanapārijāta* - *Mahārṇava* ascribed to *Māndhātā*, a son of *Madanapāla* - principal topics of the work - *Tithinirṇayasāra* - *Smṛtikaumudī* deals with dharmas of *Sūdras* - contents - all the above four works probably composed by *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* - *Subodhinī*, com. on *Mitākṣarā* by *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* is a leading authority in Benares school of Hindu Law - pedigree of *Madanapāla* - other works on astronomy and medicine attributed to *Madanapāla* - date of *Madanapāla*, between 1300-1400 A. D. - *Madanavinodanighaṇṭu* composed in 1431 of Vikrama era i. e. 1375 A. D.

Sec. 94 *Madanaratna* : ... pp. 389-393

An extensive digest on dharmaśāstra, variously styled - seven *udhyotas* of it on *samaya*, *ācāra*, *vyavahara*, *prayaścitta*, *dāna*, *buddhi*, *śānti* - contents of *udhyotas* on *samaya*, *dāna*, and *śānti* - work composed under *Madanasimhadeva*, son of *Śaktisimhadeva* - pedigree of the family - *Madanasimha* called together four learned men,



Ratnakara, Gopinātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara, and entrusted composition of work to them - date of Madanaratna between 1350-1500, probably about 1425-50.

Sec. 95 *Śalapāṇi* : ... pp. 393-396

His authority in Bengal is next only to Jimūtavāhana's - Dipa-  
kalikā, commentary on Yājñavalkya, his earliest work - holds archaic  
views on inheritance - his Smṛtiviveka, of which fourteen parts  
ending in 'viveka' are known - Durgotsavaviveka is amongst his  
latest works - Śrāddhaviveka is his most famous work - authors and  
works named by him - personal history little known - exact age  
uncertain - flourished between 1375-1460 A. D.

Sec. 96 *Rudradhara* : ... pp. 396-398

A Maithila writer - wrote Śrāddhaviveka, Śuddhiviveka, Vra-  
tapaddhati and Varṣakṛtya, the first being the most famous of his  
works - flourished between 1425-1460 A. D.

Sec. 97 *Misaramiśra* : ... pp. 398-399

Wrote Vivādacandra - contents - work composed under orders  
of queen Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasīmha of Mithilā -  
flourished about 1450 A. D.

Sec. 98 *Vācaspatimiśra* : ... pp. 399-405

The foremost nibandhakāra of Mithilā - his Vivādacintāmaṇi  
of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā - a  
voluminous writer - several works of his styled Cintāmaṇi on  
ācāra, āhnikā, kṛtya, tirtha, dvaita, nīti, vivāda, vyavahāra, śuddhi,  
śūdrācāra, śrāddha - works named by him - a group of his works  
ends in 'nirṇaya' viz. Tithinirṇaya, Dvaitanirṇaya, Mahādānanir-  
ṇaya, Vivādanirṇaya, Śuddhinirṇaya, - he also contemplated writing  
seven works styled Mahārṇava on kṛtya, ācāra, vivāda, vyavahāra,  
dāna, śuddhi and pitṛyajña - other works of his - Śrāddhakalpa or  
Pitṛbhaktitarāṅgiṇī his last work - personal history of Vācaspati -  
connected with king Bhairava and his son Rāmabhadra - genealogy  
of Kāmeśvara kings - Vācaspati flourished between 1425-1480 A. D. -  
philosopher Vācaspati different.

Sec. 99 *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* : ... pp. 406-410

An encyclopædic work - divided into 12 sections called 'sāra' -  
the author's name variously given as Dalapati or Dalādhiśa - personal



history - writers and works named - contents of the work - flourish-  
ed between 1400-1510 A. D., probably about 1490 to 1510.

Sec. 100 *Pratāparudradeva* : ... 410-414

He was king of the Gajapati dynasty in Orissa and composed *Sarasvativilāsa* - pedigree and history of family - purpose and con-  
tents of *Sarasvativilāsa* - works quoted - composed between 1497-1539  
A. D. - Foulke's theory about date not acceptable - the *Pratāpamār-  
taṇḍa* or *Prāzudhapratāpamārtāṇḍa* of *Pratāparudradeva*.

Sec. 101 *Govindānanda* : ... pp. 414-415

Author of *Dānakaumudī*, *Suddhikaumudī*, *Śraddhakaumudī*  
and *Varṣakriyākaumudī* and a com. called *Arthakaumudī* on the  
*Suddhidipikā* of Śrinivāsa and a com. *Tattvārthakaumudī* on the  
*Prāyaścittaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi - literary activity between 1500-1540  
A. D.

Sec. 102 *Raghunandana* : ... pp. 416-419

Last great writer of Bengal on *dharmaśāstra* - wrote an *encyclo-  
paedia* called *Smṛtitattva* in 28 sections - names over 300 authors  
and works - 28 *tattvas* enumerated - other works besides these 28-  
wrote also com. on *Dāyabhāga* - personal history - authors and  
works quoted - flourished between 1500-1575.

Sec. 103 *Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa* : ... pp. 419-421

The most famous member of the Bhāṭṭa family of Benares -  
personal history - born in 1513 A. D. - among his works are *Antye-  
ṣṭipaddhati*, *Tristhaliseru*, *Prayogaratna*, and com. on verses of  
*Kālamādhava* - literary activity between 1540-1570 A. D. - *Nārāyaṇa*  
author of *Dharmapravṛtti* different.

Sec. 104 *Toḍarānanda* : ... pp. 421-423

An encyclopaedia on *dharma*, several parts of which were call-  
ed *Saukhya* - authors and works quoted - personal history of *Toḍar-  
amalla* - he died in 1589.

Sec. 105 *Nandapaṇḍita* : ... pp. 423-432

A voluminous writer on *dharmaśāstra* - author of com. on  
*Parāśarasmṛti* and on the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara* - his *Śraddha*-



kalpalata - his Śuddhicandrikā, a com. on the Śaḍaśīti - his work styled Smṛtisindhu and a summary of it styled Tattvamuktāvali - his Vaijayanṭi, a com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra - his agreements and disagreements with Mitākṣarā - Dattaka-mīmāṃsā, his most famous work - it is regarded by British Indian courts and Privy Council as standard work on adoption - his views set out - personal history - he had various patrons - his thirteen works - Vaijayanṭi composed in 1623 A. D.

Sec. 104 *Kamalākaraḥḥaṭṭa* : ... pp. 432-437

Grandson of Nārāyaṇaḥḥaṭṭa - personal history - composed more than 22 works on several śāstras - about a dozen works on dharmasāstra, the Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdrakamalākara and Vivādatāṇḍava being most famous - he meant all the works on dharmasāstra to be parts of a digest called Dharmatattva - contents of Pūrtakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Vivādatāṇḍava, Śūdrakamalākara and Nirṇayasindhu - the last, one of his earliest works composed in 1612 A. D. and so his literary activity lies between 1610-1650 A. D.

Sec. 107 *Nilakaṇṭhaḥḥaṭṭa* : ... pp. 438-440

Grandson of Nārāyaṇaḥḥaṭṭa and son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa - personal history - his work Bhagavantaḥḥaṭṭa divided into twelve mayūkhās composed in honour of Bhagavantaḥḥaṭṭa, Bundella chieftain - also wrote Vyavahāratattva - estimate of his qualities as a writer - his Vyavahāramayūkha is of paramount authority on Hindu Law in Gujerat, Bombay Island and North Konkan - his literary activity - flourished between 1610-1650 - divergence of views between the cousins Kamalākara and Nilakaṇṭha.

Sec. 108 *The Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra* : ... pp. 440-446

Viramitrodaya, a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra on all topics of dharmasāstra - sections called prakāśas - contents of the printed prakāśas on Lakṣaṇa, āhnikā, vyavahāra, tirtha, pūjā, saṁskāra, rājanīti - highly controversial work - generally follows Vijñāneśvara, but at times severely criticizes him - a work of high authority in Benares school of modern Hindu Law - Mitramiśra also wrote a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛiti - personal history - account



and pedigree of his patron Virasimha - meaning of title 'Viramitrodaya' - his literary activity lay in the first half of the 17th century.

Sec. 109 *Anantadeva* : ... pp. 447-453.

Composed a vast digest called *Smṛtikaustubha* on *saṁskāra*, *acāra*, *rājadharmā*, *dāna*, *utsarga*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *tithi* and *saṁvatsara* - *Samskārakaustubha* is most popular work - contents of *Samskārakaustubha* - portion of it on adoption called *Dattakadīdhiti* - summary of important views on adoption - contents of *Abdadīdhiti* and *Rājadharmakaustubha* - pedigree of his patron's family - *Anantadeva* wrote at command of *Baz Bahadurcandra* - *Anantadeva* was great-grand-son of *Ekanātha*, a great Marathi poet and saint - his younger brother *Jivadeva* - literary activity between 1645-1695.

Sec. 110 *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 453-456

His learning of an encyclopaedic character - wrote standard works on grammar, *dharmaśāstra*, yoga, &c. - total number of works about 30 - wrote about ten works on *dharmaśāstra* - personal history - his patron *Rāma* of the *Bisen* family - pedigrees of *Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita* and *Nāgoji's* connection with *Bhaṭṭoji* - literary activity between 1700-1750 A. D.

Sec. 111 *Balakṛṣṇa or Bālabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 456-462

*Lakṣmīvyākhyāna* or *Bālabhaṭṭa* is a com. on the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara* - *Bālabhaṭṭa* favours latitudinarian views about the rights of women - estimate of *Bālabhaṭṭa* according to judicial decisions - author of *Bālabhaṭṭa* somewhat of an enigma - introductory verses about the authoress *Lakṣmidevi* - real author *Balakṛṣṇa*, son of *Vaidyanātha Payaguṇḍa*, who was a pupil of *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* - *Balakṛṣṇa* also wrote *Upākṛtitattva*, *Dharmaśāstrasamgraha* - *Vaidyanātha*, the commentator of *Alaṅkāra* works, different from *Vaidyanātha*, *Payaguṇḍa*, the father of *Bālabhaṭṭa* - flourished between 1730-1820 A. D.

Sec. 110 *Kaśinātha Upadhyaya* : ... pp. 463-465

Composed extensive work called *Dharmasindhusāra* - leading work in Deccan now on religious matters - subjects of the work -



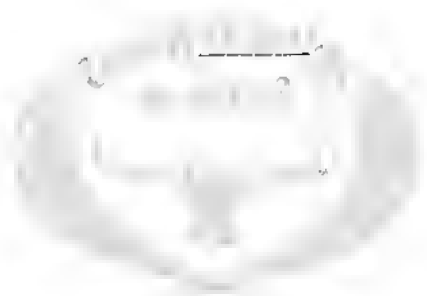
personal history - his other works - Dharmasindhu composed in 1790-91 A. D.

**Sec. 113** *Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana* : ... pp. 465-466

Among digests compiled under the British the *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava* of Jagannātha is the most famous - Colebrooke translated it in 1796 - topics treated of in it - Jagannātha died in 1806.

**Sec. 114** *Conclusion* : ... pp. 466-467

Motives actuating writers on dharmasāstra - their contribution to culture - their defects - their admirable and useful work.





## HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA.

### 1. Meaning of Dharma.

*Dharma* is one of those Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue. That word has passed through several vicissitudes. In the hymns of the R̥gveda the word appears to be used either as an adjective or a noun (in the form *dharman*, generally neuter) and occurs at least fifty-six times therein. It is very difficult to say what the exact meaning of the word *dharma* was in the most ancient period of the vedic language. The word is clearly derived from root *dhṛ* (to uphold, to support, to nourish). In a few passages, the word appears to be used in the sense of 'upholder or supporter or sustainer' as in R̥g. I. 187.1<sup>1</sup> and X. 92.2<sup>2</sup>. In these two passages and in R̥g. X. 21.3<sup>3</sup> the word *dharma* is clearly masculine. In all other cases, the word is either obviously in the neuter or presents a form which may be either masculine or neuter. In most cases the meaning of *dharman* is 'religious ordinances or rites' as in R̥g. I. 22. 18, V. 26. 6, VIII. 43. 24, IX. 64. 1 &c. The refrain 'tāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan' occurs in R̥g. I. 164, 43 and 50, X. 90. 16. Similarly we have the words 'prathamā dharmā' (the primeval or first ordinances) in R̥g. III. 17. 1. and X. 56. 3 and the words 'sanātā dharmāni (ancient ordinances)' occur in R̥g. III. 3. 1. In some passages this sense of 'religious rites' would not suit the context, e. g. in IV. 53. 3<sup>4</sup>, V. 63. 7<sup>5</sup>, VI. 70. 1<sup>6</sup>, VII. 89. 5<sup>7</sup>. In these passages the meaning seems to be 'fixed principles or rules of conduct'. In the Vājasaneyasaṁhita the above senses of the word *dharman* are found and in II. 3 and V. 27 we have the words 'dhruveṇa dharmāṇa'. In the same Saṁhita

1 धितुं नु स्तोषं महो धर्माणं तर्विषीम् । This occurs in शुक्लयजुर्वेद 34.7.

2 इममजस्यामुभये अकृण्वत धर्मोममि विदधस्य साधनम् ।

3 त्वे धर्माणं आसते जुहुभिः सिञ्चतीरिव ।

4 आप्रा रजोसि दिव्यानि पार्थिवा श्लोकं देवः कृणुते स्वाय धर्मणे ।

5 धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्रता रक्षेधे असुरस्य मायया ।

6 यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कभिते अजरे भूरिरेतसा ।

7 अचिन्तु यत्तव धर्मो युयोपिम मा नुस्तस्मादेनसा देव रीरिवः ।



the form 'dharmaḥ' (from dharma) becomes frequent, e. g. X. 29, XX. 9. The Atharvaveda contains many of those verses of the R̥gveda in which the word *dharman* occurs, e. g. VI. 51. 3 ( *acittya chet tava dharmā yuyopima* ), VII. 5. 1 ( *Yajñena yajñamayajanta* ) VII. 27. 5 ( *tripi padā vicakrame* ). In XI. 9. 17 the word 'dharmaḥ' seems to be used in the sense of 'merit acquired by the performance of religious rites'. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, the word *dharma* seems to be used in an abstract sense<sup>9</sup>, viz. 'the whole body of religious duties'. In the Chāndogya-upaniṣad<sup>10</sup> ( 2. 23 ) there is an important passage bearing on the meaning of the word *dharma* 'there are three branches of *dharma*, one is (constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity ( i. e. the stage of house-holder ); the second ( is constituted by ) austerities ( i. e. the stage of being a hermit ); the third is the *brahmacharin* dwelling in the house of his teacher and making himself stay with the family of his teacher till the last ; all these attain to the worlds of meritorious men ; one who abides firmly in *brahman* attains immortality.' It will be seen that in this passage the word '*dharma*' stands for the peculiar duties of the *āśramas*. The foregoing brief discussion establishes how the word *dharma* passed through several transitions of meaning and how ultimately its most prominent significance came to be 'the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life.' It is in this sense that the word seems to be used in the well-known exhortation to the pupil contained in the Taittiriya-upaniṣad ( I. 11 ) 'speak the truth, practise ( your own ) *dharma* &c.' It is in the same sense that the Bhagavadgītā uses the word *dharma* in the oft-quoted verse '*svadharmaṁ nidhanam śreyah*.' The word is employed in this sense in the *dharmaśāstra* literature. The Manusmṛti ( 1. 2 ) tells us that the

<sup>8</sup> ऋतं सत्यं तपो राष्ट्रं श्रमो धर्मश्च कर्म च । भूतं भविष्यदृच्छिष्टे वधिं लक्ष्मीर्बले बले ॥

<sup>9</sup> धर्मस्य गोप्ताजनीतिं तमभ्युत्कृष्टमेवेदमिषेक्ष्यन्नेतयार्चामिमन्त्रयेत । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 17; vide also a similar passage at A. Br. VIII. 13. The form *dharman* occurs in the Upaniṣads and in classical Sanskrit in Bahuvrīhi compounds, e. g. अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, and the sūtra धर्मादिनिच् केवलत्वात् ( पा. V. 4. 124 ).

<sup>10</sup> त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एवेति द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्योचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽप्यन्तर्मात्मानमाचार्यकुलेवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति ।  
Vide वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 18-20 'or a discussion of this passage.



sages requested Manu to impart instruction in the *dharma*s of all the *varṇas*. The Yājñyavalkya-smṛiti (I. 1) employs it in the same sense. In the Tantra-Vārtika<sup>11</sup> also we are told that all the *dharma*-sūtras are concerned with imparting instruction in the *dharma*s of *varṇas* and *āśramas*. Medhātithi commenting on Manu says that the expounders of *smṛitis* dilate upon *dharma* as five-fold, e. g. *varṇadharma*, *āśrama-dharma*, *varṇāśrama-dharma*, *naimittikadharma* (such as *prāyaścitta*) and *guṇadharma* (the duty of a crowned king, whether Kṣatriya or not, to protect)<sup>12</sup>. It is in this sense that the word *dharma* will be taken in this work. Numerous topics are comprehended under the title *dharmaśāstra*, but in this work prominence will be given to works on *ācārā* and *vyavahāra* (law and administration of justice).

It would be interesting to recall a few other definitions of *dharma*. Jaimini<sup>13</sup> defines *dharma* as 'a desirable goal or result that is indicated by injunctive (Vedic) passages.' The word *dharma* would mean such rites as are conducive to happiness and are enjoined by Vedic passages. The Vaiśeṣikasūtra<sup>14</sup> defines *dharma* as 'that from which results happiness and final beatitude.' There are several other more or less one-sided definitions of *dharma* such as 'ahiṃsā paramo dharmah' (Anuśāsanaparva 115. 1.), 'ānṛṣaṃsyam paro dharmah' (Vanaparva 373. 76), 'ācārāḥ paramo dharmah' (Manu I. 108). Hārta defined *dharma* as 'śruti-pramāṇaka'<sup>15</sup> (based on revelation). In the Buddhist sacred books the word *dharma* has several senses. It often means the whole teaching of Buddha (S. B. E. Vol. X. p. XXXIII). Another meaning of *dharma* peculiar to the Buddhist system is 'an element of existence, i. e. of matter, mind and forces'<sup>16</sup>.

The present work will deal with the sources of *dharma*, their contents, their chronology and other kindred matters. As the

11 'सर्वधर्मसूत्राणां वर्णश्रमधर्मोपदेशित्वात्' p. 237.

12 हरदत्त on गो. ध. सू. 19. 1 and गोविन्दराज on मनु 2.25 give the same fivefold classification.

13 बोधनालक्षणार्थो धर्मः । पृ. मी. सू. I. 1. 2.

14 अधातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । यतोभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः । वैशेषिकसूत्र.

15 अधातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः । श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा ऐदिकी तान्त्रिकी च । quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु. 2. 1.

16 Vide Dr. Stcherbatsky's monograph on 'the central conception of Buddhism' (1923) p. 73.



material is vast and the number of works is extremely large, only a few selected works and some important authors will be taken up for detailed treatment. More space will be devoted to comparatively early works.

## 2. Sources of Dharma.

The Gautamadharmasūtra<sup>17</sup> says 'the Veda is the source of *dharma* and the tradition and practice of those that know it (the Veda).' So Āpastamba<sup>18</sup> says 'the authority (for the *dharma*s) is the consensus of those that know *dharma* and the Vedas.' Vide also the Vasīṣṭhadharma-sūtra<sup>19</sup> (I. 4-6). The Manusmṛti<sup>20</sup> lays down five different sources of *dharma* 'the whole Veda is (the foremost) source of *dharma* and (next) the tradition and the practice of those that know it (the Veda); and further the usages of virtuous men and self-satisfaction.' Yājñavalkya<sup>21</sup> declares the sources in a similar strain 'the Veda, traditional lore, the usages of good men, what is agreeable to one's self and desire born of due deliberation—this is traditionally recognised as the source of *dharma*.' These passages make it clear that the principal sources of *dharma* were conceived to be the Vedas, the Smṛtis, and customs. The Vedas do not contain positive precepts (*vidhis*) on matters of *dharma* in a connected form; but they contain incidental references to various topics that fall under the domain of *dharmaśāstra* as conceived in later times. Such information to be gathered from the Vedic Literature is not quite as meagre as is commonly supposed. In another place<sup>22</sup> I have brought together about fifty Vedic passages that shed a flood of light on marriage, the forms of marriage, the different kinds of sons, adoption of a son, partition, inheritance, *śrāddha*, *śrādhana*. To take only a few examples. That brotherless maidens found it difficult to secure husbands is made clear by several Vedic passages.

<sup>17</sup> वेदो धर्ममूलम् । तद्विदो च स्मृतिशाले । गौ. ध. सू. I. 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 2.

<sup>19</sup> श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः । तदलामे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम् । शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा ।

<sup>20</sup> वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशाले च तद्विदाम् । आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ मनु-  
स्मृति II. 6.

<sup>21</sup> श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः । सम्यक्सङ्कल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं  
स्मृतम् ॥ याज्ञ. I. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Vide JBBRAS. vol. XXVI (1922), pp. 57-82.



'Like (a woman) growing old in her parents' house, I pray to thee as Bhaga from the seat common to all'. Vide also Rgveda I 124. 7; IV. 5. 5 and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 and Nirukta III. 4-5. These passages constitute the basis of the rules of the dharmasūtras and the Yājñavalkya-smṛti against marrying a brotherless maiden<sup>23</sup>. This bar against marrying a brotherless maiden seems to have been due to the fear that such a girl might be an appointed daughter (*putrikā*) and that a son born of such a girl would be affiliated to his mother's father. This custom of *putrikā* is an ancient one and is alluded to in the Rgveda, according to Yāska<sup>24</sup>. Rgveda X. 85 is a very interesting hymn as regards marriage; verses from it are used even to this day in the marriage ritual.<sup>25</sup> It shows that in the remote Vedic age the marriage rite resembled in essence the Brāhma form as described in the Dharmasūtras and Manu.<sup>27</sup> But the purchase of a bride (i. e. what is called Āsura marriage in later literature) was not unknown in the Vedic age. A passage of the Maitrayaṇīyasamhitā (I. 10. 11) is referred to in the Vasisthādharmaśūtra<sup>28</sup> in this connection, viz. 'she who being purchased by the husband'. The Gāndhārva form is hinted at in the words<sup>29</sup> 'when a bride is fine-looking and well adorned, she seeks by herself her friend among men'. The importance of the *aurasa* son was felt even in the remote Vedic ages. 'Another (person) born of another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of (as to be taken in adoption)<sup>30</sup>'. The Taittiriya-samhitā (VI. 3. 10. 5) propounds the well-known theory of the three debts<sup>31</sup>. The story

23 अमाजूरिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानादा सद्सस्त्वामिये भगम् । ऋग्वेद II. 17. 7.

24 अरोगिणीं धातृमतीमसमानापंगेव्रजाम् । याज्ञ. I. 53; vide also मनु III. 11.

25 Vide Rgveda III. 31. 1. and Nirukta III. 4.

26 e. g. the verse गृष्णामि ते सोमगृह्णामि ( ऋग्वेद X. 85. 36). Vide आप. गृ. सू. II. 4. 14.

27 गो. ध. सू. IV. 4; बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 2; आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 17; मनु III. 27.

28 वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 36-37; note आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11 where the word 'purchase' is tried to be explained away and also पृ. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15. 'क्रयस्य धर्ममात्र-त्वम्'.

29 भद्रा वपुर्भवेति यत्पुत्रपेशाः स्वयं सा मित्रं कृते जने चित् । ऋग्वेद X. 27. 12.

30 न हि व्रभायारणः सुशोवो अन्योर्द्वयो मनसा मन्तवा उ । ऋग्वेद VII. 5. 8.

31 जायमानो वे ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्कृणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण कृषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः ।



## History of Dharmasāstra

of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa ( VII. 3 ) suggests that a son could be adopted even when there was an *aurasa* son. The Taittiriya-saṁhitā (VII. 1. 8. 1) tells the story of Atri who gave an only son in adoption to Aurva. The Kṣetrajña son of the Dharmasūtras is often referred to in the earliest Vedic literature. 'What ( sacrificer ) invites you ( Aśvins ) in his house to a bed as a widow does a brother-in-law or a young damsel her lover'<sup>32</sup>. The Taittiriya-saṁhitā makes it clear that a father 'could distribute his wealth among his sons during his own life time 'Manu divided his property among his sons' &c.<sup>33</sup> Another passage of the same *Saṁhitā* seems to suggest that the eldest son took the whole of the father's wealth 'therefore people establish their eldest son with wealth'<sup>34</sup>. Even in the Vedic ages the son excluded the daughter from inheritance 'a son born of the body does not give the paternal wealth to ( his ) sister'<sup>35</sup>. A passage of the Taittiriya-saṁhitā is relied upon by ancient and modern writers on *dharmasāstra* for the exclusion of women in general from inheritance 'therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion and speak more weakly than even a low person'<sup>36</sup>. The R̥gveda eulogises the stage of studenthood and the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the duties of the Brahmachārin such as not partaking of wine and offering every evening a *samidh* to fire<sup>37</sup>. The

32 को वा शयुन्मा विधेर्वेव देवं मयं न योषी रुणुते सधस्य आ । ऋग्वेद X. 40. 2.

33 मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत् । ते. सं. III. 1. 9. 4. This passage is relied upon by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 11 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 2.

34 तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । ते. सं. II. 5. 2. 7. This passage is referred to by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 12 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 5.

35 'न ज्ञामये तान्वो रिक्थमरिक्' ऋग्वेद III. 31. 2. Vide निरुक्त III. 5 for explanations of this verse.

36 तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरपि पापत्पुंस उपस्तितरं वदन्ति । ते. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2. Here the portion spoken of is really that of the soma beverage. Vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 47 for reliance on this passage and also हरदत्त ( on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 1 ) and सरस्वतीविलास ( para. 21 and 336 ). Vide also शतपथब्रा. IV. 4. 2. 13 for a similar passage.

37 ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविष्टाद्विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम् । ऋग्वेद X. 109. 5. The शतपथब्रा. ( XI. 5. 4. 18 ) reads ' न द्राहुः । न ब्रह्मचारी सन्मध्वश्नीयात् '. Compare मनु II. 177. Vide शतपथब्रा. XI. 3. 3. 1 for *samidh*.



Taittiriya-saṁhitā (VI.2. 8. 5) relates<sup>38</sup> how Indra consigned *Yatis* to wolves (or dogs) and how Prajāpati prescribed a Prāyaścitta for him. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the king and the learned Brāhmaṇa as the upholder of the sacred ordinances.<sup>39</sup> The Taittiriya-saṁhitā says 'therefore the Śūdra is not fit for sacrifice<sup>40</sup>.' The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tells us that when a king or other worthy guest comes, people offer a bull or a cow<sup>41</sup>. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa speaks of Vedic study as *yajña* and the Taittiriya-āraṇyaka<sup>42</sup> enumerates the five *yajñas*, which are a prominent feature of the Manusmṛti. The Rgveda eulogises the gifts of a cow, horses, gold and clothes<sup>43</sup>. Another passage of the Rgveda<sup>44</sup> (thou art like a *prapā* in a desert) is relied upon by Śabara on Jaimini (I. 3. 2) and by Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya as ordaining the maintenance of *prapās* (places where water is distributed to travellers). The Rgveda condemns the selfish man who only caters for himself<sup>45</sup>.

The foregoing brief discussion will make it clear that the later rules contained in the *dharmaśāstras* and other works on *dharmaśāstra* had their roots deep down in the most ancient Vedic tradition and that the authors of the *dharmaśāstras* were quite justified in looking up to the Vedas as a source of *dharma*. But, as said above, the Vedas do not profess to be formal treatises on *dharma*; they contain only disconnected statements on the various aspects of *dharma*; we have to turn to the *smṛtis* for a formal and connected treatment of the topics of the *dharmaśāstra*.

38 इन्द्रो यतीन् सालवृकभ्यः प्रायच्छत् । मेधातिथि (on मनु XI. 45) quotes this.

Vide ऐ. ब्रा. 7. 28 and ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. 8. 1. 4. 13. 4. 17 and अथर्ववेद II. 5. 3.

39 एष च श्रोत्रियश्चेतो ह वै द्वौ मनुष्यं भूतवतो । शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5.

40 नरमाच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवकृषः । तै. सं. VII. 1. 1. 6.

41 तद्यथेवादो मनुष्यराजे आगतेन्यस्मिन्वार्हःयुक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षुद्रन्त एवमस्मा एतत्क्षुद्रन्ते यदस्मि मथन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. I. 15. Compare वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 4. 8.

42 पञ्च वा एते महयज्ञाः सतति प्रतायन्तं सतति सन्तिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञः । तै. आ. 2. 10. 7.

43 उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अश्वयुयं अश्वदाः सह ते सूर्येण । हिरण्यदा अमृतत्वं भजन्ते वासोदाः सोमं प्र तिरन्त आर्युः ॥ ऋग्वेद X. 107. 2.

44 धन्वन्निव मृषा आसि त्वमग्न इयुक्षवे<sup>1</sup> पूर्वे<sup>1</sup> प्रत्न राजन् । ऋग्वेद X. 4. 1.

45 कंवलपो भवति केवलादी । ऋग्वेद X. 117. 6.



### 3. When Dharmasāstra works were first composed

The important question is to find out when formal treatises on *dharma* began to be composed. It is not possible to give a definite answer to this question. The Nirukta (III. 4-5) shows that long before Yaska heated controversies had raged on various questions of inheritance, such as the exclusion of daughters by sons and the rights of the appointed daughter (*putrikā*). It is very likely that these discussions had found their way in formal works and were not merely confined to the meetings of the learned. The manner in which Yaska writes suggests that he is referring to works in which certain Vedic verses had been cited in support of particular doctrines about inheritance<sup>46</sup>. It is further a remarkable thing that in connection with the topic of inheritance Yaska quotes a verse, calls it a śloka and distinguishes it from a ṛk.<sup>47</sup> This makes it probable that works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed either composed in the śloka metre or containing ślokas. Scholars like Bühler would say that the verses were part of the floating mass of mnemonic verses, the existence of which he postulates without very convincing or cogent arguments in his Introduction to the Manusmṛti (S. B. E. vol. 25 Intro.xc). If works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed before Yaska, a high antiquity will have to be predicated for them. The high antiquity of works on *dharmasāstra* follows from other weighty considerations. It will be seen later on that the extant *dharmasāstras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B. C. Gautama<sup>48</sup> speaks of *dharmasāstras* and the word *dharmasāstra* occurs in Baudhāyana also (IV. 5.9). Baudhāyana speaks of a *dharmapāṭhaka* (I. 1. 9.). Besides Gautama quotes in numerous places the views of others in the words 'ityeke' (e. g. II. 15, II. 58, III. 1, IV. 21, VII. 23). He refers to Manu<sup>49</sup> in one place and to 'Ācāryas' in several places (III. 36, IV. 18 and 23).

<sup>46</sup> अथैतां जाय्या रिक्थप्रतिषेध उदाहरन्ति ज्येष्ठ पुत्रिकाया इत्येके । Vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, LXI (footnote) for Bühler's view refuting Roth's opinion that the whole discussion in the Nirukta is an interpolation.

<sup>47</sup> तदेतदृक्श्लोकाभ्यामभ्युक्तम् । अङ्गदङ्गात्सम्भवसि...स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽयवीत् ॥

<sup>48</sup> गो. ध. सू. 9.21 'तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गानि उपवेदाः पुराणम्', The words पृथग्धर्मविद्वजः in गो. ध. सू. 28.47 appear to refer to students of धर्मशास्त्र.

<sup>49</sup> त्रीणि प्रथमान्यनिर्देशानि मनुः । गो. ध. सू. 21.7.



Baudhāyana mentions by name several writers on dharma, viz. Aupajāṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gāmama, Mandgalya and Hārta. Apastamba also cites the views of numerous sages such as those of Eka, Kaṇva, Kansa, Hārta and others. There is a Vārtika which speaks of Dharmaśāstra<sup>50</sup>. Jaimini speaks of the duties of a Śūdra as laid down in the dharmaśāstra<sup>51</sup>. Patañjali shows that in his days *dharmasūtras* existed and that their authority was very high, being next to the commandments of God<sup>52</sup>. He quotes verses and dogmas that have their counterparts in the dharmaśāstras. The foregoing discussion establishes that works on the *dharmasāstra* existed prior to Yaska or at least prior to the period 600-300 B. C. and in the 2nd century B. C. they had attained a position of supreme authority in regulating the conduct of men.

In this book the whole of the extant literature on *dharma* will be dealt with as follows:—First come the dharmaśāstras, some of which like those of Apastamba, Hiranyakeśin and Bandhāyana form part of a larger Śūtra collection, while there are others like those of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha which do not form part of a larger collection; some *dharmasūtras* like that of Viṣṇu are, in their extant form, comparatively later in date than other *sūtra* works; some *sūtra* works like those of Śāṅkha-Likhita and Pāṭhīnasi are known only from quotations. Then early metrical smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya will be taken up for discussion; then later versified smṛtis like that of Nārada; there are many smṛti works like those of Bṛhaspati and Katyāyana that are known only from quotations. The two epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas also have played a great part in the development of the Dharmaśāstra. The commentaries on the smṛtis, such as those of Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Viṇṇāneśvara, Aparārka, Haradatta will be next passed

50 धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा । Vide महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 242.

51 शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । पृ. मी. सू. VI.7. 6.

52 नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयन्ति नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति अपवादैरुत्सर्गा बाध्यन्तामिति । महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 115 and vol. II, p. 365. एतज्जलि quotes आम्नाश्च सिंकाः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः ( vol. I, p. 14 ) for which vide आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 तद्यथाश्वे कलार्थं निमित्ते छाया गन्ध इत्यनूत्ययेते. एतज्जलि says 'तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम्' and लोमनसं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम् ( vol. I p. 25 ).



in review and then the digests on *dharma* such as the works of Hemadri, Toḍaramalla, Nilakaṇṭha and others.

It is very difficult to settle the chronology of the works on *dharmaśāstra*, particularly of the earlier ones. The present writer does not subscribe to the view of Max Müller (H. A. S. L. p. 68) and others that works in continuous Anuṣṭubh metre followed *sūtra* works<sup>53</sup>. Our knowledge of the works of that period is so meagre that such a generalisation is most unjustifiable. Some works in the continuous śloka metre like the Manusmṛti are certainly older than the Viṣṇudharmasūtra and probably as old as, if not older than, the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra. One of the earliest extant dharmasūtras, that of Baudhāyana, contains long passages in the śloka metre, many of which are quotations and even Āpastamba has a considerable number of verses in the śloka metre. This renders it highly probable that works in the śloka metre existed before them. Besides a large literature on *dharma* existed in the days of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana which has not come down to us. In the absence of that literature it is futile to dogmatise on such a point.

#### 4. The Dharmasūtras.

It seems that originally many, though not all, of the *dharma-sūtras* formed part of the Kalpasūtras and were studied in distinct *sūtracaraṇas*. Some of the extant dharmasūtras here and there show in unmistakable terms that they presuppose the *Gṛhyasūtra* of the *caraṇa* to which they belong. Compare Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 16 with Āp. Gr. S. I. 12 and II. 5; and Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 20 with Baud. Gr. S. II. 11. 42 (and other sūtras)<sup>54</sup>. The Dharmasūtras belonging to all *sūtracaraṇas* have not come down to us. There is no dharmasūtra completing the Āśvalāyana Śrauta and *Gṛhya* sūtras; no Mānavadharmasūtra has yet come to light, though the

<sup>53</sup> Vide S. B. E. vol. II, p. IX, but see Goldstücker's Pāṇini (pp. 59, 60, 78) against Max Müller and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael lectures for 1918, pp. 105-107.

<sup>54</sup> अग्निमिद्ध्वा परितनूय समिध आदध्यात् सायं प्रातरथोपदेशम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 16; अग्निमिद्ध्वा प्रागयेर्देर्भेर्दिग्मि परितनूयानि । आप. गृ. I. 12 and इहमादाया-चारावाधारयानि दर्शपूर्णमासवत्तूष्णीम् । आप. गृ. II. 5; शेषमुक्तमष्टकाहमे (बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 20) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 11. 42; मूर्ध्न्यललाटनासाग्रप्रमाणा याज्ञिकस्य वृक्षस्य दण्डाः (बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 16) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 5. 66 and other places where पलाश is one of the याज्ञिक trees.



Mānava Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras are extant ; in the same way we have the Śāṅkhayana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras, but no Śāṅkhayanadharmasūtra. It is only in the case of the Āpastamba, Hiranyakeśin and Baudhāyana Sūtracarāṇas that we have a complete *kalpa* tradition with its three components of Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras. The Tantravārtika of Kumārila contains very interesting observations on this point. It tells us that Gautama ( dharmasūtra ) and Gobhila ( gṛhyasūtra ) were studied by the *Chandogas* ( Sāmavedins ), Vasiṣṭha ( dharmasūtra ) by the R̥gvedins, the dharmasūtra of Śāṅkha-Likhita by the followers of Vājasaneyasaṁhitā and the sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana by the followers of the Taittiriya Śākhā<sup>55</sup>. The Tantravārtika ( p. 179 ) establishes it as a *sidhānta* ( on Jaimini I. 3. 11 ) that all the *dharma* and *gṛhya* sūtras are authoritative for all Aryan people. From this it appears that although originally all sūtracarāṇas might not have possessed dharmasūtras composed by the founder of the *carāṇa* or ascribed to him, yet gradually certain dharmasūtras were specially taken over or appropriated by certain *carāṇas*. As the dharmasūtras were mostly concerned with rules about the conduct of men as members of the Aryan community and did not deal with ritual of any kind, all dharmasūtras gradually became authoritative in all schools.

The dharmasūtras were closely connected with the gṛhyasūtras in subjects and topics. Most of the Gṛhyasūtras treat of the sacred domestic fire, the divisions of Gṛhya sacrifices, the regular morning and evening oblations, sacrifices on new and full moon, sacrifices of cooked food, annual sacrifices, marriage, *pūṁsavana*, jātakarma, upanayana and other *samhikāras*, rules for students and *snātakas* and holidays, śrāddha offerings, madhuparka. In most cases the Gṛhyasūtras confine themselves principally to the various events of domestic life ; they rarely give rules about the conduct of men, their rights, duties and responsibilities. The dharmasūtras also contain rules on some of the above topics such as marriage and the *samhikāras*,

55 तन्त्रवार्तिकं p. 179 'पुराणमानवंनिहासव्यतिरिक्तगौतमवासिष्ठशङ्खलिक्षितहारीनापस्तम्ब-  
बौधायनादिप्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्यग्रन्थानां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्षणवन्मतिचरणं पाठव्यव-  
स्थोपलभ्यते । तद्यथा गौतमीयगोभिलीये छन्दोगेरेव परिगृहीते । वासिष्ठं बह्वेरेव शङ्ख-  
लिक्षितोक्तं च वाजसनेयिभिः । आपस्तम्बबौधायनीये तैत्तिरीयेरेव प्रतिपन्ने । एवं तत्र तत्र  
गृह्यव्यवस्थाभ्युपगमादि दर्शयित्वा विचारयितव्यम् । किं तानि तेषामेव प्रमाणान्युत  
सर्वेषाम् । ( on पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 11 ).



rules for Brahmacharya and snātakas and holidays, on śrāddha and madhuparka. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in the Āpastamba-grhyasūtra the topics of the duties of the Brahmachārī and of the house-holder, of *atithis* and of *śrāddha* are meagrely treated as compared with the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra. The dharmasūtras very rarely describe the ritual of domestic life; they merely touch upon it; their scope is wider and more ambitious; their principal purpose is to dilate upon the rules of conduct, law and custom. Some sūtras are common to both the Āpastamba-grhya and the dharma sūtras<sup>56</sup>. Sometimes the grhyasūtra appears to refer to the dharmasūtra<sup>57</sup>. There are certain points which distinguish the dharmasūtras (the more ancient of them at least) from smṛtis. (a) Many dharmasūtras are either parts of the Kalpa belonging to each sūtracāraṇa or are intimately connected with the grhyasūtras. (b) The dharmasūtras sometimes betray some partiality in their Vedic quotations for the texts of that Veda to which they belong or in the caranās of which they are studied. (c) The authors of the (older) dharmasūtras do not claim to be inspired seers or superhuman beings<sup>58</sup>, while the other smṛtis such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya are ascribed to Gods like Brahmā. (d) The dharmasūtras are in prose or in mixed prose and verse; the other smṛtis are in verse. (e) The language of the dharmasūtras is generally more archaic than that of the other smṛtis. (f) The dharmasūtras do not proceed upon any orderly arrangement of topics, while the other smṛtis (even the oldest of them, viz. Manusmṛiti) arrange their contents and treat of the subjects under three principal heads viz. *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*. (g) Most of the dharmasūtras are older than most of the other smṛtis.

### 5. The Dharmasūtra of Gautama.

This has been printed several times (there is Dr. Stenzler's edition of 1876, the Calcutta edition of 1876, the Anandaśrama

56 e. g. पालाशो दण्डो ब्राह्मणस्य... इत्यवर्णसंयोगेनैक उपदिशन्ति । आप. गृ. IV. 17. 15. 16 and आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 38.

57 e. g. the आप. गृ. says 'मासि श्राद्धस्यापरपक्षे यथोपदेशं कालाः' (VIII. 21. 1.). This has in view आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 4-22.

58 Compare गौ. ध. I. 3-4 and आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4. 'तस्माद्वयं ऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिशयान्' and आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 9 तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदित्यवरः.



edition with the commentary of Haradatta, and the Mysore Government edition with the bhāṣya of Maskari; it was translated by Bühler in S. B. E., Vol. II. with an introduction). The Ānandāśrama edition of 1910 which is incorrect in a few places (e. g. 21. 7) has been used in this work. This dharmasūtra is, as we shall see, the oldest of those we have. The Gautama-dharmasūtra was specially studied by followers of the Sāmaveda (see note 55 above). The commentary on the Caranavyūha tells us that Gautama was one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṇyaniya school of the Sāmaveda. A teacher Gautama is mentioned frequently in the Laṭyāyanaśrautasūtra (e. g. I. 3. 3 and I. 4. 17) and in the Drahyaṇaśrauta (e. g. I. 4. 17, IX. 3. 15) of the Sāmaveda. The Gobhilagrhya (III. 10. 6) which belongs to the Sāmaveda cites Gautama as an authority. Therefore it is not improbable that a complete Gautamasūtra embodying Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma doctrines once existed. There are other indications pointing to the close connection of the Gautama-dharmasūtra with the Sāmaveda. Chapter 26 of the dharmasūtra about *Kṛicbra* penance is the same, almost word for word, as the Sāmavidhāna<sup>59</sup> Brāhmaṇa (I. 2, Burnell's ed.). Among the purificatory texts (21 in number) mentioned in Gau. Dh. S. (19. 12) there are nine that are Sāmans. The mention of the five utterances ('Vyāhrtis') resembles the number in the Vyāhrtisāma<sup>60</sup> though the order is different. It is however to be noted that Gautama is a generic name. In the Kathopaniṣad, both Naciketas (II. 4. 15, II. 5. 6) and his father (I. 1. 10) are styled Gautama. In the Chāndogyaopaniṣad there is a teacher Hāridrumata Gautama (IV. 4. 3).

59 There are however considerable divergences; e. g. गो. ध. सू. 26. 10-12 are 'आपो हि ष्वेति तिसृभिः पवित्रवतीमिर्माज्यीत हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका इत्यष्टाभिः । अधोदकतर्पणम् । नमोऽहमाय &c. while the सामविधान is 'आपोऽहिषीयाभिरधोदकतर्पणं नमोऽहमाय'. गो. ध. सू. 26. 12 contains many additions. Wherever there is divergence, it is generally Gautama that amplifies the passages found in the सामविधान.

60 गो. ध. सू. I. 52 अपूर्वा व्याहृतयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः. Again in गो. ध. सू. 25. 8 we have प्रतिषिद्धवाह्नयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः; while in गो. 28. 8. the five व्याहृतis seem to be भूः, भुवः, स्वः, तपः, सत्यं. As Haradatta remarks the five व्याहृतis in व्याहृतिसाम are भूः, भुवः, स्वः, सत्यं, पुरुषः. The व्याहृतis are generally declared to be seven (तै. आ. 10. 28.1), the first three being styled महाव्याहृतis (vide मनु II. 81.)



According to Haradatta the dharmasūtra has 28 chapters. The Calcutta edition adds one chapter on *Karmavipāka* after chapter 19. In many places Gautama unmistakably refers to his own previous dicta; e. g. Yathoktam vā (23. 16) refers to 23. 10; 23. 26 refers to 17. 8-26; 17. 18 refers to 15. 18. The following are briefly the contents of the Gautamadharmasūtra:—1. Sources of dharma, rules about interpretation of texts, time of *Upanayana* for the four *varṇas*, the appropriate girdle, deer skin, cloth and staff for each *Varṇa*, rules about *śauca* and *ācamana*, method of approaching the teacher; 2 rules about those not invested with sacred thread, rules for the *brahmacārin*, control of pupils, period of study; 3 The four *āśramas*, the duties of *brahmacārin*, *bhikṣu*, and *vaikhāṇasa*; 4 rules about the house-holder, marriage, age at time of marriage, eight forms of marriage, sub-castes; 5 rules about sexual intercourse on marriage, the five great daily sacrifices, the rewards of gifts, *madhuparka*, method of honouring guests of the several castes; 6 rules about showing respect to parents, relatives (male and female) and teachers, rules of the road; 7 rules about the avocations of a *brāhmaṇa*, avocations for him in distress, what articles a *brāhmaṇa* could not sell or deal in; 8 the forty *samśkāras* and the eight spiritual qualities (such as *daya*, forbearance &c.); 9 the observances for a *snātaka* and householder; 10 the peculiar duties of the four castes, the responsibilities of the king, taxation, sources of ownership, treasure-trove, guardianship of minor's wealth; 11 *Rājadharmā*, the qualities of the king's *purohita*; 12 punishments for libel, abuse, assault, hurt, adultery and rape, theft in the case of the several *varṇas* and rules about money-lending and usury and adverse possession, special privileges of *brāhmaṇas* as to punishments; payment of debts, deposits; 13 rules about witnesses, falsehoods when excusable; 14 rules of impurity on birth and death; 15 *Śrāddha* of five kinds, persons not fit to be invited at *Śrāddha*; 16 *Upākarma*, period of Vedic study in the year, holidays and occasions for them; 17 rules about food allowed and forbidden to *Brāhmaṇas* and other castes; 18 the duties of women, *niyoga* and its conditions, discussion about the son born of *niyoga*; 19 the causes and occasions of *prāyaścitta*, five things that remove sin (*japa*, *tapas*, *homa*, fasting, gifts), purificatory Vedic prayers, holy food for one who practises *japa*, various kinds of *tapas* and gifts, appropriate times and places for *japa* &c; 20 abandoning a sinner who does not undergo *prāyaścitta* and the way of doing it; 21 sinners of various grades, *mahāpātakas*, *upapātakas*



&c. ; 22 *prāyaścittas* for various sins such as *brahmahatyā*, adultery, killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, cow and other animals &c. ; 23 *prāyaścitta* for drinking wine, and nasty things, for incest and unnatural offences, and for several transgressions by *brahmacārin* ; 24 secret *prāyaścittas* for *mahāpātakas* and *upapātakas* ; 26 the penances called *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra* ; 27 the penance called *Cāndrāyana* ; 28 partition, *stridhana*, reunion, twelve kinds of sons, inheritance.

The Gautama-dharmasūtra is written entirely in prose and it contains no verses either quoted or composed by the author himself, as is the case with the other *dharmasūtras*. Here and there occur sūtras that look like portions of Anuṣṭubh verses e.g. 23. 27<sup>61</sup>. The language of Gautama agrees far more closely with the standard set up by Pāṇini than the *dharmasūtras* of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. It is not very easy to account for this difference. It is obvious that commentators and generations of students that were brought up in the tradition of the Pāṇinean grammar tampered with the text and improved it in accordance with their notions of correct Sanskrit. But why this process should not have been carried out to the same extent in the case of Āpastamba it is difficult to say. A conjecture may be hazarded that the Āp. Dh. S. being a well-knit component of the Āp. *Kalpa* and being studied as such was less liable to being tampered with than the Gautama Dh. S., which probably did not in its origin belong to any particular *kalpa*. The same commentator, Haradatta, explained both Gautama and Āpastamba. Haradatta, who as will be seen later on, was a great grammarian, shows in several places that the current reading was ungrammatical from the Pāṇinean stand-point and that he preferred readings that were in consonance with Pāṇini's rules<sup>62</sup>. There are still a few un-Pāṇinean words, e.g. in 1. 14 ('*dvāvimśateḥ*' for *dvāvimśat*') and 9. 52 (*kulāṅkula*). The *Tantravārtika* (p. 99) appears

61 आक्रोशानृत्तिस्मास्तु त्रिरात्रं परमं तपः ।

62 e. g. on गो. ध. सू. 16. 21 (कर्मजुषं च सामशब्दो यावत्) he says 'कर्मजुषश्च कर्मजुषम् । अचतुरेत्यादिना निपातः । बह्वन्तपाठस्तु (i. e. कर्मजुषा) नास्मभ्यं रोचते ;' on गो. ध. सू. 25. 8 (प्रतिषिद्धवाङ्मनसापचारे) he says 'वाङ्मनसोरिति पाठोऽस्मभ्यं न रोचते । अचतुरेति समासान्तविधिप्रसङ्गात् ।'



to discuss the various readings in Gautama (I. 45<sup>61</sup>). A few sūtras quoted from Gautama in the *Mitākṣarā* (e. g. the sūtra 'utpatyaiva arthsvāmitvam labhante'), the *Śmṛticandrikā* ( 'dvyamśam vā pūrvajāḥ syāt ') and other works are not found in the extant text. This fact along with the fact of an interpolation of one chapter makes it clear that the present text of Gautama is of somewhat doubtful authority.

The literature known to the Gautama-dharmasūtra was extensive. Besides the Vedic saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas it mentions the following works; Upaniṣads (19. 13), the Vedaṅgas (8. 5 and 11. 19), Itihāsa (8. 6), Purāṇa (8. 6 and 11. 19), Upaveda (11. 19), dharmasāstra (11. 19). That he borrows a chapter from the Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa has been mentioned above. He borrows the first six sūtras of the 25th chapter from the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (11. 18). The śramaṇaka (in Gautama III. 26) is, according to Haradatta, the Vaikhāṇasa-śāstra (either composed by Vikhaṇas or treating of the duties of hermits). Gautama refers to Ānvikṣiki (XI. 3). The only teacher of *dharma* he quotes by name in Manu (in 21. 7) who is cited for the proposition that there is no expiation for the three sins of *brāhmahatyā*, drinking wine and violation of the bed of the *guru*. Haradatta says that in the extant Manusmṛiti the same propositions are laid down about *brāhmahatyā* and *surāpāna* (in Manu 11. 89 and 146 respectively), but that as to violation of *guru-talpa* a passage from the Manusmṛiti has to be searched out (i. e. such a passage is not found there). From this Bühler drew the conclusion that Gautama refers to the dharmasūtra attributed to Manu (and not to any versified Manu-smṛiti). But Bühler is not right in drawing this inference. In the first place in spite of what Haradatta says there are verses in the extant Manusmṛiti (XI. 104-105) which say that death is the expiation for violation of the *guru's* bed. In the second place there is nothing to show, even if Haradatta were correct, that Gautama refers only to a *dharmasūtra* of Manu and not to a versified work. Besides Manu, Gautama frequently quotes certain views ascribed to the 'Ācāryas' (e. g. III. 35, IV. 18). What teachers are meant by the word 'Ācāryaḥ' (which occurs in the Nirukta, in Kauṭilya and various other works), it is difficult to say.

61 It follows from the discussion in the तन्त्रवार्तिक that the ancient *pāṭha* in its day was 'लेपगन्धापकर्षणं शौचममेव्यलिप्तस्य' while the present text has 'शौचममेव्यस्य'. Vide वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र III. 48 which reads 'पुष्पकर्षणं शौचममेव्यलिप्तस्य' etc.



Probably the word means 'the general traditional view of most writers in that particular śāstra on a particular point.' In numerous places Gautama refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (2. 15, 40 and 56, 3. 1, 4. 17, 7. 23 &c.) and 'ekeṣām' (28. 17 and 38). This proves that Gautama was preceded by great literary activity in the sphere of dharmasāstra. Gautama 11. 28 seems to be a reminiscence of the Nirukta (II. 3)<sup>64</sup>.

The earliest reference to Gautama as an author on dharma occurs in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra. Baudhāyana discusses the authoritativeness of usages peculiar to the north or the south and quotes Gautama as saying that it is wrong to hold that certain customs must be held authoritative in certain countries (even though opposed to Vedic tradition and smṛti). This refers to G. Dh. S. 11. 20. In another place Baudhāyana gives it as his view that a Brāhmaṇa, if he cannot make a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or by gifts, should earn his livelihood as a Kṣatriya and quotes the views of Gautama as opposed to this<sup>65</sup>. The extant Gautama on the other hand teaches the same view as that of Baudhāyana<sup>66</sup>. Bühler made the plausible suggestion that the sūtra in the extant Gautama is an interpolation. Govindasvāmī, the commentator of Baudhāyana, suggests that another Gautama is referred to by Baudhāyana. It is possible to suggest that in the Ms. of Gautama used by Baudhāyana the sūtra about living as a Kṣatriya did not occur and the next sūtra about living as a Vaiśya alone occurred. Chapter 19 of the Gautama-dharmasūtra which forms an introduction to *prāyaścittas* in Gautama seems to have been borrowed wholesale by Baudhāyana (III. 10) with slight changes. That Baudhāyana borrows follows from the fact that the chapter in Baudhāyana occurs in the middle of the discussion about *prāyaścittas* and not as an introduction, which is the case in Gautama. Baudhāyana treats of penances in several places (II. 1, III. 5. 10 and IV. 1. 4). There are besides many sūtras in both Gautama and Baudhāyana that exhibit a close correspondence, e. g.

64 'दण्डो दमनादित्याहुस्तेनादान्तान्दमयेत्.' The Nirukta has 'दण्डो ददते... दमनादित्यौप-मन्यवः'.

65 'अध्यापनवाजनप्रतिग्रहैरशक्तः क्षत्रधर्मेण जीवेत्प्रत्यनन्तरत्वात् । नेति गौतमोत्सुभो हि क्षत्रधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्य ।' गो. ध. सू. II. 2. 69-70.

66 'याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहाः सर्वेषाम् । पूर्वः पूर्वो गुरुः । तदलामे क्षत्रवृत्तिः । तदलामे वैश्यवृत्तिः ।' गो. ध. सू. 7. 4-7.



Gautama III. 25-34 and Baudhāyana II. 6. 17 about Vaikhāṇasa, Gaut. 3. 3 and 35 and Baud. II. 6. 29, Gaut. 15. 29 and Baud. II. 8. 2, Gaut. 23. 8-10 and Baud. II. 1. 12-14, Gaut. 24. 2 and Baud. II. 3. 8. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 25 speaks of *Smṛti* as laying down that up to *upanayana* there is no *adhikāra* for *homa*. This probably refers to Gautama II. 1-3. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra also quotes the views of Gautama in two places (4. 34 and 36, impurity on death). The first refers to Gautama 4. 41 but the second cannot be traced in the extant Gautama. Chapter 22 of Vasiṣṭha is borrowed from the Gautamadharmasūtra, chapter 19. There are besides many sūtras that are the same or almost the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha, e. g. Gautama 3. 31-33 and Vas. 9. 1-3, Gaut. 3. 26 and Vas. 9. 10, Gaut. 1. 44 and Vas. 3. 37, Gaut. 1. 40 and Vas. 3. 38, Gaut. 1. 45-46 and Vas. 3. 48, Gaut. 1. 28 and Vas. 3. 49, Gaut. 14. 5-7 and Vas. 4. 24-26. Gautama is referred to in the Manusmṛti (III. 16) as the son of Utathya. Gautama is one of the authors of *dharmasūtras* enumerated in Yājñavalkya (I. 5). Aparārka quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which speaks of Gautama's prohibition about drinking<sup>67</sup>. Similarly Kullūka (on Manu XI. 146) quotes a verse from the same Purāṇa which refers to Gautama 23.2. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika quotes over a dozen sūtras from Gautama which present the same text as we have<sup>68</sup>. Gautama 11. 29 and 12. 4 are quoted by Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8 and I. 3. 38 respectively. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya quotes numerous sūtras from Gautama. In Medhātithi's *bhāṣya* on Manu the writer more frequently quoted than any other is Gautama (e. g. on Manu II. 6, VIII. 125 &c.).

The foregoing discussion about the literature known to the Gautama Dh. S. and the authors and works that mention Gautama or quote the dharmasūtra helps us in arriving at the approximate age of the dharmasūtra. He is separated by a long interval from the Sāmavedhāna Brāhmaṇa. He is later than Yāska and wrote at a time when Pāṇini's system was either not in existence or had not attained a pre-eminent position. The extant text was known to Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and was in the same state long before 700 A. D. The sūtra betrays no knowledge of the onslaught delivered on Brahma-

67 प्रतिषेधः सुरापाने मयस्य च नराधिप । द्विजोत्तमानामेवोकः सततं गोतमादिभिः ॥

मविष्यत्पुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 1076.

68 Vide JBBRAS vol. I ( new series ) for 1925, pp. 66-67.



nism by Buddha and his followers. He uses the term *Bhikṣu* ( 3. 10 ) instead of the term *parivrajaka* that occurs in *Baudhāyana*, *Āpastamba* and other *sūtra* works and lays down that a *bhikṣu* is to stay in one place in the rains, which reminds one of the Buddhist 'bhikkhu' and 'Vasso'. Gautama cites the opinion of some that Yavana is the offspring of a Kṣatriya male and a Śūdra female ( 4. 17 ). It is supposed by many scholars that the Yavanas became known to the Indians only at the time of Alexander's invasion and hence every work in which the word *yavana* occurs must be later than 320 B. C. Bühler ( S. B. E. vol. II. Intro. lvi. ) seems to suggest that the *sūtra* where the word Yavana occurs in Gautama may be an interpolation. This is not a satisfactory explanation. One may ask, if Bühler believes that the Indians borrowed their alphabet centuries before Alexander from the neighbours of the Greeks, why it is improbable that the Indians may not have heard of the word Yavana centuries before Alexander and why Yavanas may not have resided in India long before that date. Taking all these things into consideration the Gautama-dharmaśūtra cannot be placed later than the period between 600-400 B. C.

Haradatta wrote a learned commentary on the Gautama-dharmaśūtra called *Mitākṣarā*. For an account *vide* sec. 87 below. In numerous places he quotes the explanations of other commentators of Gautama ( e. g. 9. 52; 10. 12, 56, 66; 11. 17; 12. 32; 21. 9 &c. ). The *bhāṣya* of Maskari, son of Vāmana, is also a learned one, but may probably be later than Haradatta, since the interpretations which he quotes as given by others are found to be those of Haradatta ( *vide* on Gaut. 12. 30, 13. 20-22 ).

Asahāya seems to have written a *bhāṣya* on Gautama; *vide* sec. 59 below.

The *Mitākṣarā*, the *Smṛticandrikā*, Hemādri, Mādhava, and other writers quote a *śloka*-Gautama. *Vide* *Parāśara-Mādhaviya*, vol. I, part I, p. 7. Aparārka, Hemādri and Mādhava quote *Vṛddha-Gautama*, while the *Dattakamīmāṃsā* ( p. 72 ) quotes *Vṛddha-Gaut.* and *Bṛhad-Gaut.* side by side on the same point. These are later works. Jivānanda publishes a *smṛti* of *Vṛddha-Gautama* in 22 chapters and about 1700 verses ( part II, pp. 497-636 ), where it is said that Yudhiṣṭhira asked Kṛṣṇa about the *dharma*s of the four castes. This *smṛti* seems to have been originally taken from the *Āśvamedhikaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, as Mādhava and others cite



verses occurring in it as from that parva (vide Parāśaramādhaviya vol. I, part I, pp. 108-110).

### 6. The Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra.

This has been edited several times (text by Dr. Hultsch at Leipzig in 1884, text in the Ānandaśrama collection of *smṛtis* and in the Mysore Government Oriental Series in 1907 with the commentary of Govindasvāmin; translated in S. B. E., Vol. 14, with an Introduction). The Mysore edition has been used in this work. Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. A complete set of the Baudhāyanasūtras has not yet been recovered and has not been as carefully preserved as the sūtras of Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin. Dr. Burnell arranges Baudhāyana's sūtras into six sūtras, the Śrautasūtra in 19 prāśnas (probably); Karmāntasūtra in 20 adhyāyas; Dvaidhasūtra in four prāśnas; Grhyasūtra in four prāśnas; Dharmasūtra in four prāśnas; Śulvasūtra in three adhyāyas. The commentators offer no indication as to the place originally assigned to the *grhya*, *dharma* and *śulva* sūtras in the whole collection. Dr. Caland in his monograph (A. D. 1903) 'Über das Rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana' gives on p. 12 the contents of the Baudhāyanasūtra as follows:—Prāśnas I-XXI Śrauta, XXII-XXV Dvaidha, XXVI-XXVIII Karmānta; XXIX-XXXI Prāyaścitta, XXXII Śulvasūtra, XXXIII-XXXV Grhyasūtra, XXXVI Grhyaprāyaścitta; XXXVII Grhyaparibhāṣā, XXXVIII-XLI Grhyapariśiṣṭa; XLII-XLIV Piṭṛmedha, XLV Pravara, XLVI-XLIX Dharma. Dr. Caland edited nine *prāśnas* of the Śrautasūtra for the B. I. Series (A. D. 1904). Dr. R. Shamsastri published for the Mysore University (in 1920) the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra with *paribhāṣā*, *grhyāṣeṣa*, Piṭṛmedhasūtra. The Grhyasūtra cites the view of Baudhāyana himself (I. 7). The Baudhāyana-dharma refers to the Grhya and presupposes it in several places (vide note 54). In the Baudhāyanagrhya (III. 9. 6) we have a reference to *padakāra* Ātreya, Vṛttikāra Kauṇḍinya, pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana, and Sūtrakāra Āpastamba.<sup>68a</sup> A similar passage

68a अथ दक्षिणतः प्रार्थनावीतिनो वेश्मयनाय फलिङ्गवे तित्तिरये उस्सायोस्सायास्त्रये आत्रेयाय पदकाराय कोण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय कण्वाय बोधायनाय प्रवचनकारायापस्तम्बाय सूत्रकाराय सत्याबाढाय हिरण्यकेशाय वाजसनेनाय याज्ञवल्क्याय भरद्वाजायाम्निवेशयायाचार्येभ्य ऊर्ध्वरेतोभ्यो वानप्रस्थेभ्यो वंशस्थेभ्य एकपत्नीभ्यः कल्पयामीति. The epithets must be understood as arranged above, since elsewhere the epithet सूत्रकार is specially appropriated to आपस्तम्ब. The हिरण्यकेशिगुण (II. 20. 1,



occurs in the Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 27 Ṛṣitatpāṇa) we have Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba sūtrakāra and Satyaśādha Hiranyakeśin one after another. These references show that Kaṇva Bodhāyana was an ancient sage when the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was written and that he could not have been the author of the gṛhya or the dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana. Baudhāyana may have been a descendant of this Kaṇva Bodhāyana. This surmise is supported by Govindasvāmin who explains Baudhāyana occurring in Baudhāyanadharmasūtra I. 3. 13, as Kaṇvāyana. In the dharmasūtra Baudhāyana is himself cited as an authority several times (e. g. I. 4. 15 and 24, III. 5. 8, III. 6. 20). In all these places the Mysore edition reads Bodhāyana, while the Ānandaśrama reads Baudhāyana. In one or two places he is styled 'bhagavān' (III. 6. 20). Several explanations are offered by the commentator Govindasvāmin (on I. 3. 13). He says that it is the practice of the Ācāryas to refer to themselves in the third person (as Medhātithi says on Manu<sup>69</sup>), or that the author of the dharmasūtra is a pupil of Baudhāyana as the Manusmṛti is promulgated by Bhṛgu, the pupil of Manu, or there was some other Baudhāyana whose works have not come down to us.

The following are the contents of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra:—*Praśna* 1:—Sources of *dharma*, who are *śiṣṭas*, *pariśad*, different practices of northern and southern India, countries where *śiṣṭas* reside and where mixed castes reside, *prāyaścitta* for visiting countries of the latter type; 2. Studenthood for 48, 24 or 12 years, time of *upanayana* and the girdle, skin, staff appropriate to each caste, duties of *brahmacārin*, eulogy of *brahmacārya*; 3. The duties of the *snātaka* who has completed his studies and observances but has not yet married; 4. directions about carrying the earthen jar (in the case of the *snātaka*); 5. bodily and mental *śauca*, purification of various substances, impurity on birth and death, meaning of *sapinda* and *sakulya*, rules of inheritance, purification on touching a corpse or a woman in her menses or on dog-bite, what flesh and food was

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ed. by Kirete in 1889) makes this clear. It reads 'आत्रेयाय पदकाराय कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय सूत्रकारेभ्यः सत्यापादाय प्रवचनकर्तृभ्य आचार्येभ्यः &c. भारद्वाजगृह्य (quoted by Dr. Caland in 'Über das Rituals &c. p. 3. n. 2) reads 'बोधायनाय भरद्वाजाय सूत्रकारायापस्तम्बाय सर्वेभ्यः सूत्रकारेभ्यः &c.'

<sup>69</sup> 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकाराः स्वमतं परापदेशेन ब्रुवन्ते.'



allowed and forbidden ; 6. Purification from the point of view of sacrifice, purification of clothes, ground, grass, fuel, vessels, and articles used in sacrifice ; 7. Rules about the importance from the sacrificial point of view of sacrifice, of the sacrificial utensils, priests, the sacrificer and his wife, ghee, cooked offerings, the victim, *soma* and fires ; 8. The four *varṇas* and the sub-castes ; 9. Mixed castes ; 10. the duties of kings, the five great sins and punishments for them, punishments for killing birds, witnesses ; 11. The eight forms of marriage, holidays ; *Praśna* II. 1. *Prāyaścittas* for *brahmahatyā* and other great sins, *prāyaścittas* for a *brahmachārin* violating his vow of celibacy, for marrying a *sagotra* girl, for marrying before elder brother, sins lesser than the great ones, description of such penances as *Parāka*, *Kṛcchra*, *Atikṛcchra* ; 2. Partition of heritage, larger share for the eldest, the several substitutes for an *aurasa* son, exclusion from inheritance, dependence of women, *prāyaścitta* for adultery by men and women, rules about *niyoga*, means of subsistence in distress, continuous duties of the house-holder such as *Agnihotra* &c. ; 3. The daily duties of the householder such as bathing, *ācamana*, *Vaiśvadeva*, giving food ; 4. *Sandhyā* ; 5. Rules about the manner of bathing, of *Ācamana*, worship of the sun, and about the method of propitiating (‘*tarpaṇa*’) gods, sages and *pitṛis* ; 6. The five great daily *yajñas* ; the four castes and their duties ; 7. regulations about dinner ; 8. *Śrāddha* ; 9. eulogy of sons and spiritual benefit from sons ; 10. rules about *sannyāsa* ; *Praśna* III. 1. modes of subsistence for the two kinds of householders, *Śālīna* and *Yayāvara* ; 2. the means of subsistence called ‘*Ṣaṇnivartanī*’ ; 3. the duties of the forest hermit and his means of livelihood ; 4. *prāyaścitta* for not observing the vows of *brahmachārin* or householder ; 5. method of reciting *Aghamarṣaṇa*, the holiest of texts ; 6. the ritual of *prasṭayāvaka* ; 7. the purificatory *homa* called *Kūṣmāṇḍa* ; 9. the penance called *candrāyana* ; 9 the recital of the Vedas without taking food ; 10. theories about purifications for sin, purifying things ; *Praśna* IV. 1. *prāyaścittas* of various kinds viz. for eating forbidden food or drink &c. ; 2. *prāṇāyāmas* and *Aghamarṣaṇa* as purifiers in case of several sins ; 3. secret *prāyaścittas* ; 4. Various Vedic texts as *prāyaścittas* ; 5. Means of securing *siddhi* by means of *japa*, *homa*, *iṣṭi* and *yantra* : the penances called *Kṛcchra*, *Ati-Kṛcchra*, *Sāntapana*, *Parāka*, *Candrāyana* ; 6. the muttering (*japa*) of holy texts, the *iṣṭis* ; 7. praise of *Yantras*, various Vedic texts used in *homa* ; 8. censure of those who enter on the means of *siddhi* out of great greed, permis-



sion to get these things done through another in certain circumstances.

The extant Dharmasūtra does not appear to have come down intact. The fourth *praśna* is most probably an interpolation. Most of the eight chapters of that *praśna* are full of verses, the portion in prose being very small. The last three chapters (6-8) are entirely in verse. The style is quite different from that of the first two *praśnas*. The first five chapters of the fourth *praśna* dealing with *prāyaścittas* are more or less superfluous, the same subject having been dealt with in II. 1 and III. 4-10. Some of the sūtras in the earlier *praśnas* are repeated *verbatim* in the fourth, e. g. II. I. 33-34 and IV. 2. 10-11 (*avakīrṇi-prāyaścitta*). The third *praśna* also is not free from doubt. The tenth chapter of the third *praśna* is as said above taken from Gautama. The sixth chapter of the third *praśna* agrees very closely in phrasology with the 48th chapter of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. But it is rather difficult to say which is the borrower. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. Vol. VII. p. XIX) is inclined to think that both borrowed from a common source. It seems more probable that Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana, as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra uses the form 'punīta' in place of 'punatha' (in Baud.) and as the Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra omits all reference to Rudra (Baud. III. 6. 12.) and omits the words "gaṇān paśyati, gaṇādhipatiṃ paśyati... bhagavān Bodhāyanaḥ" (Baud III. 6. 20.). In the Mysore edition all the four *praśnas* of the *Dharmasūtra* are divided into *adhyāyas*, but the Mss used by Bühler appear to have divided the first two *praśnas* into *kaṇḍikās* and the last two into *adhyāyas*. There are many repetitions even in the first two *praśnas*, which therefore make one rather doubtful about the authenticity of the first two *praśnas* also in their entirety. For example II. 6. 11 and 31 are identical; in II. 7. 22 and II. 10. 53 the same verse ("aṣṭau grāsā" &c.) is quoted. Such repetitions are frequent in the two last *praśnas* e. g. III. 2. 16 and III. 3. 23; III. 4. 5 and III. 7. 12. Some of the quotations ascribed to Baudhāyana in the *Mitākṣarā* and other works are not taken from the *dharmasūtra*, but from the *Gṛhyasūtra* or its supplements (e. g. the words 'ekāṃ śākhāṃ-adhite śrotṛiṇaḥ' quoted in the *Mit.* on Yaj. III. 24, which are cited by Hultsch (on p. 125) are taken from the *Gṛhya* (vide note 78 below).

The Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana is somewhat loose in structure and is not concise. Govindasvāmin remarks (on I. 2. 19.) that



Baudhāyana does not aim at brevity.<sup>70</sup> Several subjects are treated of in two places and often without any logical connection with what precedes or follows. Rules of inheritance (*dāya-bhāga*) occur in the midst of rules about *prāyaścitta* (in II. 2.); rules about holidays (*anadhya*) occur immediately after the eight forms of marriage and the condemnation of the sale of a daughter (I. 11). Rules about *snātaka* occur in two places (I. 3 and II. 3. 10 ff.). Baudhāyana quotes at least 90 verses introduced by the words "*athāpyudāharanti*," more than 80 being from the first two *prāśnas* alone. There are over two hundred other verses, about 80 of which occur in the first two *prāśnas* and about ten are Vedic. Some of the verses even in the first two *prāśnas* do not appear to be quotations e. g. I. 1. 16, II. 2. 1, II. 3. 50, II. 3. 52-54 and 56. A verse quoted is in the *Varṣasṭha* metre (IV. 3. 14); there are two verses in the *Upajati* metre taken as a quotation (II. 3. 18). There are some prose quotations introduced with the words "*athāpyudāharanti*" (e. g. II. 4. 5 and II. 6. 30 which refers to the *asura* Kapila, son of *Prahlāda*). The language of the Baud. Dh. S. is archaic and often departs from the Pāṇinian standard. Baudhāyana employs such un-Pāṇinian forms as "*grhya*" (for *grhitvā* in II. 5. 1), *pūjya* (II. 9. 5.), "*adhigacchānaḥ*" (in II. 9. 9.), *ānayitvā* (III. 3. 6), "*punatha*" (in III. 6. 5, probably a quotation), "*tebhiḥ*" (for *taiḥ* in III. 2. 16, a quotation). In several places Baudhāyana states opposite views and then gives his own opinion on the point, e. g. Baud. I. 5. 105-109 (about impurity on birth); II. 1. 49-51.

As regards the literature known to Baudhāyana the following points may be noted. All the four Vedas are mentioned by name in II. 5. 27 (*tarpaṇa*). He quotes very frequently the *Taittiriya Saṁhitā*, *Tai. Brāhmaṇa* and the *Tai. Āraṇyaka* (in the *Āndhra* recension). Well-known hymns of the *R̥gveda* such as the *Aghamarṣaṇa*, the *Puruṣasūkta* and also simple '*ṛks*' are frequently referred to. In III. 10 (which is almost the same as *Gautama* 19) there is a *sūtra* enumerating the *Upaniṣads*, the *Saṁhitās* of all the Vedas and several *sāmans* as putificatory texts. There are long quotations taken from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (XI. 3. 3. 1 ff and XI. 5. 6. 3) in Baud. (1.2.52 about *brahmacāri* and II.6. 7-9 about *brahmayajña*). It is noteworthy that in the *tarpaṇa* there is an invocation of the

<sup>70</sup> ननु द्विजातिषु स्वकर्मस्थेषु इति सूत्रयितव्ये किमिति सूत्रद्वयारम्भः । सत्यं, अयं हाचार्यो नृतीति चान्यलाप्याभिप्रायो भवति ।



Atharvaveda and immediately afterwards of the Atharvāṅgirasah. The same is found in the Baudhāyanagrhya also (III. 2. 9 and 22). In the Upaniṣads (Bṛhadāraṇyaka II. 4. 10, IV. 1. 2) it is the word Atharvāṅgirasah that stands for the Atharvaveda. Baudhāyana quotes a gāthā of the Bhāllavins (I. 1. 29) about the geographical limits of Āryāvarta. Vasiṣṭha adduces the same verse (I. 15) and says that it is taken from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins. The Nirukta also mentions a school of Vedic interpretation called Naidānāḥ. It is difficult to say what Nidāna works contained. *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* occur in the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 27). The *āṅgas* of the Vedas occur in I. 1. 8 and the six *āṅgas* in II. 8. 2. Whether the word "rahasya" in II. 8. 3 means the Āraṇyakas (as Govindasvāmin explains) is doubtful. Baudhāyana mentions a Vaikhāṇasa-śāstra in II. 6. 16, which appears to refer to the work of Vikhanas on hermits and speaks of Śrāmaṇaka (the rites prescribed by Vikhanas for initiation as hermit), just as Gautama does. Among the authors on *dharma* mentioned by name are : Aupajāṅghani (II. 2. 33 for the view that only *aurasa* son was to be recognised and not the other kinds of sons<sup>71</sup>), Kātya (I. 2. 47), Kaśyapa (or Kaśyapa in other editions, I. 11. 20 on the point that a woman bought cannot be a *patni*), Gautama (I. 1. 23 and II. 2. 70), Prajāpati (II. 4. 15 about failure in Sandhyopāśana, and II. 10. 71 about *sannyāsa*), Manu (IV. 1. 14 and IV. 2. 16), Maudgalya (II. 2. 61, about observances of a widow being restricted only to six months after her husband's death), Hārīta (II. 1. 50). Baud. I. 2. 7 quotes a verse, which Vasiṣṭha ascribes to Hārīta (Vas. II. 6). As to Gautama, *vide* p. 17 above. Manu is only mentioned in the fourth praśna, the authenticity of which, as said above, is very doubtful. Baudhāyana II. 2. 16 (about the efficacy of *Aghamarṣaṇa*) closely agrees with Manu XI. 260. The first reference to Manu's teaching cannot be traced in the Manusmṛti. Prajāpati (in III. 9. 21) seems to stand for god Brahmā and not for any real or mythical writer on *dharma*. One remarkable piece of information contained in Baudhāyana (II. 6. 30) is that he quotes from a work (of the Brāhmaṇa class in language) a prose passage wherein the division into four āśramas is ascribed to an *asura* Kapila, son of Pralhāda. In II. 2. 79 Baudhāyana quotes a *gāthā* from the

71 One of the verses (अप्रमत्ता रक्षत तन्तुमेनं) is referred to by शबरस्वामी on

पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 13 (अपराधात् कर्तुं पुत्रदर्शनम्).

H. D. 4.



dialogue between the daughter of Uśanas and the king Vṛṣaparvan<sup>72</sup>, which is nearly the same as Mahābhārata I. 78. 10 and 34. Baud. quotes the view of Ācāryas (II. 6. 29) as Gautama does. In several places he refers to the views of his predecessors on *dharma* as "others" (*eke, āpare*) e. g. I. 4. 23, I. 5. 16, I. 6. 105-106, II. 5. 2. In II. 3. 18 two verses in the Upajāti metre are quoted as sung by "anna" (food). From the numerous quotations in verse cited by Baudhāyana on topics of *dharma*, it follows that the Dharmasūtra was preceded by a considerable number of works on *dharma* in verse. Bühler (SBE vol. XIV, p. XLIII) says that Vijñāneśvara was the first writer who quoted the Baud. D. S. But there are writers who flourished centuries before Vijñāneśvara that regarded Baudhāyana as a writer on *dharma* and either quoted his words or pointedly referred to them. Śābara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini, I. 3. 3 says that the rule in the Smṛtis about the period of Vedic study being 48 years is opposed to the Vedic injunction "one who has begot sons and whose hair are dark should consecrate the sacrificial fires<sup>73</sup>." This must be regarded as referring to the words of Baudhāyana (I. 2. 1). Śābara uses the same word "Vedabrahmacarya" that Baud. employs. It is true that Gautama and Āpastamba both refer to the rule about 48 years, but they do not employ the word "*veda-brahmacarya*." The Tantravārtike of Kumārila says that the words of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 1) which seem to accept the validity of local and family usages (even though opposed to Smṛti tradition) stand refuted by the words of Baudhāyana (I. 1. 19-24) who cites only such censured usages as are opposed to Smṛti. Kumārila appears to think that Baudhāyana attacks the extant work of Āpastamba, i. e. the present Baud. is later than the present Āpastamba. It is not necessary to follow

72 स्तुवतो दुहिता त्वं वै याचतः प्रतिगृह्णतः । अथाहं स्तूयमानस्य ददतोप्रतिगृह्णतः ॥

73 शबर's words are 'अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदग्रह्यचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोमीना-  
दधीत-इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्' on I. 3. 3, and again on I. 3. 4 'अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छाद्यन्तश्चा-  
ष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि ग्रह्यचर्यं चरितवन्तः'. बोधायन's words are अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि  
पोरणं वेदग्रह्यचर्यम्. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 2. 52 and आ. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 12.

74 तन्त्रवार्तिके p. 139 'आपस्तम्बवचनं तु बोधायनेन स्मृतिविरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणान्येव प्रय-  
च्छता निराकृतम्'. The words in the बो. ध. सू. (I. 1. 22) 'तत्र तत्र देश-  
प्रामाण्यमेव स्यात्' are opposed to the words of आपस्तम्ब 'एतेन देशकुलंधर्मा  
व्याख्याताः.'



Kumārila implicitly as regards chronological details, where he is speaking of writers that flourished over a thousand years before him. But his opinion deserves weight. The *Tantravārtika* quotes a *Smṛti* passage which bears a close resemblance to Baudhāyana (II. 3. 28)<sup>75</sup>. In the commentary of Viśvarūpa (who as we shall see below flourished about 800 A. D.) on Yājñavalkya, Baudhāyana is quoted at least nine times in the chapter on *ātāra* alone. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 21, 26, 29, 53, 61, 69, 72, 79, 195 (Trivandrum edition), where Baud. I. 5. 14, I. 2. 30, I. 5. 5, I. 1. 17, IV. 1. 15, IV. 1. 18, IV. 1. 22, IV. 1. 20 and I. 5. 47 are respectively quoted. There are very few variations from the present text and the only serious variation is as regards the last (I. 5. 47) which is in prose (while Viśvarūpa quotes a verse). It is remarkable that Viśvarūpa quotes several verses from the fourth *praśna*, which shows that even if the fourth *praśna* be an interpolation, it is comparatively an ancient one. The *Mit.* also (on Yāj. III. 306) quotes a long passage from the fourth *praśna* (IV. 1. 5-11). The words of the *Śakuntala*<sup>76</sup> that the first precept is that a girl is to be given away to a meritorious person are probably a reminiscence of Baud. IV. 1. 12. Medhātithi on *Manu*. V. 117 quotes Baudhāyana I. 5. 47 and on IV. 36 quotes Baud. I. 4. 2 (which is mutilated as printed). On *Manu*. V. 114 he says that all the rules about purification of substances are contained in Baudhāyana-smṛti. On *Manu*. V. 118, he quotes Baud. I. 5. 50.

About the home of Baudhāyana it is difficult to advance any positive conclusion. In modern times Baudhāyanīyas are mostly confined to the south. We know that Śāyana, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a Baudhāyanīya. A grant of Nandivarman, a Pallava, of the 9th century mentions Brāhmanaś of the *pravacana-sūtra* as recipients.<sup>77</sup> As Baudhāyana is called *pravacanākāra* in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* Bühler thinks (S. B. E. vol. 14 p. XLII) that the Brāhmanaś

75 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 993 'तथा च स्मृतिः । ...धारयेद्देणवं दण्डं शुभे रोक्मे च कुण्डले—  
इत्यादि सूपपत्त्यते ।' Baud. has 'देणवं दण्डं धारयेद्भुक्मकुण्डले च. Compare मनु  
IV. 36. It is probable that the तन्त्रवार्तिक combines यो. and मनु.

76 'गुणवते कन्यका प्रदेया इति तावत्प्रथमः कल्पः' शाकुन्तल 4th Act; while Baud.  
has 'दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नमिकां ब्रह्मचारिणे'.

77 I. A. vol. 8, pp. 273-274.



belonged to the Bandhāyanacarana. Buhler is probably right. In the grant most of the donees are students of the Āpastamba Sūtra. First the Gotra, then the Sūtra and then the name of the donee are introduced in the grant. Therefore as some of the donees are said to be students of "pravacanasūtra," it follows that "pravacana" stands for some sūtra school. It appears that sūtra and pravacana are two different things, whatever the latter term may mean. Baudhāyana is called pravacanakāra and Āpastamba is styled sūtrakāra. We are told by the Baudhāyana-grhysūtra<sup>78</sup> that a Brāhmaṇa who studied sūtra and pravacana was styled "bhrūpa." Buhler was inclined to hold that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher for several reasons. Bandhāyana mentions customs of the south and includes sea-faring as a custom peculiar to the north (I. 1. 20), while in another place he places sea-faring at the head of sins (*patanīyas*) lesser than the mortal ones (II. 1. 41). Therefore it is said that he was not a northern teacher. But as against this we have to remember that Baudhāyana (I. 1. 29) quotes with apparent approval a verse in which the countries of Avanti<sup>79</sup> (Ujjain), Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar) and Dakṣiṇāpatha are declared to be the home of mixed castes. Dakṣiṇāpatha was generally supposed to be the whole peninsula south of the Narmadā. Baudhāyana, if he was a native of the south, would not have spoken of his country as the home of mixed castes only, unless he put a restricted meaning on the word Dakṣiṇāpatha (which sometimes meant in later days Mahārāṣṭra). Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1917 p. 620.

The extant Bandhāyanadharmasūtra is certainly later than Gautama, as it mentions Gautama twice by name and as one quotation at least is found in the extant Gautama. Besides Baudhāyana quotes by name several teachers on *dharma*, while Gautama quotes only one, Manu. Baudhāyana is far removed from the times of the Upaniṣads. Baud. (II. 7. 15) quotes a verse which is itself an adaptation of a passage from the Chāndogya-upaniṣad.<sup>79</sup> He

78 The whole passage is interesting 'उपनीतमात्रो यतानुचारी वेदानां किञ्चिदधीत्य  
ब्राह्मणः । एकां शास्त्रमधीत्य श्रोत्रियः । अङ्गध्याय्यनूचानः । कल्पध्यायी ऋषिकल्पः ।  
सूत्रप्रवचनध्यायी भूषणः । चतुर्वेदादयिः । अत ऊर्ध्वं देवः ।' बौ. गृ. सू. I. 7. 2-8.

79 Baud. 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति- यथाहि तूलमेषीकममो मोनं प्रदीयते । तद्वत्सर्वाणि पापानि  
दहन्ते हात्मयाजिनः ॥', compare छान्दोग्योपनिषद् V. 24. 3. 'तद्यथैषीकातूलमग्नौ  
मोने प्रदूयते त्वं हास्य सर्वे पाप्मानः प्रदूयन्ते' &c.



quotes Harita. It is uncertain whether the Hāritadharmasūtra, a manuscript of which was discovered by the late Vaman Śastri Islampurkar at Nasik, is the one intended. Bühler thought that the work of Bandhāyana was earlier than that of Āpastamba by a century or two. His first reason was that Kāṇva Baudhāyana receives homage in the *tarpāṇa* before Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin and that the same order is observed in the Bandhāyana-grhyasūtra. But this reason is far from convincing. It may be conceded that Baudhāyana was regarded as the oldest (or the most authoritative or respectable) of the three schools of the Black Yajurveda. But from this it does not at all follow that the extant *dharma-sūtra* of the Baudhāyanīyas is earlier than that of the Āpastambīyas. For aught we know the *sūtra* compiled for the school of Bandhāyana may be later than the *sūtra* manual of the Āpastambīyas. We saw above that orthodox opinion, represented by Kumārila, regards Baudhāyana's work as later than Āpastamba's. All the three founders of the three schools are mentioned in the Bandhāyanagrhya and *dharma sūtra*. One may equally argue with good reason that both these works knew a *sūtra* work of Āpastamba and that the extant *dharma-sūtra* of Āpastamba is that work. Another reason assigned for the priority of Baudhāyana's work over Āpastamba's is that, though both have numerous *sūtras* that agree almost word for word, a comparison of the views of the two writers shows that Āpastamba lays down stricter and more puritanic (and therefore later) views on certain points than Baudhāyana. Gautama, Bandhāyana and Vasiṣṭha mention several secondary sons, while Āpastamba is silent about them. Gautama, Bandhāyana (II. 2. 17, 62), Vasiṣṭha and even Viṣṇu approve of the practice of *niyoga*, while Āpastamba condemns it (II. 6. 13. 1-9). Gautama and Baudhāyana (I. 11. 1) speak of eight forms of marriage, while Āpastamba speaks of only six and omits Prajāpatya and Paiśāca (II. 5. 11. 17-20 and II. 5. 12. 1-2). Bandhāyana (II. 2. 4-6) allowed a larger share to the eldest son on a partition, while Āpastamba condemns such a procedure (II. 6. 14. 10-14). The Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra (II. 4. 6) allows upanayana to *raṭhakāra*, while Āpastamba (grhya 4. 10. 1-4) does not do so (*dharma-sūtra* I. 1. 1. 19). These points are hardly conclusive on the question of date. From very ancient times there was great divergence of opinion among the doctors of the law on most, if not on all, of these points. There is no hard and fast rule that these doctrines were up-



held by early writers and condemned by later ones. Baudhāyana himself quotes the views of an ancient writer, Aupajāṅhani, who condemned all secondary sons. The verses that Baudhāyana quotes on this point (II. 2. 34-36) are quoted by Āpastamba also but without the author's name (Āp. II. 6. 13. 6), there being variants only in the first verse. *Niyoga* was allowed by Manu (9. 56-63) and then condemned (9. 64-68) and Bṛhaspati refers to this attitude of Manu (vide Kullūka on Manu 9. 68). Even so late a writer as Yājñavalkya (II. 131) approves of *niyoga*. About the *rathakāra* being allowed to consecrate the sacred fires there is a discussion in the sūtras of Jaimini (VI. 1. 44 ff). Vedic passages supported both methods viz. equal division among sons and the bestowal of a larger share on the eldest. Even Yājñavalkya (II. 118) allows a larger share to the eldest son. Therefore hardly anyone of the circumstances relied upon by Bühler as indicating a later age for Āpastamba is conclusive or convincing. The third ground for placing Baudhāyana before Āpastamba is that the style of the former is simpler and older as compared with the latter's. That Baudhāyana is simpler than Āpastamba may be admitted. But this may be due to the fact that Baudhāyana has been tampered with more than Āpastamba. On the other hand Āpastamba contains more un-Pāṇinian forms, more uncouth constructions, more words in an archaic sense than is the case with Baudhāyana. All that is almost certain about the age of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is that it is later than the work of Gautama, that its style, its doctrines and its general out-look on different subjects do not compel us to assign it a later date than that of the other dharmasūtras. We have adduced evidence to show that long before the days of Śābara (whose latest date cannot be later than 500 A.D.) the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was an authoritative smṛti; it follows that the dharmasūtra must be placed somewhere between 500-200 B. C. Numerous sūtras are identical in Baudhāyana and Āpastamba e. g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 30 = Baud. I. 2. 40-41, Āp. I. 2. 6. 8-9 = Baud. I. 2. 39, Āp. I. 5. 15. 8 = Baud. I. 2. 31, Āp. I. 11. 31. 11 and 16 = Baud. II. 3. 39 and 32. There are several verses that occur in both e. g. Baud. II. 1. 42 = Āp. I. 9. 27. 11, Baud. II. 2. 34-36 = Āp. II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses condemning secondary sons), Baud. II. 10. 63 = Āp. 11. 9. 21. 10, Baud. II. 7. 22-23 = Āp. II. 4. 9. 13. (two verses), Baud. II. 6. 36 = Āp. II. 9. 24. 8. Besides these there are numerous Vedic quotations that are common to both. All this,



however, does not establish anything about their relative position. The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra also has numerous quotations in common with Baud. Vide Vas. I. 13. = Band. I. 1. 28, Vas. III. 5, 6, 11, 20, 56 = Baud. I. 1. 10, 12, 11, 8 and I. 5. 58 (respectively); Vas. 6. 20-21 = Baud. II. 7. 22-23; Vas. VIII. 17 = Baud. II. 2, 1; Vas. XI. 27-28 = Baud. II. 8. 21-22; Vas. XVI. 34 = Baud. I. 10. 35, Vas. XVII. 73 = Baud. IV. 1. 17, Vas. XVII. 86 = Baud. I. 5. 102; Vas. XXII. 10 = Baud. I. 1. 33. It is to be noted that some of these quotations (Baud. II. 8. 21-22, I. 10. 35) occur in the extant Manusmṛiti also (III. 125-126 and VIII. 98). There are a few prose sūtras in Vas. that are transformed into verse in Baud. and *vice versa* e. g. Vas. III. 41 (prose) = Baud. I. 5. 20 (quoted as a verse), Vas. III. 57 (quoted as a verse) = Baud. I. 6. 19-20. It is not likely that one borrows from the other. There are two other possible explanations, viz. that both Baud. and Vas. (and Manu also) quote from or adapt a common source or that the three works have been tampered with and interpolations introduced at every step. The latter alternative is too sweeping as the number of verses is very large and makes all the old sūtras except that of Gāntama valueless for all chronological purposes. One cannot subscribe to the view that such extensive interpolations took place as the latter theory demands. The first alternative appears more reasonable. What that common source was, whether it was a regular work in verse or whether there was a floating mass of such popular verses as Bühler holds, are questions that present very great difficulties. It is not easy to believe that there were hundreds of floating verses on *dharma* no body knew by whom composed, on which writers of the centuries preceding the Christian era drew for supporting their opinions. That does not sound as a very likely procedure. It is more probable that such verses were contained in a work or works now lost.

In the *tarpaṇa*, Baud. (II. 5. 21) mentions several appellations of Gaṇeśa, viz. Vighna, Vināyaka, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Lambodara. But this affords no certain clue as to date. The worship of Vināyaka is found in the Mānavagrhya also. In the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 23) we have the seven planets mentioned in the order of the days of the week and also Rāhu and Ketu; besides the twelve names of Viṣṇu occur in II. 5. 24. In II. 1. 44 Baud. speaks of the profession of an actor or of a teacher of dramaturgy (Nāṭyācārya) as an upapātaka. Several



sūtras attributed to Baudhāyana on the subject of adoption in the Dattakaminiṃsā and other later works are taken from the Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra (II. 6), the sūtras agreeing very closely with Vasiṣṭha (15. 1-9).

According to Burnell the oldest commentator on the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra was Bhavasvāmin, whom he placed in the 8th century. The commentary of Govindasvāmin on the Dharmasūtra is a learned one and is generally to the point. He appears to be a very late writer.

### 7. Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba.

This has been edited several times (*viz.* by Bühler in the Bombay Sanskrit series with large extracts from Haradatta's commentary called Ujvalā and also at Kumbhakonam with the complete commentary of Haradatta and translated by Bühler with an introduction in S. B. E. vol. II). The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the black Yajurveda is divided into 30 *prāśnas*. According to Bühler, the first 24 *prāśnas* contain the treatment of Śrauta sacrifices; the 25th contains *paribhāṣas*, *pravarakhaṇḍa*, and *Hautraka* prayers to be recited by Hotṛ priests; 26th and 27th *prāśnas* constitute the Grhyasūtra, the 28th and 29th Dharmasūtra and the 30th *prāśna* is the Śulvasūtra. Bühler seems to be slightly inaccurate here. According to Cauṇḍappa, who commented on the Āpastambīya sūtras in the 14th century, the Āpastambīyamantrapāṭha forms the 25th and 26th *prāśnas* of the Kalpasūtra and the Grhyasūtra forms 27th *prāśna*.<sup>80</sup> The Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba was edited by Dr. Garbe in the B. I. series; the Grhya and Mantrapāṭha were edited by Dr. Winternitz. The Grhya with the commentary of Sudarśanārya has been edited in the Mysore Govt. Oriental series by Pandit Mahadeva Sastri (in 1893). It is divided into eight *patalas* and 23 *khaṇḍas*. According to the Caranavyūha, Āpastamba (or "bha" as written in many southern mss.) is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikīya school of the Taittirīyaśākhā of the Black Yajurveda. Whether the author of the Āpastambīya Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma sūtras is the same is difficult to determine. One sūtra in

<sup>80</sup> पंचविंशे पद्विंशे गृह्यमन्त्राः प्रपञ्चितः । मन्त्रेण समविंशे स्याद्गृह्यमन्त्राविधिक्रमः ॥

(Dr. Winternitz's edition of Āp. Mantrapāṭha p. IX). The editor further states (p. IX n. 2) that *Paribhāṣas* form part of the 24th *prāśna* and not of the 25th, as Bühler says.



the Āpastambadharmas (II. 2. 5. 17) is the same as Āp. Śrauta (III. 17. 8 and VIII. 4. 6). Oldenberg (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. XXXII) does not subscribe to Bühler's view (S. B. E. Vol. II, pp. XIII-XIV) that the authors of the Āp. Śrauta and Dharma were identical and gives it as his own view that another person of the same school might have imitated the style of the author of the Śrauta. Whatever may be said of the identity of the authorship of the Śrauta and Dharma sūtras, the Grhya and Dharma seem to be very closely related and both seem to be the compositions of the same author. The Āp. Grhya sūtra, as compared with the Aśvalāyana-grhya or Gobhila-grhya, is extremely brief and leaves out many rules that are given in other Grhya works. For example, about the choice of a girl Āp. grhya gives only a single rule (I. 3. 19<sup>81</sup>). While it is the Dharmasūtra that tells us that the bride must not be *sagotra* nor *sapiṇḍa* (Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15-16). The Āp. Grhya is silent about the forms of marriage, about holidays, about the duties of *brahmacārins* and such other subjects which are generally treated of in other Grhyasūtras. These subjects are dealt with in the Āp. Dh. S. and there are several places where the Dharmasūtra presupposes the existence of the Grhya and refers to it. Compare Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1. 10-11<sup>82</sup> with Āp. Gr. S. III. 7 (particularly sūtras 1, 17, 23). Vide note 54 above. Some sūtras are identical in the Grhya and Dharma, e. g. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 and Grhya IV. 11. 15-16 (about the staff of Brahmacārin); Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 8. 7 and Grhya V. 13. 19. In some cases the Grhya-sūtra itself seems to refer to the teachings of the Dharmasūtra, e. g. Grhya 8. 21. 1 and Dharma II. 7. 16. 6-7. All these facts make it highly probable, if not certain, that the Grhya and Dharma sūtras were composed by the same author and that the details of certain topics were purposely omitted in the

81 बन्धुशीललक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत् ।

82 'श्वेभूते स्थालीपाकः । तस्योपचारः पार्वणेन व्याख्यातः' । आप. ध. सू. 'अथेनाभावे-  
येन स्थालीपाकेन याजयति ! एवमत ऊर्ध्वं दक्षिणावर्जमुपोषिताभ्यां पर्वसु कायः ।  
पार्वणेनातोऽन्यानि कर्माणि व्याख्यातान्याचाराद्यानि गृह्यन्ते । आप. गृ. सू. Vide also  
आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 6 'सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य यासावरार्धं प्राशनी-  
याद्यथोक्तम्' and आप. गृ. सू. 8. 21. 9 'सर्वतः समवदायोत्तरेण यजुषा शेषस्य  
यासावरार्धं प्राशनीयात्' 'उभयतः परिवेचनं यथा पुरस्तात्' आप. ध. II. 2. 3. 17 and  
आप. गृ. I. 3. 3. : 'समावृत्तं चै... यथोपवेशं पूजयेत्' आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 4  
refers to आप. गृ. सू. V. 13. 2-19.



Grhya to avoid repetition. The Smṛticandrikā ( III. p. 458 ) distinctly asserts that the author of the Dharmasūtra and the Grhyasūtra was the same.

The contents of the Āp. dharma-sūtra are :--

1. the authoritative sources of *dharma* are the Vedas and the usages of those who know *dharma* ; the four *varṇas*, their precedence ; definition of *ācārya* and his greatness, time for *upanayana* according to the *varṇas* and according to one's desire ; *prāyaścitta* if proper time for *upanayana* is gone ; he whose father, grand-father and great-grand-father have no *upanayana* performed becomes *patita*, but he can be purified by *prāyaścitta* ; the duties of *brahmacārin*, residence with teacher for 48 years, 36, 25 or 12 years ; rules of conduct for *brahmacārin*, his staff, girdle and garment, rules about begging for food, bringing fuel and offering to fire ; the vows of a *brahmacārin* are his *tapas*, rules about saluting teacher and others according to *varṇas* ; giving *dakṣiṇā* to the teacher at the end of study ; rules for *snātaka* ; rules about holidays and about the time and place for Vedic study ; rules about holidays apply to study of the Veda and not to the use of *mantras* in Vedic rites ; the five great daily *yajñas* to the *bhūtas*, men, gods, pitṛs, and sages, honouring men of higher castes, old men, parents, brothers and sisters and others, method of inquiring about one's health &c. according to *varṇas* ; occasions of wearing *yajñopavita* ; times and manner of *acamana* ; rules about forbidden and permitted food and drink ; the avocation of a *cāṇij* not allowed to a Brāhmaṇa except in distress ; rules forbidding the sale or exchange of certain things ; grave sins ( *pataniya* ), such as theft, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa or other man, causing abortion, incest, drinking wine etc ; other sins are not so grave, though they make the perpetrator impure ; discussion of some metaphysical questions such as the knowledge of the soul, Brahman, the moral faults that lead to perdition such as anger, avarice, hypocrisy &c ; the virtues that lead to the highest goal, such as absence of anger or avarice &c. truthfulness, tranquility ; compensation for killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra and women ; *prāyaścitta* for killing a Brāhmaṇa and an Ātreya Brāhmaṇa woman, for killing a *guru* or a Śrotriya ; *prāyaścitta* for violating the bed of a *guru*, for drinking wine and for theft of gold ; *prāyaścittas* for killing several birds, cows and bulls, and for abusing those who should not be abused, for sexual intercourse with a Śūdra woman, for taking forbidden food



and drink &c.; rules about Kṛcchra for twelve nights; what constitutes theft; how one should act towards a fallen (*palīta*) *guru* and mother; various opinions about *prāyaścitta* for violating *guru's* bed; *prāyaścitta* for a husband who has intercourse with another woman and for wife's adultery; *prāyaścitta* for killing a *bhrāṇa* (a learned *brāhmaṇa*); *Brāhmaṇa* was not to wield arms, except in self-defence against bodily injury; *prāyaścitta* for *abhiśasta*; *prāyaścittas* for lesser sins; various views about *snātaka* (*Vidyāsnātaka*, *Vratasnātaka* and *Vidyāvratasnātaka*); the observances (*vratas*) of *snātaka* as regards garments, answering calls of nature, about scandalous talk, about not seeing the rising or setting Sun, avoiding moral faults such as *anget*; II (*praśna*) the householder's observances commence on marriage (*pānigrahana*); rules of conduct for a householder about taking food and fasting, about sexual intercourse; all the *varṇas* attain unmeasured bliss by performing their duties and are re-born in conditions appropriate to their actions and by means of evil deeds are re-born in evil surroundings e. g. a *Brāhmaṇa* who is a thief or a murderer of a *Brāhmaṇa* becomes a *Cāṇḍāla*, a similarly guilty *rājanya* becomes a *pauṅkasa*; the three higher castes should after bathing perform *Vaiśvadeva*; *Śūdras* may cook food for their masters of higher castes under the supervision of *Āryas*; offerings (*bali*) of cooked food; guests (*atithi*) should be first offered food, then children, old men, sick persons and pregnant women (and then the householder himself); no one should be refused food when he comes at the end of *Vaiśvadeva*; rules of receiving guests, such as unlearned *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*; an householder should always wear an upper garment or his sacred thread may serve that purpose; in the absence of a *Brāhmaṇa* teacher, a *Brāhmaṇa* may learn from a *Kṣatriya* or *Vaiśya* teacher; duties of a married man when his teacher comes as a guest; duty of householder to teach and to observe the rules of conduct laid down for him; in case of doubt as to a guest's caste and character, how to proceed; who is an *atithi*; praise of honouring an *atithi*; procedure in case an *atithi* comes to a king or to one who has consecrated fires; to whom and when *madhuparka* is to be offered; the six *āṅgas* of *Veda* named; all including dogs and *cāṇḍālas* should be given food after *Vaiśvadeva*; all gifts to be made with water; one must not give at the expense of servants and slaves; one may subject himself, wife and sons to privations (but not servants); amount of food to be taken by



*brahmacārin*, householder, hermit &c.; occasions for begging are the teacher, marriage, sacrifice, maintenance of parents and avoidance of the cessation of some worthy observance (like *agnihotra*); the peculiar *karmans* of Brāhmaṇas and the other castes; rules of war; the king to appoint a *purohita* skilled in *dharma* and art of government, who is to carry out punishments and penances; punishments including death sentence according to the gravity of the offences, but a Brāhmaṇa was not to be killed or injured or to be made a slave; rule of the road; a man of the lower caste by practising his duties rises higher and higher when re-born and a man of the higher castes goes lower by *adharma*; one should not marry another wife, when the first has children and is helpful in the performance of *dharma*; rules about marriageable girl, i. e. she must not be *sagotra* and *sapinda* of the mother; six forms of marriage, brāhma, āṣa, daiva, gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa; preference among the six; rules of conduct after marriage; sons born of wives of the same caste can perform the duties appropriate to the father's caste and inherit parent's property; the son of a woman who was once married or who is not married according to prescribed forms or who is not of the same caste is censured; whether the son belongs to the begetter (or to him on whose wife he is begotten); there can be no gift or sale of a child; partition during father's lifetime and equal division; exclusion from inheritance of the impotent, lunatics and sinners; the inheritance in the absence of son goes to nearest *sapinda*, then to the teacher and then to the pupil, or the daughter and ultimately to the king; the opinion of some that the largest share goes to the eldest son is opposed to the Vedas; no partition between husband and wife; usages of countries and families not to be followed if opposed to the Vedas; impurity on death of agnates, cognates &c; gifts to be made at proper time, place and to proper person; *śrāddhas*; times of *śrāddha*; materials required at *śrāddha*, food (including flesh) appropriate at *śrāddhas*; what Brāhmaṇas are to be called at *śrāddha*; the four *āśramas*; rules about *parivrāj* i. e. *sannyāsin*; the duties of forest hermit; praise of the meritorious and condemnation of evil-doers; special rules about kings; founding of his capital and palace; position of the *sabha*; extirpation of thieves; gifts of land and wealth to Brāhmaṇas; protection of people; persons exempt from taxation, such as Śrotriyas, women of all castes, students and ascetics; punishment of young men for adultery; punishment varied according as the woman wronged was Ārya or



Śūdra; punishments for abuse and for homicide; punishments for various breaches of conduct; dispute between cowherd and master; the perpetrator, the abettor and one who approves of the act are all guilty; who are to decide disputes; in case of doubt decision by inference and by divine proof (ordeals); punishment for perjury; all other *dharma*s should be learnt, according to some, from women and people of all castes.

Each of the two *prāśnas* of the Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra is divided into eleven *paṭalas*, there being 32 and 29 *khaṇḍikās* in the two *paṭalas* respectively. The Dharmasūtra is written in a more concise and compact style than that of Baudhāyana and has more archaic and un-Pāṇinian forms than any other extant Dharmasūtra. For example, the following are against the rules of Pāṇini; Adhāśana (for adha śana) in I. 1. 2. 21, aglaṁśnu (I. 2. 3. 22), muhūṁśca (I. 2. 8. 22), agṛhyamāna (I. 4. 12. 8), sarvatopeta (for sarvata upeta) in I. 6. 19. 9, sakhim (for sakhini) in I. 7. 21. 9. Haradatta points out in many places that the current reading was un-Pāṇinian and therefore he read differently (e. g. in II. 2. 5. 2 he reads 'viprakramaṇa', while the current reading was 'viprakramiṇa')<sup>81</sup>. This makes it probable that in the original text there must have been many more un-Pāṇinian forms than in the one preserved by Haradatta. There are many unfamiliar or rare words used by Āpastamba, i. e. ananīyoga (I. 6. 19. 12), anaiścārika (I. 8. 22. 1), Kartapatya (I. 2. 5. 3), vyupatoda and vyupajāva (-'pa') in I. 2. 8. 15, brahmahāsasatstuta (I. 1. 1. 32). We meet with strange forms of certain words, such as paryānta (I. 3. 9. 21), praśāsta (II. 8. 19. 3), anātyaya (I. 1. 1. 21 for anatyaya), brahmojjham (for -ojjhaḥ) in I. 7. 21. 8, śvāviṭ (I. 5. 17. 37), śthevana (I. 11. 30. 19 for śthivana), ācāryadāre (for -dāreṣu) in I. 2. 7. 27. Though the *Āp. Dharmasūtra* is mainly in prose, there are verses here and there. Some of the verses are expressly stated to be taken from other sources by being introduced with the word "udāharanti" or with "āthāpyudāharanti" e. g. I. 6. 19. 13 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa), I. 6. 19. 15 (compare Manu 8. 317 and Vas. 19. 44), I. 11. 31. 1, I. 11. 32. 24, II. 4. 9. 13 (two verses, same as Baud. II. 7. 22-23), II. 7. 17. 8, II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses almost the same as in Baud. II. 2. 34-36), II. 9. 23. 4-5 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa). Besides these there are several isolated verses, most of which

<sup>81</sup> प्रायेण मकारात्परमिकारमधीयते । तत्राप्येष एवार्थः । इकारस्तु छान्दसोपपादो वा ।



seem to be quotations, though not introduced with words like "udāharanti". They are I. 4. 14, 25, I. 6. 19, 14 (the first pāda of which is Manu 4. 212), I. 9. 27, 10, I. 9. 27, 11 (same as Baud. II. 1. 42), II. 2. 4, 14 (compare Manu III. 101). Some of these verses are defective in metre, there being nine syllables in one anuṣṭubh pāda as in 1. 9. 27, 10, II. 9. 23, 4-5, II. 2. 4, 14. One of the verses is in the classical Upajāti metre (II. 7. 17, 18), while another closely approaches that metre (I. 9. 27, 11). Besides these there are a few half-verses, II. 5. 11, 5-6 (same as latter half of Vanaparva 133. 1), II. 9. 21, 10 (Manu 6. 43 has the first pāda). Thus in all there are about twenty verses, of which at least six occur in Baudhāyana. Some sūtras that are printed as prose are parts of verses, e. g. I. 2. 5, 11. Besides these there are several verses in the pāṭalas dealing with metaphysics (I. 8. 22, 4-8 and I. 9. 23, 1-3) that are pieced together largely from Upaniṣad passages. Āpastamba in several places employs the first person plural about himself<sup>84</sup>, e. g. I. 1. 1, 27, I. 8. 22, 3, I. 8. 23, 4. Haradatta points out that in his day there was difference in the text as handed down in Northern and in Southern India.<sup>85</sup>

Āpastamba quotes, besides the *Saṁhitās*, the Brāhmaṇas very frequently (e. g., I. 1. 1, 10-11, I. 1. 3, 9, I. 1. 3, 26, I. 2. 7, 7, I. 2. 7, 11, I. 3. 10, 8). He quotes the Vājasaneyaka (I. 5. 17, 31) and the Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 13, 3 on svādhyāya), he speaks of the Upaniṣads (II. 2. 5, 1), his quotations (II. 2. 3, 16-II. 2. 4, 1-9) from the Tai. Āraṇyaka agree, according to Bühler, with the text current in the Āndhira country. He speaks of the six *āṅgas* of the Veda (II. 4. 8, 10) and in the next sūtra enumerates Chandas, Kalpa, grammar, Jyotiṣa, Nirukta, Śikṣā, (phonetics) and Chandoviciti (metrics), which are seven (Śikṣā being probably intended to be included in grammar). There are passages in Āpastamba which agree with the Nirukta, e. g. the definition of ācārya<sup>86</sup>.

84 'आषोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्य... यथा ब्रह्मेण समर्थः स्यात्तानि वक्ष्यामः।' आप. I. 1. 1, 27; तत्रात्मलब्धियात्र श्लोकानुदाहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 22, 3: 'अथ भूतदाहीयान्दोषानुदाहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 23, 4.

85 On the sūtra अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् (II. 7. 17, 25) he says 'उदीच्यास्त्वेतत्प्रायेण न पठन्ति । तथा च पूर्वेन व्याख्यातम्'.

86 'यस्माद्ब्रह्मनाचिनोति स आचार्यः' आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1, 14; 'आचार्यः कस्मादाचारं ब्राह्मयति आचिनोत्यर्थनाचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा' निरुक्त I. 4 and 'तस्मै न दूरोक्तमवचनाद्' (quoted in निरुक्त II. 3).



He quotes the views of ten writers on *dharma* by name, viz. Eka (I. 6. 19. 7), Kaṇva (I. 6. 19. 3 and I. 10. 28. 1), Kāṇva (I. 6. 19. 7), Kuṇika (I. 6. 19. 7), Kutsa (I. 6. 19. 7), Kautsa (I. 6. 9. 4 and 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Vārṣyāyaṇi (I. 6. 19. 5 and 8, I. 10. 28. 2), Śvetaketu (I. 4. 13. 19 and I. 2. 5. 6), Hārīta (I. 4. 13. 11, I. 6. 18. 2, I. 6. 19. 12, I. 10. 28. 1, 5 and 16, I. 10. 29. 12 and 16). Some of the names (viz. Kautsa, Vārṣyāyaṇi, and Puṣkarasādi) occur in the Nirukta. He quotes the view of Śvetaketu in Śvetaketu's own words (in I. 4. 13. 20) that even a married man should every year stay with his teacher for two months to refresh his studies and gives it as his own opinion that Śvetaketu's view is opposed to the Śāstras (the Vedas). In another place (I. 1. 4. 5-6) he speaks of Śvetaketu as an *avara* (a person belonging to later ages) and as one who on account of the remnant of his meritorious actions done in a former life or lives was able to grasp the four Vedas in a short time. It is usual to see in this a reference to Śvetaketu in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VI. 1. 1-2), where it is stated that Śvetaketu mastered all the Vedas in twelve years. But this identification is somewhat of doubtful value. Āpastamba quotes Śvetaketu as a teacher of *dharma*. The quotation from Śvetaketu given by Āpastamba has nothing corresponding to it in the Upaniṣad. Besides the Chāndogya Upaniṣad appears to make a distinction between two Śvetaketu's (in VI. 1 and VI. 8), one being called Āruṇeya and the other Āruṇi (son of Āruṇa). Hārīta, whose views are cited so frequently, is quoted by Baudhāyana (II. 1. 50) and also by Vasiṣṭha (II. 6.). From the two sūtras (I. 6. 19. 3 and 7) it follows that Kaṇva and Kāṇva are two distinct writers. The Kumbhakonam edition reads Kaṇva in I. 10. 28. 1, while Bühler reads Kāṇva there. Kāṇva Baudhāyana is a teacher, whose name occurs in the *ṛṣitarpaṇa* in many works. The view ascribed to Kāṇva by Āpastamba in I. 6. 19. 7 seems to be the same as that of the Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra (1. 2. 19<sup>87</sup>). It has been shown above that there are close parallels in thought and expression

87 'क आश्वत्थः । य ईसेदिति कण्वः । ... शुद्धा भिक्षा भोक्तव्येककुणिको काण्वकुत्सो नथा पुष्करसादि।' अप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 2, 3 and 7. Here various views on the question as to whose food should be partaken by begging are set forth. Baudhāyana says 'ने ब्राह्मणायाः स्वकर्मस्थाः' which tallies with शुद्धा भिक्षा &c.



between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. In several places Āpastamba seems to be controverting the views of Baudhāyana or similar views held by others. Āpastamba condemns the view of giving the paternal wealth to the eldest son as opposed to the Vedas and explains the Vedic text (Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7 quoted above) about the eldest son being endowed with all wealth as a mere *anuvāda* and not a *vidhi* (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 6-13). Baudhāyana cites both the texts of the Tai. S. about equal division among sons and about the eldest son's larger share and seems to favour the latter view by putting it last (II. 2. 2-7.). Similarly the discussion in Āpastamba (I. 1. 4. 5-12) about a *brahmacārīn* eating the leavings (*ucchiṣṭa*) of his *guru*, provided the things are not directly forbidden by Śruti, seems to be directed against Baudhāyana (II. 1. 25-26). Although Āpastamba does not expressly quote Gautama, he appears to have had before him the Gautama-dharma-sūtra. He speaks of a *smṛti* (II. 6. 15. 25) that lays down that *upanayana* confers *adhikāra* on a man for śāstric actions and that before *upanayana* one is free to do anything and to eat anything. This, as interpreted by Haradatta, refers to Gautama (II. 1)<sup>88</sup>. There are striking coincidences between Gautama and Āpastamba, e. g. Gaut. I. 19. = Āp. I. 1. 1. 41 (about some teachers prescribing the yellow robe to a *brahmacārīn*), Gaut. I. 3 = Āp. 11. 6. 13. 7 (about the violation of *dharma* by the great in former ages), Gaut. 9. 52 = Āp. I. 11. 31. 13), Gaut. 23. 9 = Āp. 1. 9. 25. 2; Gaut. 16. 19 = Āp. I. 3. 9. 14-15). Āpastamba frequently refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (I. 1. 2. 37, 38, 41; I. 1. 4. 17; I. 2. 5. 20; I. 2. 6. 4; I. 3. 9. 3; I. 3. 11. 3 &c.) and 'aparam' (II. 6. 15. 22). It is somewhat remarkable that in many of these cases (where 'eke' occurs), the views are those either held by Gautama or ascribed by him also to others, e. g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 38 about the staff of a *brahmacārīn* refers to Gaut. I. 23; Āp. I. 1. 2. 41 is almost same as Gaut. I. 19, Āp. I. 2. 5. 20 seems to refer to Gaut. 1. 54-59, Āp. 1. 3. 9. 3 (the view of some that Vedic study lasts for four months and a half) seems to refer to Gaut. 16. 2, and Āp. I. 3. 11. 3 (about not studying after dining at a sacrifice for deities that are *manuṣya-prakṛti*) pointedly refers to Gaut. 16. 34 which contains the word '*manuṣyayajñabhojana*'. Āpastamba twice

<sup>88</sup> अत्र अधिकारः शास्त्रैर्मवति । सा लिङ्गा । स्मृतिश्च । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 15. 23-25;

प्रागुपनयनात् कामचारः कामवादः कामभक्षः । अहुतात् । गो. ध. सू. II. 1-2.



quotes verses from a Purāṇa (I. 6. 9. 13, II. 9. 23. 3) and in one place gives in prose the view of a Purāṇa (I. 10. 29. 7)<sup>89</sup>. Āpastamba (II. 9. 24. 6) speaks of the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa (about creation of the world after a periodic dissolution). In one place Āpastamba (II. 11. 29. 11-12) says that 'the knowledge that exists (traditionally) among women and śūdras is the furthest limit of *vidyā* and it is said to be a supplement of the Atharvaveda.' Here he probably refers to Arthaśāstra, which according to the *caranavyūha*, is the Upaveda of the Atharvaveda. Āpastamba refers (II. 7. 16. 1) to Manu as founder of the institution of śraddha. But this appears to be a reference to Manu, the mythical progenitor of mankind, and not to the Manusmṛiti. It is noteworthy that Āpastamba (II. 7. 17. 8) quotes a verse, which is the same as Anuśāsanaparva 90. 46 (*sambhojani nāma &c.*).

The Āpastambadharmasūtra stands in a peculiar relation to the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. It is the only extant Dharmasūtra that contains many of the technical terms and doctrines of the Mīmāṃsā. He says (I. 1. 4. 8) 'a positive Vedic text is more cogent than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost)<sup>90</sup>'. This refers to Jaimini's rule (I. 3. 3) "if there is a conflict between an express Vedic text and Smṛti, the latter is to be disregarded: but if there be no conflict an inference (may be made that the Smṛti is based upon some Śruti)". In another place Āpastamba says (I. 4. 12. 11) 'where an action is done on account of finding pleasure therefrom (i. e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) Śāstra'. This is the same as Jaimini's teaching (IV. 1. 2)<sup>91</sup>. He speaks of the

89 'यो हि साधमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं स्पृशति न तस्मिन्दोष इति पुराणे । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; this seems to be a summary of a verse like the one in Baudhāyana (Db. S. I. 10. 12) and Vasiṣṭha (III. 18) 'स्वाध्यायिन् कुले जातं यो हन्यादातनायिनम् । न तेन भ्रूणहृत् स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥' (Baud. has अध्यापकं कुले and भ्रूणहृत् भवति).

90 'श्रुतिर्हि बलीयस्यानुमानिकादाचारात्' आप. ध. सू.; 'विराधे त्वनपेक्ष्यं स्वादसाति सनुमानम्' पू. मी. सू.  
Vide also 'विप्रतिषेधे श्रुतिलक्षणं बलीयः' आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 30. 9 for the same position.

91 'यत्र तु प्रीत्युपलब्धतः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति' अप. ध. सू. यस्मिन्प्रीतिः पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्साधलक्षणाविभक्तत्वात्, पू. मी. सू. Vide also आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 8-10 'दृश्यते चापि प्रवृत्तिकारणम् । प्रीतिरुपलब्धते' and 'हेतुदर्शनाच्च' पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 4.



convention (*samaya*) of those who know Nyāya (i. e. Mīmāṃsā) that aṅgas (such as the Kalpasūtras are) cannot be designated the Vedas (which are the principal), which is clearly a reference to Pūrvamīmāṃsā (I. 3. 11-14)<sup>92</sup> and he says that those who know Nyāya lay down that a mere *anuvāda* (affirming or reciting) of what is well-known to all is not a positive rule (a *vidhi*), which is similar to Jaimini's rule<sup>93</sup>. The dictum of Āpastamba that the word "sale" (*kṛaya*) applied to a bride in some Vedic texts is merely figurative closely resembles Jaimini's<sup>94</sup> remarks on the same point. The remark of Āpastamba that the rules of *anadhyāya* only apply to Vedic study and not to the recital of *mantras* at sacrifices corresponds to a rule in Jaimini's<sup>95</sup> almost in the same words. These examples show that in Āpastamba's day Mīmāṃsā doctrines had been far advanced and that works existed that dealt with Mīmāṃsā topics (Nyāyas). The correspondence in language with the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra is so close that one is tempted to advance the view that Āpastamba knew the extant Mīmāṃsā-sūtra or an earlier version of it that contained almost the same expressions. It cannot be said that all these passages are later interpolations. They have all been explained by Haradatta and one of the sūtras referring to Mīmāṃsā topics occurs in so early a work as the commentary of Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 7) who quotes "Brāhmaṇokta vidhayah", (Āp. I. 4. 12. 10). The last passage is quoted by Medhatithi also (on Manu II. 6).

The dharmasūtra of Āpastamba has been quoted from very ancient times as authoritative. Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini VI. 8. 18 quotes one sūtra of Āpastamba and a paraphrase of another.<sup>96</sup> The Tantravārtika refers to the sūtras of Āpastamba about local and

92 'अङ्गानां तु प्रधानैरेव्यपदेश इति न्यायवित्समयः ।' आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 8. 13.

93 'अथापि नित्यानुवादमाविधिमाहुर्न्यायविदः' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 13; 'अथवादो वा विशिष्टोऽस्मात्समाहित्यानुवादः' पू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 30.

94 तस्यां कृपशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रम् । धर्माद्वि सम्बन्धः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11-12; 'कृयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्' पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15.

95 'विद्यां प्रत्यनप्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम्' आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 9; 'विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य' पू. मी. सू. XII. 3. 19.

96 "अथैव स्मृतिः 'धर्मे च अर्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या' इति, 'धर्मप्रज्ञासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत' इति च एवमिदमपि स्मर्यत एव 'अन्यतरापाये अन्यां कुर्वीत इति ।' शबरः, आप. २२७२ 'धर्मप्रज्ञासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । अन्यतरामात्रे कार्या प्राग्व्याधेयात्' II. 5. 11. 12-13.



family usages,<sup>97</sup> about drinking wine and about the conflict between the views of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (vide above page 26 also). Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Brahmasūtra IV. 2. 14 quotes Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3 (about the planting of trees for fruit as a meritorious act and the collateral benefits of shade and fragrance). He also cites (on Brahmasūtra II. 1. 1.) about the supreme soul a half verse from Āpastamba (I. 8. 23. 2)<sup>98</sup>. In his *bhāṣya* on Brhadāranyaka, he cites Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 (upāsane gurūṇām &c.). The two *paṭalas* of Āpastamba (I. 8. 22 and 23) dealing with *adhyātma* (philosophy) were commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya, who, from the general style and method of the commentary (vide Trivandrum edition of the *adhyātmapaṭala*), seems to be the same as the great ācārya. Sureśvara in his *Vartika* (I. 1. 97) on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the Brhadāranyakopaniṣad<sup>99</sup> quotes the sūtra about the planting of mango (Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3<sup>99</sup>) trees. Viśvarūpa, who according to Mādhava, was the same as Sureśvara,<sup>100</sup> quotes (Trivandrum edition) in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (ācāra and vyavahāra only) Āpastamba's sūtras about twenty times. The quotations show that the text of Āpastamba was identical with the one printed, barring a few variations that are no more than mere slips on the part of the scribes of Mss. In his commentary on Yāj. III 237 Viśvarūpa quotes eighteen sūtras of Āpastamba (I. 9. 24. 6-23) consecutively which are the same as those in the printed text. Medhātithi quotes Āpastamba II. 5. 11. 2, II. 4. 7. 16, II. B. 19. 20, I. 4. 14. 30-31 on Manu II. 247, III. 102, III. 273 and VIII 357 respectively and appears to refer to Āpastamba I. 4. 13. 6 (about "om") on Manu II. 83. The Mitākṣarā has several quotations and Apararka contains

97 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 138 'प्रतिदेशं व्यवस्थया । आपस्तम्ब्येन संद्वन्द्वं दुष्टदुष्टत्वमादृतम् ॥'. This has in view 'एतेन देशकालधर्मो व्याख्याताः' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 1; 'यापि चापस्तम्बस्मृतित्ववचनात्तुल्यबलत्वाद्वा भवेत्तापि तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरा न पिबेदिति एतेन प्रत्यक्षमुतिविधिना निराकृतेति त्रैवं विप्रोचारप्रामाण्यमाशङ्कितम्यम्.'

98 परमात्मानमेव प्रकृत्यापस्तम्बः पठति 'तरमात्कायाः प्रभवन्ति सर्वे स मूलं शाश्वतिकः स नित्यः'.

99 आग्ने कलार्थे इत्यादि आपस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । कलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणाम् । बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक. आपस्तम्ब's words are 'तद्यथा आग्ने कलार्थे निर्मिते छाया गन्ध इत्यनूत्ययेते एवं धर्मं चर्यमाणमथां अनुत्ययन्ते ।'

100 Vide my article in JBRAS for 1922 pp. 205-206.



about two hundred sūtras of Āpastamba, though rather in a mutilated form. But it is not necessary to refer to these and other later works in detail, since Haradatta's commentary, as will be shown later on, was written about the time of Aparārka. Thus from the days of Śābara (500 A. D. at the latest) to 1100 A. D. we have a host of writers who vouch for the authenticity of the extant text of Āpastamba.

About the home and personal history of Āpastamba little is known. Āpastamba is not an ancient name. It does not occur in the Vedic texts. It occurs in the *gāṇa* "Bīḍādi" in Pāṇini IV. 1. 104. He speaks of himself as belonging to later ages (*avara*). Vide Āpastamba<sup>101</sup> I. 2. 5. 4. and II. 6. 13. 9. In the *tarpaṇa* he is generally mentioned after Bodhāyana and before Satyaśāḍha Hiranyakeśin (vide note 68a above). Therefore according to tradition his school was elder or more authoritative than that of Hiranyakeśin. In one place Āpastamba refers to a peculiar Śraddhā usage of the *udīcya*s (II. 7. 17. 17).<sup>102</sup> Āpastamba must be supposed to have embodied in his work the usages of his own country. If he specially mentions the usages of a particular locality, it would follow that he did not hail from that locality. But the exact meaning of "Udīcya" is doubtful. Haradatta quotes a verse of the grammarians, according to which the country north of the Śaravati was called "Udīcya". According to the Mahābhāṣya quoted in the commentary on the *caraṇavyūha* the Āpastambiyas were to be found to the south of the Narmadā, in the south-east, that is, in Āndhra and the territory about the mouth of the Godāvarī. Therefore it is natural to suppose that Āpastamba's school had its origin in the south and probably in Āndhra. The Pallavas made land grants to Āpastambiyas. Vide I. A. vol. V. page 155.

The age of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra can be settled within only approximate limits. It is probably later than the Gautama Dharmasūtra and also the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra and before 500 A. D. it was an authoritative *smṛti* work according to Śābara. Āpastamba is enumerated by Yājñavalkya as a writer on *dharmasūtra* (I. 5)

101 'तस्माद्विषयोऽत्रैव न जायते नियमातिक्रमात्' and 'तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुजानः सीदन्त्यवरः'.

102 उदीच्यवृत्तिस्त्वाप्तनगतां हस्तेष्वुपाज्ञानयनम् । on this हरदत्त says शरावत्या उदीच्यवृत्तिः ।



and by Śāṅkha-Likhita. Its style and grammar ( which is un-Pāṇinian in the extreme ) entitle it to great antiquity. There is no clear reference to Buddhism and other schisms anywhere. It appears to look upon Śvetaketu as not far removed from its own epoch. It was probably written at a time when Jaimini had founded his school. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we assign it to some period between 600-300 B. C. On several points his views are opposed to those of his predecessors, e. g. he rejects secondary sons, condemns *niyoga*, does not admit *Paiśāca* and *Prājāpatya* as valid forms of marriage ( vide above page 29 ). There are other points also wherein Āpastamba differs from Gautama and the other sūtra-kāras. Gautama ( IV. 14-17 ) and Baudhāyana ( I. 8. 7-12 ) give long lists of mixed castes and Gautama includes Yavana among them. Āpastamba is silent on this point. But this has hardly any bearing on chronology. Even the Vedic works mention the *Niṣāda* and the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* has a special *adhikaraṇa* ( VI. 1. 51 ) devoted to him ; the Br. Upaniṣad mentions ( IV. 3. 22 and 37 ) such castes as *Cāṇḍāla*, and the *Gitā* mentions the *Śvapāka*. The Āp. Śrauta speaks of the *Niṣāda* ( 9. 14. 12-13 ). The Āp. Dh. S. ( II. 1. 2. 6 ) mentions *Cāṇḍāla*, *Paulkasa* and *Vaiṣṇa*. Gautama ( 17. 30 ) forbids the eating of the flesh of cows and bulls, while Āp. ( I. 5. 7. 30-31 ) seems to allow it and cites the *Vājasaneyaka* for support. In this connection it has to be noted that *Vasiṣṭha* also has a similar sūtra ( 14. 46 ). Āp. ( I. 9. 27. 10 ) prescribes a penance for one who practises usury and lays down that one should not eat at the usurer's ( I. 6. 18. 22 ), while Gautama appears to allow usury to a Brāhmaṇa as a calling if done through an agent ( X. 6 ). Baudhāyana, on the other hand, quotes verses that condemn usury in strong language as even worse than *brahmahatyā*, holds that a Brāhmaṇa who is a usurer should be treated as a *śūdra* and allows the first two castes to practise usury only towards atheists, *śūdras* and such like persons ( I. 5. 79-81 ). So these differences of Āp. from others are hardly conclusive as to his chronological position.

The commentary of Haradatta called *Ujjvalā-vṛtti* is the only one so far recovered. For an account of Haradatta, vide sec. 86. The *Smṛticandrikā* ( I, page 25 ) quotes a passage from the *bhāṣya* of Āpastamba ( II. 6. 15. 19-20 ) and ( II. p. 300 ) quotes the explanation of the *bhāṣyakāra* on Āpastamba II. 6 14. 1. Both these passages



are not found in the commentary of Haradatta, though in the latter case, Haradatta holds the same view as that of the Bhāṣyakāra. Similarly the Viramitrodaya (Vyavahāra, page 671) quotes the bhāṣyakāra of Āpastamba, but that quotation does not agree with Haradatta. Haradatta himself does not call his work *bhāṣya*, but *vṛtti*. Besides the Subodhini on the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 132) quotes a passage from the Āpastambadharmavṛtti which is found in Haradatta on Āp. II. 6. 14. 1. Haradatta himself cites sometimes two or three other interpretations of the same sūtra (e. g. on Āp. I. 2. 5. 2; I. 3. 10. 6; I. 5. 15. 20; II. 2. 3. 16). So the *bhāṣyakāra* was probably one of his predecessors.

In Aparārka, Haradatta, Smṛticandrikā and other works there are numerous quotations in verse ascribed to Āpastamba. These quotations are concerned with topics of Ahnika, Śrāddha, and Prāyaścitta. The Smṛticandrikā (III. pp. 423 and 426) quotes a Stotrāpastamba. Haradatta on Gaṇṭama (22. 18) quotes several verses on prāyaścitta from Āpastamba. Three of these verses are found in the Āpastamba-smṛti in verse (Jivananda's collection vol. I pp. 567-584 chap. I verses 16, 19, 31). The Smṛti printed by Jivananda contains about 207 verses in ten chapters on prāyaścitta and purifications. But the quotations from the Smṛticandrikā and Aparārka show that the verse Āpastamba was a much larger work and since they regarded the versified work as equally authoritative with the sūtra work, the versified smṛti must have been comparatively an ancient work.

### 8. Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra.

The Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra forms the 26th and 27th *praśnas* of the Hiranyakeśi-kalpa. The Śrauta sūtra has been published by the Anandāśrama Press (Poona). The Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra was edited with extracts from the commentary of Mātrdatta by Dr. Kirste (Vienna, 1889). The Grhya forms the 19th and 20th *praśnas* of the Kalpa, each *praśna* being divided into eight pāṭalas. The Śrauta-sūtra is largely based on the Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba. The Grhya-sūtra is indebted to the Grhya-sūtra of Bhāradvāja. The Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakeśin can hardly be called an independent work. Hundreds of sūtras are borrowed word for word from the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra. The Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakeśin is therefore the oldest voucher for the authenticity of Āpastamba's text and is very valuable for checking the latter,



The Hiranyakeśins form a sūtra-carana of the Khāndikeya section of the Taittirīyaśākhā and were formed later than the Āpastambīya School. In a grant of the Kongu kings dated in 454 A. D. Brāhmaṇas of the Hiranyakeśi School are mentioned (I. A. vol. V. page 136). According to the Mahārṇava quoted in the commentary of the caranavyūha, the Hiranyakeśins were to be found in the south-west between the Sahya mountain and the ocean and near Paraśurāma (i. e. in the Konkan). There are at present many Brāhmaṇas in the Ratnagiri District who call themselves Hiranyakeśins. The Dattaka-mīmāṃsā of Nanda-paṇḍita twice quotes passages from the commentary of Śabarasvāmin on the sūtra of Satyāśāḍha. If he was identical with the great commentator of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā (which is almost certain), then we have unimpeachable evidence for the existence of the works of the Hiranyakeśins long before the fifth century A. D.

Bühler in his second edition of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra (1893) gave (in appendix II) the various readings of the Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra from two MSS. I secured a modern transcript of the Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra from the Deccan College collection (No 138 of 1881-82), which contains the text and also the commentary of Mahādeva thereon. There are 18 folios for the sūtra and 101 for the commentary. That ms. presents some readings which are not noticed by Bühler as found in the two mss. consulted by him. For example, the ms. reads "saptama āyuskāmamaṣṭame brahmavarca-sakāmanī (reversing the order of years in Āp. I. 1. 21-22), omits the words 'yadi snāyat daṇḍavat plavet' (from Āp. I. 1. 2. 30.), reads 'vastrāṇyeva vasitobhaya &c.' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 9 omits vasita), reads 'gurave' for 'acāryāya' in Āp. I. 1. 3. 31. The ms. of the Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra contains certain additions to the sūtras of Āpastamba. For example, a sūtra 'kṣāralavaṇa-madhu-māṃsāni ca varjayet' is added after Āp. II. 9. 22. 14, a sūtra 'teṣāṃ pūjā śreyasyātmanah kār्या' occurs after Āp. II. 9. 25. 8, and the sūtra 'sarva-dharmāṇāṃ svadharmānuṣṭhānāniyameṣu ca yuktaḥ syāt' occurs after Āp. II. 9. 25. 13. The manuscript contains a few verses, that are not found in the Āpastambadharmasūtra, introduced by the words 'athāpyudāharanti<sup>103</sup>,' (except in one case

103 'पशवश्च मुखादाना अश्वा बालवणोद्धृतः। एतद् मास्येन तेऽप्यं तन्नुश्चारजनी-  
कृता ॥' after आच. ध. सू. I. 7. 21. 4.; अन्वयार्क कुले जार्त यो इत्यादातताविनम् ।'



viz. 'putrena, &c. ) The manuscript also omits certain sūtras found in Āp. e. g. 'varṇapāyāsaṁ cetarair varṇaiḥ' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 8), 'anyatra rāhudarśanāt' (Āp. II. 7. 17. 25), 'athopanayanam tatra udakopasparśanam' (Āp. I. 1. 1. 36). In the case of some sūtras the readings of Hiranyakeśin present a smoother and more classical Sanskrit than that of Āpastamba and are manifestly attempts to bring them in a line with the requirements of the śiṣṭas at the time when the Āpastambasūtras were taken over into the Hiranyakeśi school. Hiranyakeśisūtra has 'pādonam' and 'ardhonam' for 'padūnam' and 'ardhena' of Āpastamba (I. 1. 2. 13-14), 'asandarśane' for 'asandarśe' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 29), 'aglanih' for 'aglanisnuh' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 22), 'prakṣālayer' for 'prakṣālayita' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 36), 'kartṛpatyam' for 'kartapatyam' (Āp. I. 2. 5. 3) 'yathāśakti' for 'śaktiviśayeṇa' (Āp. II. 5. 12. 1). Another noticeable feature is that the arrangement of the sūtras into subsections is a good deal different in the two works. Bühler notes that from the 13th khaṇḍikā (6th paṭala) of the second prāśna both the manuscripts consulted by him do not indicate the *paṭalas*. The Deccan College manuscript does not number them from the second paṭala in the second *prāśna*. The number of paṭalas in the first *prāśna* of Hiranyakeśi is eight, while Āpastamba has eleven paṭalas in each of the two *prāśnas*. The distribution of sūtras in the khaṇḍikās is therefore different in the two works. Hiranyakeśi has 31 khaṇḍikās in the first *prāśna* and 20 in the second. Besides a few of the khaṇḍikās are differently placed. The first khaṇḍikā of Hiranyakeśi (first *prāśna*) stops after Āp. I. 1. 2. 1, the third reaches up to Āp. I. 1. 4. 6; Āp. I. 8. 22 and 23 (the adhyātmapaṭala) come in Hiranyakeśi immediately after Āp. I. 6. 19 and are Hir. I. 6. 20; Āp. I. 7. 20 and 21 = Hir. I. 6. 21-22; Āp. I. 9. 24 and 25. 1-4 = Hir. I. 6. 23; Āp. I. 9. 25. 4-13 and I. 9. 26. 1-10 = Hir. I. 7. 24; Āp. I. 9. 26. 11-14 and I. 9. 27 = Hir. I. 7. 25; Āp. I. 10. 28 = Hir. I. 7. 26; Āp. I. 11. 31. 1-10 = Hir. I. 8. 29; Āp. I. 11. 31. 11-23 =

न तेन भूयद्वा भवन्ति मनुयुस्तं मनुमुच्छतीति । which is हिरण्यकेशि I. 7. 27. 8 and comes after आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; पुत्रेण लोकाजयति पौत्रेणामृतं सूते । अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण प्राप्नोति ब्रह्मस्य विष्टपम् ॥ दौहित्रस्तत्प्रतिमुञ्चति यत्प्राप्तं महद्दयम् । ब्राह्मदेवास्त्वधिकारिणः ॥ after आप. II. 5. 12. 4; 'वेदाध्यायी पञ्चामिस्त्रिमुपार्णो ज्येष्ठ-सामिकः । ब्राह्मदेवानुसन्तानी पञ्चेते पक्षिपावनाः ॥' after आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 21.

The verse अस्वापकं is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 12 and Vas. III. 18 and for पुत्रेण &c. compare मनु 9. 137.



Hir. I. 8. 30. In the second *prafna* the variance in distribution of sūtras into khaṇḍikās is still greater. Besides Āp. II. 4. 8-9 are placed in Hiranyakeśi before Āp. II. 3. 6-7 and Āp. II. 6. 13-15 before Āp. II. 5. 10-11. Sometimes a single sūtra of Āpastamba is split up into two and placed in two different khaṇḍikās, e. g. Āp. I. 9. 25. 4 is split into Hir. I. 6. 23. 31 and I. 7. 24. 1 (the portion from 'rājānam gatvā' being the first sūtra of Hiranyakeśi's 24th Khaṇḍikā).

The com. of Mahādeva Dikṣita called Ujjvalī, is almost word for word the same as that of Haradatta's Ujjvalā. That one has borrowed from the other admits of no doubt and Bühler thinks that Mahādeva is the borrower. But there is hardly anything to turn the scale in favour of Haradatta. Sometimes Mahādeva's commentary contains more matter than Haradatta's (e. g. on the sūtras 'Saptame brahmarcasakamam &c. 'Upanayanam vidyārthasya śrutitah', 'dvādaśavarardhyam') and sometimes Haradatta contains more explanation (e. g. on 'tasmiṃśca vidyākarmāmam &c.; on 'nāpsu ślāghamānaḥ snayāt', on 'pāṇisanīkṣubdhenodakenaika &c.'). Mahādeva differs from Haradatta's explanation of the word 'atha', which the former takes in the sense of 'ānantarya' or 'adhikāra', while the latter takes it only in the sense of 'ānantarya'. That Mahādeva also is an early writer follows from the fact (noted by Bühler p. 117n) that portions of his commentary are contained in the Munich Ms. of Haradatta dated Vikrama-Samvat 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). It is to be noted that Haradatta after saluting Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his Ujjvalā does obeisance to Mahādeva (which may mean God Śiva or the author Mahādeva if he was the *guru* or father of Haradatta). Mahādeva often comments on the sūtras as found in Āpastamba and not on the readings of them as existing in the Hiranyakeśi school; e. g. he comments on 'padūnam', on 'adhāsanaśāyī' for ardhāsanaśāyī (the reading of the sūtra), on 'ātmastavyayanārthena' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 9) for 'svastyayanārthena' of the ms. of Hir. The explanations of the two writers sometimes differ, as for example on 'ācaryādhiṇas syād-anyatra pataniyebhyaḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 19<sup>104</sup>). One more circumstance that is worthy of note is that the Ujjvalā of Haradatta does not contain many quotations from Smṛtis as com-

104 इदं explains 'आचार्याधीनो भवेत्युपनयनान्ते यत्संज्ञातं तस्मिद्ध्येवाचार्याधीनता-  
नूपते', while महादेव makes it a विधि 'आचार्याधीनतया स्थातव्यमिति विधिः'.



pared with his commentary on the Gautamadharmasūtra. Although one may be inclined to hold that it is Mahādeva who borrows, it must be clearly recognized that there is hardly any positive evidence in support of such a view. There is a commentary called Vaijayanti on the Hiraṇyakeśi-śrauta-sūtra. This Mahādeva is very likely identical with the Mahādeva who commented upon the dharmasūtra.

### 9. Vasīṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

This *dharmasūtra* has been printed several times. The collection of Jivananda (part II, pp. 456-496) contains only 20 chapters and a portion of the 21st and so does the collection of Mr. M. N. Dutt (Calcutta 1908). The Ānandaśrama collection of smṛtis (1905, pp. 187-231) and the edition of Dr. Führer in the B. S. series (1916) contain thirty chapters. According to Dr. Jolly (R. u S., p. 6) some mss. give only six or ten chapters. The Vasīṣṭhadharmasūtra with the commentary called Vidvanmodini was printed at Benares. In the following Dr. Führer's edition has been used.

Kumārila (vide note 55 above) tells us that the *dharmasūtra* of Vasīṣṭha was specially studied by the students of the R̥gveda, but that along with other *dharmasūtras* it is authoritative for all *caranās*. No śrauta and grhya sūtras of Vasīṣṭha, if they ever existed, have come down to us. We have therefore to fall back upon one of two hypotheses, viz. either the *dharmasūtra* of Vasīṣṭha is the solitary remnant of a school that might have once possessed a complete *kalpa* or that it was composed as an independent work on *dharma* and was subsequently seized upon by the students of the R̥gveda, who had only śrauta and grhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana. For reasons given elsewhere I incline to the latter view. The *dharmasūtra* of Vasīṣṭha cites quotations from all Vedas and beyond the name Vasīṣṭha there is hardly anything special in the *dharmasūtra* to connect it with the R̥gveda. It is true that in the 17th chap. several verses of the R̥gveda (such as I. 21. 5, I. 124. 7, V. 4. 10 which occur in sūtras, 3, 16 and 4 respectively) and several passages from the story of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa are quoted by the sūtra and that several hymns of the R̥gveda, such as the *asyavāṁtīya* (R̥g. 1. 164), *haviṣpāntīya* (R̥g. X. 88), *Aghamarṣaṇa* (X. 190), are referred to in the 26th chap. But there is nothing remarkable in this as some of the verses and *suktas* are mentioned in the Bauddhāyanadharmasūtra also. Besides the Vas. Dh. S. quotes several



passages from the Taittirīyasamhitā (as in Vas. V. 7-9, which quotes Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 6 and Vas. XI. 48 which quotes Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5), the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Maitrayniya-samhitā (in Vas. I. 37).

The contents of the Vas. Dh. S. are :— I Definition of *Dharma*, limits of Āryāvarta, who are sinners, the mortal sins, a brāhmaṇa can marry a girl of any of the three higher castes, six forms of marriage, the king was to regulate the conduct of people and to take the sixth part of wealth as a tax ; II. The four *varṇas*, the greatness of *ācārya*, before *upanayana* there is no authority for religious rites, the privileges and duties of the four castes, in distress a Brāhmaṇa could subsist by resorting to the calling of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya, a Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to sell certain things, usury condemned, rates of interest allowed ; III. Censure of illiterate Brāhmaṇa, rules on finding treasure-trove, who are *ātalayins*, when they could be killed in self-defence, who are *paṅktipāvanas*, constitution of a *pariṣad*, rules about *ācamana*, *śauca* and purification of various substances ; IV. The constitution of the four castes is based upon birth and the performance of *samskāras*, the duties common to all castes, honouring guests, *madhuparka*, impurity on birth and death ; V. dependence of women, rules of conduct for a *rajasvalā* ; VI. usage is transcendental *dharma*, praise of *ācāra*, rules about answering calls of nature, moral characteristics of a brāhmaṇa and the peculiar characteristics of a śūdra, censure of partaking food at the houses of śūdras, rules of etiquette and good breeding ; VII the four āśramas, and the duties of a student ; VIII. Duties of an householder, honouring guests, IX. rules for forest hermits ; X. rules for *śaṇṇyāsins* ; XI. six persons who deserve special honour, viz. the priest at the sacrifice, son-in-law, king, paternal and maternal uncles and a *snātaka* ; order of precedence in serving food, guests, rules about śrāddha, times for it, the brāhmaṇas to be invited at it, rules about *agnihotra*, *upanayana*, the proper time, staff, girdle &c. for it ; method of begging for alms, *prāyaścitta* for those whose *upanayana* is not performed ; XII. rules of conduct for a *snātaka* ; XIII. rules about the beginning of Vedic study, rules about holidays for Vedic studies, rules about falling at the feet of the *guru* and others, guiding principles in precedence as regards respect ( learning, wealth, age, relationship, avocation, each prior deserving more consideration than each succeeding one ), rule of the road ; XIV. rules about forbidden and permitted food, rules about the flesh of certain birds and animals ; XV. rules of adoption,



about excommunication of those who revile the Vedas or perform sacrifices of śūdras and for other sins; XVI. About administration of justice, king as guardian of minors, threefold *pramāṇas*, viz. documents, witnesses and possession; rules about adverse possession and about king's advisers; qualifications of witnesses; perjury condoned in certain cases; XVII. praise of *aurasa* son; conflicting views about *kṣetrāja* son, viz. whether he belongs to the begetter or to him on whose wife he is begotten; twelve kinds of sons; partition between brothers, grounds of exclusion from partition, rules of *niyoga*, rules about grown-up unmarried girl, rules of inheritance, king as ultimate heir; XVIII. *pratiloma* castes such as *cāṇḍāla*, no Vedic studies for śūdras or in their presence; XIX. king's duty to protect and to punish; importance of *paribhā*; XX. about *prāyaścittas* for various acts unknowingly or knowingly done; XXI. *prāyaścitta* for adultery by Śūdra and others with women of the Brahmana caste or for cow-killing; XXII. *prāyaścitta* for eating forbidden food and sacred texts that purify in case of sins; XXIII. penances for *Brahmacārin* having sexual intercourse, for drinking wine &c.; XXIV. *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra*; XXV. secret penances and penances for lesser sins; XXVI-VII. virtues of *prāṇāyāma*, Vedic hymns of *Gāyatri* as purifiers; XXVIII. praise of women, eulogy of Vedic *mantras* like *aghamarṣaya* and of gifts; XXIX. rewards of gifts, *brahmacarya*, *tapas* &c.; XXX. eulogy of *dharma*, truth and *brāhmaṇa*.

The Vas. Dh. S. resembles in several respects the other dharma-sūtras described above. It contains almost the same subjects and is similarly composed in prose interspersed with verses. The Vas. Dh. S. is in style like the Gautamadharmasūtra and has many sūtras identical with or closely resembling those of the latter. Vide. p. 18 • above. It has also several sūtras closely corresponding with the sūtras of Baudhāyana. Grave doubts have been entertained about the authenticity of the whole of the text of the Vas. Dh. S. as the mss. contain varying numbers of chapters from 6 to 30, and as the text is hopelessly corrupt in several places (e. g. vide note to 8 below). The Vas. Dh. S. contains many verses which bear the impress of a comparatively late age. Chapters 25-28 are entirely in verse, while there are other chapters (like III. 2-12, VI. 1-13, XI. 20-42) which contain many verses interposed between prose passages. In this respect Vasishtha's work is on a par with Bau-



dhāyana's, in the fourth praśna of which there are chapters entirely consisting of verses. It has therefore been argued that the text of Vasiṣṭha was tampered with freely, particularly as regards the chapters at the end. But as shown below it will have to be admitted that the interpolations, whatever they may be, were made at a very early period. The Mitākṣarā quotes Vas. by name about 80 times and the quotations are taken from almost every chapter from the first to the last. For example, Mit. quotes Vas. 27. 1 on Yāj. III. 311, Vas. 27. 21 on Yāj. III. 324, Vas. 28. 7 on Yāj. III. 298, Vas. 28. 18, 19 and 22 on Yāj. III. 310. Even Medhātithi quotes Vasiṣṭha over twenty times. The quotations are mostly taken from the first chapter to the 21st. Only one quotation from the last few chapters (viz. 27. 16) has been found in Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 211) and that too is not quoted as Vasiṣṭha's, but is ascribed to 'others.' Viśvarūpa, who flourished about the first quarter of the 9th century quotes Vas. about thirty times in his commentary on the *ācāra* and *vyavahāra* sections of Yāj. These quotations hardly differ in any respect from the text of Dr. Führer's edition and are scattered over almost all chapters from the 1st to the 17th, six quotations being taken from chapters 3 and 17 each. In the *prāyaścitta* section Viśvarūpa quotes Vas. even more frequently. Besides several sūtras from the 1st, 4th, 10th and 11th chapters, he quotes here no less than 22 sūtras of the 20th chap. and 9 of the 21st. Moreover sūtras 37 and 39 of the 23rd chap. are quoted (on Yāj. III. 281-282). What is more remarkable is that two verses (2-3) of the 28th chapter are ascribed to Vasiṣṭha and explained in detail (on Yāj. III. 256), while Vas. 28. 4 is quoted without the author's name. These facts make it certain that the Vas. Dh. S. contained in Viśvarūpa's day all the chapters from the first to the 23rd and also the 28th. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya in Br. Upaniṣad (III. 5. 1) quotes Vas. X. 4 and on Br. Up. IV. 5. 15 he quotes Vas. VII. 3. The Vas. Dh. S. quotes numerous verses preceded by the words 'athāpyudāharanti', which is the case with Baudhāyana also. Several verses occur without these words being prefixed, but most of them seem to be quotations (e. g. Vas. II. 3 which combines Manu. II-169 and 170, IV. 6 which is Manu 5. 41, VI. 6 and 8 which are Manu IV. 157 and 158). Some of these verses introduced with the words 'athāpi' &c. as well as some of those not so introduced are in the regular classical Upajati, Upendra-vajrā or Indravajrā (vide I. 38, X. 20 for verses with *athāpi* &c.



and VI. 9 and 25, X. 17, XVI. 36 for verses without them). Some of the verses are in the ancient Triṣṭubh form (e. g. VI. 3 and 30, VIII. 17, XVII. 71). In one verse (VI. 5) there are twelve letters in the first *pāda* and 11 in the rest. One quotation with the words "athāpi" &c. is in prose (II. 5). There are a few un-Pāṇinian forms like 'Vivadanti' in XIV. 47 (vide Pāṇini I. 3. 47). It looks as if the dharmasūtra once ended with the 24th chapter, where we have an injunction (in sūtra 6) against imparting the dharmasūtra to one who is not a son or pupil. The same sūtra occurs in Baudhāyana Dh. S. IV. 4. 9 and the succeeding sūtra is the same in both. But the words 'prāyaścitta has been described in the *rahasya* sections for playing false to the husband' (in Vas. V. 4) apparently refer either to chapters 25-28 (which contain *rahasya* penances) or to some prototype of those chapters now lost.

The Vas. Dh. S. quotes largely from the R̥gveda and other Vedic *Saṁhitās*. Among the Brāhmaṇas, the Aitareya and Śatapatha are frequently cited. The Vājasaneyaka (Vas. 12. 31 and 23. 13) and the Kāthaka (Vas. 12. 24 and 30. 5) are mentioned by name. The Tai. Āranyaka is quoted in Vas. 23. 23. The Upaniṣads and Vedānta occur in 22. 9. Vasiṣṭha quotes a *gāthā* of the Bhāllavins from their Nidāna work about the extent of the home of Brāhmanism, which is quoted by Baudhāyana also (Dh. S. I. 1. 27). He speaks of the *aṅgas* of the Veda (3. 23 and 13. 7) and gives their number as six (3. 19). Itihāsa and Purāṇa are mentioned in 27. 6. The science of words (grammar), of omens and portents and of astrology and astronomy (Nakṣatravidyā) are referred to in 10. 20-21. He prohibits the learning of the language of the Mlecchas (in 6. 41). Vas. quotes a verse that states that the view holding the *apramāṇya* of the Vedas leads to perdition (12. 41). In Vas. II. 8-11 occurs the Vidyāsūkta in four verses that we meet with in the Nirukta (II. 4). Vasiṣṭha calls his own work dharmasāstra (in 24. 6) and probably refers to other works on *dharma* in the words 'one who studies dharmas' (in 3. 19). The study of dharmasāstra as a penance for even mortal sins is spoken of in 27. 19. Vas. quotes several authors on dharmasāstra. He quotes a verse from Hārita (in II. 6) which occurs in Baudhāyana also with slight variations (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 7), though without the author's name. The two halves of this verse are almost the same as the latter halves of Manu, 2. 171-172. Bühler is therefore not quite accurate when he



says without qualification that the verse attributed to Hārīta occurs in Manu (p. XX, S. B. E. vol. XIV). Vas. quotes Gautama twice (in 4. 35 and 37) about impurity on death, the first corresponding to Gautama (14. 41), while there is nothing in Gautama to correspond to the 2nd. Vas. quotes a verse (11. 20) which mentions Yama by name and embodies the latter's views. Vas. (18. 13-15) quotes three ślokas sung by Yama, one of which (14) is the same as Manu 4. 80 and another (15) is very similar to Manu 4. 81. Another śloka of Yama is quoted by Vas. (19. 48) which is almost the same as Manu 5. 93. From these facts and others Bühler draws the conclusion (S. B. E. vol. XIV, p. XX) that these verses were taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra, which occupied the same position in Vasiṣṭha's day as the Manusmṛti does at present. I demur to this conclusion, which will be discussed later on in detail (under Manusmṛti). Vas. (14. 30-32) quotes ślokas of Prajāpati, the first of which mentions Yama by name. Vas. 14. 16-19 and 24-27 are quoted as ślokas of Prajāpati, three of which (14. 16, 18 and 24) are practically the same as Manu 4. 248, 249 and 5. 127. Vas. 14. 19 contains a *pāda* which occurs in Manu 4. 212. It is remarkable that the Vas. Dh. S. cites Vasiṣṭha himself with great reverence (as *bhagavān*) in 2. 50 (about the rate of interest), 24. 5 (about Kṛcchra penance), 30. 11. In numerous places the Vas. Dh. S. either refers to Manu by name or quotes the views of Manu (under the form 'iti Mānavam') or a śloka of Manu (with the words 'Mānavam ślokaṁ'). All these passages have an important bearing on the age of the Manusmṛti and on the supposed existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra. They therefore deserve to be carefully examined. Vas. I. 17 is in prose (about local, family or caste usages) and summarises the views of Manu. The absence of the word 'iti' before 'abrahṇ' Manuḥ' and the form of the sūtra itself clearly establishes that Vas. is not directly quoting a sūtra of Manu. That sūtra is only a summary of our Manu I. 118. Vas. 3. 2 (which is preceded by the words 'Mānavam ślokaṁ') is Manu II. 168. And so are Vas. 13. 16, 20. 18, which are Manu 4. 117 and 11. 151 (with very slight variations). That the latter existed in Vasiṣṭha's text is vouched for by Aparārka (p. 1075). Vas. 4. 5 is in prose and cites the view of Manu that animals may be sacrificed only for worshipping and honouring the



manes, deities and guests <sup>105</sup>. There is hardly anything to show that it is a direct quotation from Manu and not a summary of Manu's views. The sūtra briefly summarises the views that we find expressed in our Manu 5. 22, 32, 41 and 42 (the words of 42 'eṣvartheṣu paśum hiṁsan' are interesting and bear a close resemblance to 'paśum hiṁsyād' in Vas.). That sūtra is followed by a verse which is the same as Manu 5. 41. It is to be noted that the same verse occurs in the dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu (51. 64) which reads 'nānyatreti katharicāna' for 'nānyatheryabravān Manuḥ'. This change appears to have been purposely made to keep up the impression that the Viṣṇu-Dh. S. emanated from Viṣṇu himself and so could not have borrowed from a human author. Vas. 4. 7 is very similar to Manu 5. 48. Bühler (S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxxi) is wrong in taking Vas. 4. 8 as a quotation from the Mānavadharmasūtra. There is nothing to show that it is so taken. It is more probably a quotation from or a summary of a Brāhmaṇa passage (compare a quotation in Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 109, which is similar). Vide note 46. Vas. 23. 43 (where Manu is referred to as prescribing an easy penance called Śiśukṛcchra for children and old men) corresponds more or less with Manu 11. 211 and 219 and Vas. 26. 8 has evidently Manu 11. 260 in view. There are only two places in Vasiṣṭha where the name of Manu occurs for which it is not possible to point out a corresponding verse in the Manusmṛti. They are Vas. 12. 16 and 19 37. The latter is cited as a Mānavasloka and is in the Upajāti metre. <sup>106</sup> Because this is not found in our Manu, Bühler and other Western scholars seem to think that the verse is taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra which once existed in mixed prose and verse and is now lost. But as will be shown elsewhere this hypothesis is based, to say the least, on very slender foundations. Besides these two that are not found in our Manu, there are about forty verses that are common to the Vas. Dh. S. and the Manusmṛti and about a dozen verses which, though not strictly identical, are more or less similar. There are several prose sūtras of Vas. which correspond to the

<sup>105</sup> पितृदेवातिथिपूजायामप्येव पशुं हिंस्यादिति मानवम् । वसिष्ठ 4. 5 ; वसिष्ठ 4. 8 is अधापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यागताय महोक्षाणं वा महाजं वा पचेदेवमस्मा अतिथयं कुर्वन्तीति ।

<sup>106</sup> शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरति—न भिन्नकार्षापणमस्ति शुल्के न शिल्पवृत्तौ न शिशौ न दूते । न भैक्षलब्धे न दूतावशेषे न श्रोत्रिये न प्रयजिते न यज्ञे ॥ The वि. र. (p. 305) ॥ ५७० वसिष्ठः शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरति न भिन्नम् ॥ ५७०.



verses of Manu almost word for word.<sup>107</sup> The hypothesis that commends itself to me is that Vas. contains borrowings from the Manusmṛti or its purer ancient original in verse.

In the words 'Śrāmapakenāgnimādhāya' (Vas. 9. 10), the sūtra of Vikhanas seems to be referred to. Gautama (Dh. S. 3. 26) contains the same words. Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is the same as Gautama's 19th and Baudhāyana's tenth in the 3rd *prāśna* and seems to have been borrowed from Gautama. Vasiṣṭha refers to the views of others in the words 'eke' or 'anye' (Vas. 1. 12, 13, 25; 4. 10; 17. 66; 20. 2). Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII, p. xviii) thinks that Vas. 28. 10-15 and 18-22 are borrowed from the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra chap. LVI and LXXXVII [or its original the Kāthakadharmasūtra. Dr. Jolly is not right with regard to both the places. Bühler has already pointed out his mistake as to the second passage (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XXII). The verses in Vas. 28. 10-15 occur in several smṛtis (vide Śaṅkhasmṛti, 10th chap. in Jivananda's ed. part II. pp. 356-357 for the same verses). Besides Vas. 28. 11 occurs in Baud. Dh. S. IV. 3. 7. Hence it is hardly proper for any scholar to make the dogmatic assertion that one particular smṛti must have borrowed from any other. The rather very corrupt passage in Vasiṣṭha (16. 21-23<sup>108</sup>) very closely resembles a passage of Śaṅkha, which is cited by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 305 and by the Kṛtya-kalpataru (I. O. Cat. Ms. No. 852, folio 8a).

Bühler is of opinion that the home of the school to which the Vas. Dh. S. belonged lay to the north of the Narmada and the

107 वसिष्ठ 7. 3. 'तेषां वेदमध्यस्थ वेदो वेदान्वाविशिर्णिग्नहचर्यो यमिच्छेत्तमावसेत् ।' compare मनु 3. 2; वसिष्ठ 13. 61 'तृणमन्यम्युक्कवाकमृतानस्यः सतां गृहे नोच्छ्रयन्ते कदाचन ।'; compare मनु 3. 101; वसिष्ठ 16. 30 'क्षिणां साक्षिणः स्त्रियः कुर्याद् द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः शुद्राणां सन्तः शुद्राश्चान्यनानामन्ययोनयः'; compare with मनु 8. 68 'क्षिणां साक्ष्यं स्त्रियः कुर्युर्द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः । शुद्राश्च सन्तः शुद्राणामन्यनानामन्ययोनयः ॥'.

108 The printed Vas. reads 'वेधसो वा राजा श्रेयान् गृध्रपरिवारं स्यात् । गृध्रपरिवारं वा राजा श्रेयान् । गृध्रपरिवारं स्यान्न गृध्रो गृध्रपरिवारं स्यात्'. This hardly makes any sense. The कृत्यकल्पतरु presents a good reading (from शङ्खलक्षित) 'न गृध्रपरिवारः स्यात् । कामं गृध्रो राजा श्रेयान् हंसपरिवारः । परिवाराद् द्वि दोषाः प्राकुर्भवन्ति । तेऽलं विनाशाय ।'.



Vindhya ( S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XVI ). When it is extremely problematical whether the Vas. Dh. S. was the product of a school, it is idle to speculate as to the home of the Vas. Dh. S. Bühler's is no more than a mere conjecture and it is better to admit that we know nothing positive at present on the point.

The earliest work to refer to Vasīṣṭha as an authority on *dharma* is our Manu ( 8. 140 ), saying that Vas. allowed 1/80th of the principal as interest per month. This appears to refer to the rule in Vas. 2. 50. We saw above that Vas. borrows from the Manusmṛti, which in its turn quotes a rule of Vasīṣṭha. The explanation of this is twofold. Both the Manusmṛti and Vas. have received later additions and further it is possible that the present Vas. Dh. S. is the work of some one who had received the teachings of Vas. through a succession of teachers and disciples. Yāj. mentions ( 1. 4 ) Vasīṣṭha as a writer on *dharma*. The Tantravārtika as seen above ( note 55 ) remarks that the Vas. Dh. S. was studied by R̥gvedins. The same work when speaking of works on *dharma* puts Manu, Gautama and Vasīṣṭha in the forefront.<sup>108a</sup> Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other early commentators largely quote from Vas. The verse 'agnerapatyam' ( Vas. 28. 16 ) occurs in the Ragīm copperplate of Tivaradeva of the last quarter of the 8th century ( Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions No. 81 ). Therefore the existence of a work of Vasīṣṭha on *dharma* at least in the first centuries of the Christian era is vouched for with certainty and the authenticity of its text is supported by eminent writers from the 7th century downwards. Aparārka quotes passages from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which have in view the present text of Vas.<sup>109</sup> Some of the views held by Vasīṣṭha are very ancient. For example, he speaks of the twelve secondary sons, assigns a very inferior position to the Dattaka son ( 17th chapter ), allows *niyoga* ( 17. 56 ff ) and the remarriage of child widows ( 17. 74 ); like Āpastamba he mentions only six

108a 'प्रायेण मनुगौतमवसिष्ठादिप्रणीताः समानेष्वर्थेषु धर्मसंहिता वर्तन्ते । तेनाविगानास्तस्यैव श्रुतयः स्वनुमानाः । न च व्याकरणस्य ताभिः समानार्थत्वम् ।' तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि I. 3. 24.

109 'वसिष्ठेन समाख्यातं ब्रह्महत्याप्यपोहनम् । द्वादशरात्रमन्मक्षो द्वादशरात्रमुपवसेत् ॥' अपरार्क p. 1067 ( this is वसिष्ठ 23. 38 ); 'वसिष्ठेन तथोक्तं वै प्रायश्चित्तं सुराक्षिप । कामतो मद्यपाने तु न सुरायाः कदाचन ।' अपरार्क p. 1075 ( this is वसिष्ठ 20. 19 ).



forms of marriage ( 1. 28-29 ), *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa*, *gāndharva*, *kṣātra* and *mānuṣa*. In some respects his views are different from those of early writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana. He prohibits the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman ( 1. 25-26 ). Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2 for the contrary view. He elaborates rules of adoption ( 15th chapter ) which are not found in Gaut. or Baud. or Āpastamba. He speaks of documents as one of the three means of proof ( Vas. 16. 10-15 ), while Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent on the point, though in Gautama ( 13. 4 ) there appears to be a reference to documents. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Vasiṣṭha is later than Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, but much earlier than the beginnings of the Christian era and may tentatively be assigned to the period between 300-100 B. C. It has been asserted by an eminent authority ( Cambridge History of India vol. I, p. 249 ) that Vasiṣṭha 18. 4 ( vaiśyena brāhmaṇyām-utpanno Rāmako bhavatyāhuḥ ) probably contains a reference to the Romans. This assumption is gratuitous and does not deserve serious consideration. The reading Romaka ( on which the learned writer relies ) is not supported by the best mss. and it is most hazardous to seize with avidity on a variant reading and to build an imposing structure of chronology thereon. The offspring of a Vaiśya male from a Brāhmaṇa woman is designated Rāmaka by Vasiṣṭha, while Gautama calls him Kṛta ( 4. 15 ) and Baud. Dh. S. ( I. 9. 7 ) calls such an offspring Vaidehaka ; so Rāmaka has as much to do with the Romans as with Ramesses. In the *nibandhas* there are several quotations ascribed to Vasiṣṭha which are not found in the printed Dharmasūtra. For example, Haradatta on Gaut. ( 22. 18 ) quotes a verse in the Uṣṇīṣa metre which is not found in the present text <sup>110</sup>.

So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites ( on Yāj. I. 19 ) the views of a writer called Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Mit. on Yāj. ( II. 91 ) quotes the definition of a *jayapātra* ( judgment ) from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha and on III. 20 quotes him about impurity on miscarriage. The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes about 20 verses from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha on *abmika* and *śrāddha* ; Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on the *Caturvīṃśatīmatā*

110 The verse is न नालिकेरेण न शाण्डालेन चापि मौजेन न वघ्नशृङ्गलेः । एतेस्तु गावो न निबन्धनीया बन्धानुनिष्ठेत् परशुं प्रहस्य ॥ The same verse is quoted in the *mitākṣara* ( on Yāj. III. 284 ) without the author's name.



( p. 12 ) seems to quote a prose passage from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. From the above it follows that Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha was an early compilation and dealt with almost all such topics ( including Vyavahāra ) as are dealt with by Yaj. The Mit. also quotes a Bṛhad-Vasiṣṭha. The Smṛticandrikā ( III. p. 300 ) quotes a few verses from a Jyotir-Vasiṣṭha. The I. O. catalogue ( No. 1339 p. 392 ) speaks of a Vasiṣṭha-smṛti in ten *adhyāyas* about the religious observances and duties enjoined on devotees of Viṣṇu.

That Yajñāsvāmin wrote a commentary on the Vas. Dh. S. follows from Govindasvāmin's comment on Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 51), where he quotes Vas. 21. 13 and Yajñāsvāmin's comment thereon.

### 10. Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra has been printed several times in India, viz. by Jivananda in his Dharmasāstrasaṅgraha ( 1876 part I pp. 70-176 ), by the Bengal Asiatic Society ( 1881, ed. by Dr. Jolly with extracts from the commentary Vaijayantī ), by M. N. Dutt ( Dharmasāstra texts, vol. II. pp. 541-666, Calcutta, 1909 ) and translated by Dr. Jolly ( in the S. B. E. vol. VII with an Introduction ). In the present work Dr. Jolly's edition has been used. The sūtra contains one hundred chapters. Though the number of chapters is so large, the sūtra is not very extensive. There are several chapters such as 40, 42 and 76 that contain only one sūtra and one verse. The first chapter and the last two are entirely in verse; the remaining chapters are in mixed prose and verse, the versified portion being generally at the end of each chapter. As pointed out by the Vaijayantī the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kāṭha. It also stands in a peculiar relation to the extant Manusmṛti. According to the Caranavyūha, Kāṭha and Cārayaniya are two of the twelve sub-divisions of Caraka-śākhā of the Yajurveda. Dr. Jolly ( S. B. E. vol. VII p. XII ) says that the Viṣṇudharmasūtra has four chapters ( 21, 67, 73 and 86 ) in common with the Kāthak-grhya ( except the final parts in 21, 67, 86 ) and that both drew from a common source. Bühlér points out ( West and Bühler's digest, 3rd ed. p. 35 ) that the Kāthakagrhya found in Kashmir agrees closely with the Dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu and the *mantas* in the latter agree with the Kāthaka recension of the Yajurveda. But the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is not the work of the same author that composed the Kāthaka Śrauta or Grhya sūtras, nor does it appear that it formed part of the



Kāthaka Kalpa. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 7) says that Govindarāja (12th century) in his *Smṛtimanjari* cites a passage in prose from a *Kāthasūtrakṛt* on the penance for Brāhmaṇa murder which is wanting in our *Viṣṇusmṛti* (vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. XXI n for the passage).

The contents of the *Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra* are :—1. The earth being lifted out of the surging ocean by the great Boar, went to Kāśyapa to inquire as to who would support her thereafter, and was sent by him to Viṣṇu who told her that those who would follow the duties of *varṇas* and *āśramas* would be her support, whereupon the earth pressed the great God to impart to her their duties ; 2. the four *varṇas* and their *dharma*s ; 3. the duties of kings (*rājadharmāḥ*) ; 4. the *Kāṣṭhāṇa* and smaller measures ; 5. punishments for various offences ; 6. debtors and creditors, rates of interest, sureties ; 7. three kinds of documents ; 8. witnesses ; 9. general rules about ordeals ; 10–14. ordeals of balance, fire, water, poison and holy water (*kośa*) ; 15. the twelve kinds of sons, exclusion from inheritance, eulogy of sons ; 16. offspring of mixed marriages, and mixed castes ; 17. partition, joint family and rules of inheritance to one dying sonless, re-union, *stridhana* ; 18. partition among sons of a man from wives of different castes ; 19. carrying the dead body for cremation, impurity on death, praise of Brāhmaṇas ; 20. the duration of the four Yugas, *Manvantara*, *Kalpa*, *Mahākālpa*, passages inculcating that one should not grieve too much for the departed ; 21. the rites for the dead after period of mourning, monthly *śrāddha*, *sapindikarāṇa* ; 22. periods of impurity on death for *sapinda*s, rules of conduct in mourning, impurity on birth, and rules about impurity on touching various persons and objects ; 23. purification of one's body and of various substances ; 24. marriage, forms of marriage, inter-marriages, guardians for marriage ; 25. the *dharma*s of women ; 26. precedence among wives of different castes ; 27. the *saṁskāras*, *garbhādhāna* and others ; 28. the rules for *brahmacārins* ; 29. eulogy of *ācārya* ; 30. time for the starting of Vedic study and holidays ; 31. father, mother and *ācārya* deserve the highest reverence ; 32. other persons deserving of respect ; 33. the three sources of sin, viz. passion, anger, greed ; 34. kinds of *atipātakas*, deadliest sins ; 35. five *mahāpātakas* ; 36. *anupātakas*, that are as deadly as the *mahāpātakas* ; 37. numerous *upapātakas* ; 38–42. other lesser sins ; 43. the twenty one hells and the duration of hell torments for various sinners ; 44. the various low births to which sinners are consigned for various sins ; 45. the



various diseases suffered by sinners and the low pursuits they have to follow by way of retribution ; 46-48. various kinds of *kṛcchras* ( penances ), *sāntapana*, *cāndrāyana*, *prasrtiyāvaka* ; 49. actions prescribed for a devotee of Vāsudeva and the rewards thereof ; 50. *prāyaścitta* for killing a *brāhmaṇa* and other human beings, for killing cows and other animals ; 51-53. *prāyaścittas* for drinking wine and other forbidden substances, for theft of gold and other articles, for incest and sexual intercourse of other kinds ; 54. *prāyaścittas* for miscellaneous acts ; 55. secret penances ; 56. holy hymns like *Aghamarṣaṇa* that purge sin ; 57. whose society should be avoided, *Vrātyas*, unrepentant sinners, avoiding gifts ; 58. the pure, variegated (mixed) and dark kinds of wealth ; 59. The duties of house-holders, *pākayaññas*, the five daily *mahāyajñas*, honouring guests ; 60. the daily conduct of a householder and good breeding ; 61-62. rules about brushing the teeth, *ācamana* ; 63. means of livelihood for a householder, rules for guidance, good and evil omens on starting on journey, rule of the road ; 64. bathing and *tarpaṇa* of gods and Manes ; 65-67. worship of Vāsudeva ; flowers and other materials of worship, offering of food to deities and *piṇḍas* to ancestors and giving food to guests ; 68. rules about time and manner of taking food ; 69-70. sexual intercourse with wife and about sleep ; 71. general rules of conduct for a *snātaka* ; 72. value of self-restraint ; 73-86. *śrāddhas*, the procedure of *śrāddhas*, *aṣṭaka śrāddha*, the ancestors to whom *śrāddha* is to be offered, times of *śrāddha*, fruits of *śrāddha* on the several week days and the 27 *nakṣatras* and the *tithis*, materials for *śrāddha*, *brāhmaṇas* unfit to be invited at *śrāddha*, *brāhmaṇas* who are *pañkti-pāvana* ; countries unfit for *śrāddha*, *tīrthas*, letting loose of a bull ; 87-88. gifts of antelope skin, or a cow ; 89. *kārtika snāna* ; 90. eulogy of gifts of various sorts ; 91-93. works of public utility such as wells, lakes, planting gardens, embankments, gifts of food, flowers &c. ; difference in merit according to the recipient ; 94-95. rules about forest hermit ( *vānaprastha* ) ; 96-97. about *sailinyāsa*, anatomy of the bones, muscles, veins, arteries &c. ; concentration in various ways 98-99. praise of Vāsudeva by the Earth and of Lakṣmi ; 100. rewards of studying this *Dharmaśāstra*.

The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra somewhat resembles the Dharma-sūtra of Vasīṣṭha. Like the latter it is full of verses. But one feature which is peculiar to the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra is that it professes to be a revelation by the supreme Being. None of the other dharma-



sūtras so far described assumes this role. The style of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is easy and somewhat diffuse. It presents hardly any ungrammatical forms. The printed text is corrupt only in a few cases; the verses occur generally at the end of chapters. Sometimes the number of verses in a chapter is very large e. g. in chapter 20 there are 21 sūtras and 32 verses, in chapter 23 there are 24 verses, in chap. 43 there are 14, in chap. 51 there are 20 verses. Some of the verses are in the classical Indravajrā (19. 23-24) and the Upajāti metres (23. 61 and 59. 30) and a few are Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 47, 72. 77). The three Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 41) are three out of the four verses of the Vidyā-sūkta occurring in the Nirukta (II. 4). There is one verse (72. 6) which has eleven letters in the first *pada* and twelve in the remaining three.

In determining the age of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra one is confronted with a difficult problem. Some of the chapters undoubtedly contain material which is comparatively old and on a level with the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba. Such are the chapters about rājadharmā and punishments (3 and 5), the rules about twelve sons and the mixed castes (15-16), funeral rites and mourning (21 and 22). But there are very large portions of the work that bear a clear impress of a later date. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra and the Manusmṛti have at least 160 identical verses. But this is not all. There are hundreds of sūtras which are merely the prose equivalents of verses from the Manusmṛti. For example, Viṣṇu 2. 3 and Manu 2. 16, Viṣṇu 3. 4 and 6 and Manu 7. 69-70, Viṣṇu 3. 7-10 and Manu 7. 115, Viṣṇu 3. 11-15 and Manu 7. 116-117, Viṣṇu 4. 1-13 and Manu 8. 132-137, Viṣṇu 5. 4-7, and Manu 9. 237, Viṣṇu 20. 1-21, and Manu I. 67-73, Viṣṇu 51. 7-10 and Manu 4. 209-212, Viṣṇu 59. 21-25 and Manu 3. 70, Viṣṇu 62. 224 and Manu 2. 59, Viṣṇu 71. 48-52 and Manu 4. 80, and Viṣṇu 96. 14-17 and Manu 6. 46 agree almost word for word. The verses that are identical in both are found in all the chapters of the Manusmṛti from the second to the last, the largest number (about 47) occurring in the 5th and chapters eleven, two, and three respectively contributing 25, 24, and 19 verses. Therefore the question whether the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu or *vice versa* or whether both borrow from a common original assumes very great importance. As the correspondence extends over several hundred verses of the Manusmṛti, the last hypothesis of borrowing from a common original does



not recommend itself to me. No such common source is known to have existed and to say that there were hundreds of floating popular verses whose authorship was unknown and which were drawn upon by both works appears to me to be an extremely gratuitous and unsatisfactory assumption. In my opinion it is the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra that borrowed the verses *ad hoc* or adapted them from the Manusmṛti. There are several lines of reasoning that strengthen this hypothesis. There are some verses that are identical in both, in which the name of Manu occurs, which the Viṣṇudharmasūtra omits by making slight verbal changes. For example, Viṣṇu 23. 50 substitutes 'tat parikīrtitam' for 'Manur-abravīt' in Manu 5. 131 and Viṣṇu 51. 64 reads 'nānyaireti kathāṃcana' for Manu 5. 41 'nānyatretyabravīt-Manuḥ' (this last occurs in Vas. 4. 6). The reason for these changes is obvious. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra professes to be a direct revelation from Viṣṇu and it is in keeping with this assumed role that not one human author is mentioned by name in the sūtra. Therefore where the name of Manu occurred in any verse, it was purposely omitted. Another reason why the sūtra must be presumed to be the borrower is the character of the extant work itself. It is a kind of hotchpotch and contains verses that are identical with those of other works. For example, several verses of the Bhagavatgītā occur in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Viṣṇu 20, 48-49 and 51-52 are the same as Gita 2. 13, 23, 24, 28; Viṣṇu 72. 7 and Gita 13. 14-18 are almost identical. Viṣṇu 96. 97 and the first half of 98 are the same as Gita 13. 1-2, except that in keeping with its character of a revelation to the Earth, the Viṣṇudharmasūtra substitutes 'vasudhe' for 'kaunteya' and 'bhāvinī' for 'bhārata.' Several verses of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti are identical with those of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For example, Viṣṇu 6. 41 and Yāj. 2. 53, Viṣṇu 8. 38 and Yāj. II. 79, Viṣṇu 9. 33 and Yāj. 2. 97, Viṣṇu 17. 17 and Yāj. 2. 138, Viṣṇu 17. 23 (first half) and Yāj. 2. 210 (latter half), Viṣṇu 62. 9 and Yāj. I. 21, Vi. 63. 51 and Yāj. I. 117 are identical. Besides these there are hundreds of prose sūtras that are identical with passages of Yājñavalkya. For example, Vi. 3. 72-74 = Yāj. II. 1-4; Vi. 3. 82 = Yāj. I. 318-320 (rules about land grants); Vi. 5. 65-69 = Yāj. II. 217-220, Vi. 5. 73 = Yāj. II. 221; Vi. 45. 3-12 = Yāj. 3. 209-211 (about diseases suffered by sinners); Vi. 60. 24 = Yāj. I. 17; Vi. 96. 55-79 = Yāj. 3. 84-90 (about 360 bones of the body); Vi. 96. 80-88 = Yāj. 3. 100-102 (about the number of arteries, veins, muscles etc.); Vi. 96. 89-92 = Yāj. 3. 93-99. Dr. Jolly



thinks that Yājñavalkya borrows from Viṣṇu the whole of the anatomical section (vide S. B. E. vol. VII, p. XX). With great respect I differ from this opinion. There is nothing to show that the anatomical details were first given to the world by Viṣṇu. They must have first been embodied in works on medicine such as those of Caraka and Suśruta<sup>111</sup> and were probably copied by Dharmasūtra writers. But if there is any borrowing between Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya I think from the character of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that it is the sūtra that must be regarded as borrowing from Yājñavalkya. There are several matters in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra which are wanting in Yājñavalkya and which induce one to place the extant sūtra later than Yājñavalkya, viz. the name 'Jaiva' for Thursday (Vi. 78. 5), the long list of tirthas (Vi. chap. 85) which include Śrīparvata and the five rivers of the south called southern Pañcanada, the importance of the conjunction of the moon and Jupiter on a full moon day (Vi. 49. 9-10), the vague definition of Āryāvarta<sup>112</sup> (Vi. 84. 4). The verse in Viṣṇu 54. 33 (about half prāyaścitta for boys and old men) is ascribed to Aṅgiras by the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 243).

Therefore the most probable conclusion is that the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from the Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkya and other authors. It would be too much to assume that the Manusmṛti, the Bhagavatgītā and Yājñavalkya borrow from such a comparatively unimportant work as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The above conclusion is further strengthened by certain other considerations. The Manusmṛti has been quoted with utmost reverence by a host of writers from the fifth century downwards, such as Śābara, Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya. Yājñavalkya was commented upon by Viśvarūpa in the first half of the 9th century. Viśvarūpa in his commentary quotes scores of sūtras from Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkha and Hārīta. But it is significant that Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya does not quote even a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name. It is true that Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 66) says that

111 Vide चरक, शरीरस्थान chap. 7 and सुश्रुत, शरीरस्थान chap. 5; in the अष्टाङ्ग-हृदय of वाग्भट, शरीर chap. 3, we find 360 bones and 700 muscles.

112 चातुर्वर्ण्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते । स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः ॥ It is to be noted that Yāj. (I. 2) lays down dharmas for the country in which the black deer moves about, following Baud. I. I. 28 and Vee. I. 13.



the four forms of asceticism (*parivrajya*) should be understood from other *smṛtis* like those of Viṣṇu<sup>113</sup>. This probably refers to chap. 97 of the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Medhātithi (on Manu 3. 248) quotes Viṣṇu (21. 12) and on Manu 9. 76 quotes a sūtra of Viṣṇu which I could not trace in the printed Viṣṇu.<sup>114</sup> The Mitākṣarā mentions Viṣṇu about thirty times. The quotations are taken from chapters 19, 21, 22, 35-42, 50, 51, 52, 75 and 79 of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, 18 sūtras of chap. 22 (on āśauca and kindred topics) being quoted on Yāj. III. 23, 24, 27, 29-30. But it is a remarkable fact that not one of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra is cited as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā. The only exception is a verse cited as Viṣṇu's on Yāj. III. 265, which has the same purport as Viṣṇu 52. 14 (a verse) and the first *pada* of which is identical with that of the verse in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.<sup>115</sup> A few verses that are quoted as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā could not be traced in the extant dharmasūtra.<sup>116</sup> It is not unlikely that the sūtra first contained mostly prose sūtras based on Manu and the Kāthakagṛhya and verses were tacked on later. Among later writers of *nibandhas* Aparārka quotes Viṣṇu most profusely and the Smṛticandrikā also quotes Viṣṇu about 225 times.

113 स्मृत्यन्तरेभ्यश्च विष्णवादिभ्यो विशेषतश्चतुर्विधः पारिव्राज्यप्रकारभेदोभ्युपगन्तव्यः ।

114 The quotation is 'अथौ विप्रसूताः पट् राजन्याश्चतुरो वैश्या द्विगुणं प्रमृतेति न भूद्रायाः कालनिषमः स्यात्संवत्सरमित्येके'; compare for a somewhat similar rule Vas. 17. 78.

115 यथाह पिण्डः । दत्तैवापहृतं द्रव्यं स्वामिने दत्तमाचरोदिति । while विष्णुधर्मसूत्र reads 'दत्तैवापहृतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायतः । प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कलमपस्याप-  
नुत्तये ॥ . '

116 The verse are: ओष्ठौ विलोमकौ स्पृष्ट्वा वासो विपरिधाय च । quoted on Yāj. I. 195:

'अप्रशस्तास्तु कानीनगूढोत्पन्नसहोदजाः । पौनर्भवश्च नैवेति पिण्डरिक्ताशमभिमिनः ॥  
quoted on Yāj. II. 132: अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने दोहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः । पूर्वेषां तु स्वधाकारं  
पौत्रा दोहित्रका मताः ॥ on Yāj. II. 135 : आरुहस्ताडितो वापि धनैर्वा विप्रयोजितः ।  
यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत्प्राणास्तमाहुर्गुह्यपातकम् ॥ ज्ञातिमित्रकलत्रार्थं सुहृत्क्षेत्रार्थमेव च ।  
यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत्...पातकम् ॥ उद्दिश्य कुपितो हत्वा तोषितः श्रावयेत् पुनः ।  
तस्मिन् मृते न दोषोस्ति द्रव्योच्छ्रवणे कृते ॥ on Yāj. III. 227 : स्त्रीणामर्थं प्रदातव्यं  
वृद्धानां रोषिणां तथा । पादौ बालेषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेष्वर्थं विधिः ॥ on Yāj. III. 243:  
गोमूत्रस्य पञ्चगव्येन मासमेकं पलत्रयम् । प्रत्यहं स्यात्पराको वा चान्द्रायणमथापि व । ॥  
on Yāj. III. 243.



Many of the verses found in *Vi.* are quoted by Aparārka as *Viṣṇu's*, e. g. *Vi.* 84. 4 on *Yāj.* 1. 2 ; 68. 46-47 on *Yāj.* 1. 106 ; 67. 33 on *Yāj.* 1. 107 ; 5. 183 on *Yāj.* 2. 60 ; 10. 9-11 on *Yāj.* 2. 102. But there are numerous verses quoted as *Viṣṇu's* by Aparārka which are not found in the *sūtra*, e. g. on *Yāj.* I. 21, 53, 89, 100. Aparārka quotes almost whole chapters of *Viṣṇu*, e. g. *Vi.* 68 on *Yāj.* I. 106 and 90 on *Yāj.* I. 208, 70 on *Yāj.* 1. 114. It is to be noted that *Vi.* 70. 17 (a verse) is quoted by Aparārka as a prose *sūtra* (on 1. 114) with slight verbal changes. All these facts make one feel naturally sceptical about the authenticity of most of the verses in the extant *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*. They probably formed no part of the *sūtra* at the time when the *Mitākṣarā* was composed. At all events it cannot be gainsaid that the verses are a very late part of the *sūtra*.

The *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* contains quotations from all the Vedic *sāhitas* and from the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (as in *Vi.* 15. 45). It mentions the *Vedāṅgas* very frequently (30. 3 and 38. 28, 35, 83. 6), it speaks of *Vyākaraṇa* (83. 7), of *itiḥāsa* (3. 70, 30. 38, 83. 7), of *Dharmaśāstras* (3. 70, 30. 38, 73. 16, 83. 8), of *Purāṇa* (3. 70, 30. 38 &c.). About the close correspondence between *Baud.* III. 6 and *Viṣṇu.* 48 and between *Vas.* 28. 10-15 and 18-22 and *Viṣṇu* 56 and 87 vide remarks made above pp. 23, 57. The *sūtra* quotes several verses (called *gāthās*) and says they were sung by *pitṛs*; vide 78. 52-53, 80. 14, 83. 21, 85. 65-67. They bear close resemblance to the *gāthās* sung by the *pitṛs* quoted in the *Anuśāsana-parva* 88. 11-15 and a half verse 'eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yadyekopi Gayāṁ vrajet' is the same in *Vi.* 85. 67 and *Anu.* 88. 14. The *Viṣṇusmṛti* enumerates twenty one hells (43. 1-22), which are almost the same as *Yājñavalkya's* (3. 222-224). It mentions the names of the seven days of the week (78. 1-7), Thursday being called *Jaiva*, while *Yājñavalkya* mentions only the seven planets (with *Rāhu* and *Ketu*) in the same order (I. 296). It recommends the practice of *sañ* (25. 14), speaks of *pustakas* (18. 44, 23. 56), a word which is not used by the other *dharmaśāstras* so far described. It gives a long list of good and evil omens at the time of starting on a journey (63. 33-39). Among evil omens it includes the sight of yellow-robed ascetics (i. e. Buddhists probably) and *Kāpālikas* (63. 36). It prohibits speech with *Mlecchas*, *Antyajas* (71. 59) and journeys to *Mleccha* countries (84. 2). It contains special directions about the worship of *Vāsudeva* in chap. 49



and speaks of Śvetadvīpa as the reward of devotion to Vāsudeva ( 49. 4 ). Here and there, there are eulogies of Vāsudeva ( 1. 50-57, 65. 1, 97. 10, 98 which gives one hundred names of Viṣṇu ). It speaks of the four vyūhas of Vāsudeva ( 67. 2 ) and of the Varāha incarnation. It gives a vague location of Āryāvarta as a country where the four varṇas exist ( 84. 4 ). It enumerates numerous sacred places ( 85. 1-52 ), among which Śrīparvata, Saptārṣa ( modern Satara ? ), Godāvari and southern Pañcanada deserve to be specially noted. Though it does not specifically enumerate the eighteen titles of law just as Yājñavalkya does not, yet it contains rules ( in chapters 5-6 ) on almost all of them.

As Yājñavalkya enumerates Viṣṇu among the propounders of dharmasūtras, it follows that a work of Viṣṇu existed in comparatively early times. What matters that work embraced it is difficult to say. It probably contained the topics found in the works of Gautama, Āpastamba and others. It may have included portions borrowed from the Kāthakagrhya. When Dr. Jolly says that certain chapters of Viṣṇu agree closely with the Kāthakagrhya, all that is meant is that some of the sūtras of Viṣṇu are the same or almost the same as those of the Kāthakagrhya ( e. g. compare Viṣṇu 21, 73 and 86 with Kāthakagrhya V. 12, V. 9, and V. 3 respectively ). But in all these places Viṣṇu contains more details than the Kāthakagrhya. It may however be noted that in a few cases the views of the Kāthakagrhya differ from those of Viṣṇu. For example, Viṣṇu ( 30. 1 ) speaks of Vedic studies for 4½ months only in the year when once they are started on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada, while the Kāthakagrhya ( I. 9. 10 ) gives three alternatives, viz. 4½, 5 or 5½ months ; Viṣṇu prescribes that the proper year for the upanayana of a kṣatriya is the 11th from conception ( 27. 16 ), while the Kāthaka prescribes the 9th, without specifying whether it is from conception or birth ( IV. 1. 2 ) ; Viṣṇu enumerates eight forms of marriage ( 24. 18 ), while the Kāthaka ( II. 3 and 4 ) speaks of only two, Brāhma and Āsura, and is silent about the rest ; Viṣṇu ( 46. 19-20 ) defines Sāntapana and Mahāsāntapana differently from the Kāthaka ( I. 7. 3-4 ), but agrees with Yājñavalkya ( III. 315-316 ). Here the recent Lahore edition of the Kāthakagrhya by Dr. Caland has been used. As it used Kāthaka mantras and borrowed from the Kāthakagrhya, the dharmasūtra may have been a text-book of the Kāthaka school and probably originated in Kashmir and Punjab which is the home



of the Kaṭhas. The date of the older portion of Viṣṇu may be placed between 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. But this is no more than a mere conjecture. It is to be noted that Kumārila does not mention the Viṣṇudharmasūtra among the sūtras studied by particular schools. Then several centuries later on the whole of the sūtra was recast from the Vaiṣṇavite point of view and received large additions both in prose and verse. When these additions were made we have no exact means of determining. It is probable that they were not made very long before Viśvarūpa. At all events the additions were made long after the Yājñavalkyasmṛti and after the 3rd century. The mention of the week days makes the sūtra comparatively a late work. The earliest epigraphic mention of a week day is in the Eran inscription of 484 A. D. (vide Fleet's Gupta inscriptions pp. 88-89) and Varāhamihira (6th century) knew the week days well. The Brahmapurāṇa (28. 55) mentions Sunday and the Padmapurāṇa mentions Thursday (Brahmākhaṇḍa chap. 11. 34). The Sūrya-siddhānta (XII. 6 and 78) speaks of the lords of days. Thus although the extant Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra is a late recast, it contains a few doctrines that were held in ancient times. For example it allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a girl of anyone of the four castes (24. 1) and does not inveigh against *niyoga* as Manu does.

A few of the sūtras agree closely with Nārada. Vide Vi. 7. 10-11 and Nārada (R̥ṇādāna verses 136-137).

The Mitākṣarā quotes all the prose passages of chapters 35-42 and ascribes them to Brhadviṣṇu (on Yāj. 3. 242). Similarly on Yāj. 3. 261 it ascribes Vi. 35. 3-5 to Brhadviṣṇu. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 298) ascribes Vi. 17. 1 ff to Brhad-Viṣṇu. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. 3. 267) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which summarises some sūtras of Viṣṇu 117 (50. 6 and 12-14).

In the Ānandaśrama collection of smṛtis there is a Laghu-Viṣṇu-smṛti in five chapters and 114 verses dealing with the duties of the *varṇas* and the four āśramas. Aparārka in his commentary on Yāj. 3. 258 quotes four verses from Laghu-Viṣṇu, which are not found in the Ānandaśrama text. So Aparārka used some other work or perhaps a larger work. The Parāśara-Mādhaviya often quotes gadya-

117 The verse of वृद्धविष्णु is विप्रैः तु सकलं देयं पादोनं क्षत्रिये स्मृतम् । वैश्यैर्धनैकपादस्तु शुद्रजातिषु शस्यते ॥ The sūtras are ब्राह्मणे इत्या द्वादशसंघन्तरं कुर्यात् । पादोनं क्षत्रियवधे । अर्धं वैश्यवधे । तदर्थं शुद्रवधे ।



Viṣṇu and padya-Viṣṇu. The former from a quotation in vol. I. part 2, p. 234 seems to be the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra itself. In the Sarasvativilāsa numerous sūtras of Viṣṇu with the explanations of Bhāruci thereon are quoted, which are not found in the printed Viṣṇu.<sup>118</sup>

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra was commented upon by Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works on dharmaśāstra, who wrote at Benares the commentary called Vaijayanti (according to certain mss.) in 1679 (i. e. 1622-23 A. D.) of the Vikrama era. Dr. Jolly publishes extracts from this commentary in his edition of the sūtra.

From the fact that the Sarasvativilāsa quotes several times the sūtras of Viṣṇu with Bhāruci's explanation, it looks probable that Bhāruci commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For further information on Bhāruci vide sec. 61.

So far only the printed and well-known dharmasūtras have been passed under review. But there were numerous other dharmasūtras which are either now extant in rare mss. or are not yet discovered but are only to be reconstructed from quotations. It is now time to discuss them.

### 11. The Dharmasūtra of Hārīta

That Hārīta was an ancient sūtrakāra on *dharma* is quite patent from the fact that the dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote him as an authority (vide pp. 25, 39, 54). Āpastamba quotes Hārīta more frequently than any other author. From this it may

118 e. g. para 637 यथाह भारुचिरेताद्विष्णुवचनव्याख्यानावसरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति । (Viṣṇu's sūtra seems to have been बीजग्रहणानुविधायमंशं गृह्णीयात्); para 719 अत्र भारुचिः (on विष्णु's सूत्र 'पितृव्यपितृधातृभिरेव संसर्गो नान्येः') वेकल्पिकोयं संसर्गविधिरिति; para 736 अत्र भारुचिः भिन्नोदराणामिति निर्धारणे बह्वी (on विष्णु's सूत्र 'भिन्नोदराणां संसृष्टिनो गृह्णीयुः'); para 847 contains a long sūtra of Viṣṇu 'अपिच्यं शर्म धर्म मेत्रं वैद्यमाकस्मिकमादशाब्दं प्रविभाज्यमन ऊर्ध्वं सर्वमविभाज्यम्' and para 848 contains भारुचि's explanation of it.

Vide pp. 32, 50, 165, 166, 243, 244 &c. of the recently published Mysore edition of the सरस्वतीविलास for sūtras of Viṣṇu which are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu. It appears that the सरस्वतीविलास had a very much larger version of the sūtra before it.



be concluded that they belonged to the same Veda. The *Tantravārtika* (vide note 55 above) mentions Hārīta along with Gautama and other sūtrakāras on dharma. From Viśvarūpa down to the latest writers on dharmasāstra Hārīta is most profusely quoted. From the quotations it appears that his dharmasūtra was perhaps the most extensive of all dharmasūtras.

The late Pandit Vamansastri Islampurkar discovered at Nasik a ms. of the Hārīta-dharmasūtra. It was not possible for me to make use of it for the present work. Dr. Jolly (in R. und S. pp. 8-9) gives an account of the ms. from which I give a summary. It is so faulty that an edition based on it alone cannot be thought of. The ms. contains thirty chapters. So far as the language and contents are concerned the work impresses one as ancient, but the material citations ascribed to Hārīta in later digests on court procedure and the law of crimes &c. are not found in the ms. The prose is mixed up with verses in Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh metres, which are often introduced with the characteristic words "athāpyudāharanti" as in other dharmasūtras. The ms. quotes 'bhagavān Maitrāyaṇi' and the verse "Śatadāyo vīro" which is Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhita I. 7. 5. Dr. Caland points out remarkable correspondence between the citations of Hārīta and the Maitrāyaṇīya Pāṇīya and Mānavaśraddhakaḥkalpa. All this tends to show that he was a sūtrakāra of the Black Yajurveda. The numerous quotations from Hārīta in Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are not however found in the ms. The ms. was found at Nasik, which is also the source of two mss. of the Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhita. The Kashmirian word 'kaphella' is cited in Hārīta and so the Hārīta-dharmasūtra probably originated there. Hemādri (caturvarga III. 1. p. 559) mentions a commentator (bhāṣyakāra) of Hārīta.

From the numerous quotations from Hārīta in the *nibandhas* it appears that the dharmasūtra dealt exhaustively with the same topics as are dealt with in other dharmasūtras, viz. sources of dharma, brahmacārin of two kinds (upakurvāṇa and naiṣṭhika), *śnātaka*, the householder, the forest hermit, prohibitions about food, impurity

119 The sūtra of Hārīta is 'पालङ्ग्या-नालिका-पौतीक-शिष्ट-सुसुक्त-वातांक-भूस्तृण-कफेह-माष-मसूर-रुतलवणानि च श्राद्धे न दद्यात्' on which हेमाद्रि says, 'कफेहः आरण्यविशेषः काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्ध इति हारीतस्मृतिभाष्यकारः.'



on birth and death, śrāddha, the pañktipāvana, general rules of conduct, the five yajñas, Vedic study and holidays, duties of kings, rules of statecraft, court procedure, the various titles of law, duties of husband and wife, various kinds of sins, prāyaścittas, expiatory prayers &c.

According to Kullūka (on Manu 2. 1) the Hārīta-dharmasūtra opened with the words 'now then we shall explain *dharma* ; *dharma* is based upon revealed texts (śruti) ; revealed texts are of two kinds, the Vedic and the Tāntric.<sup>120</sup>' The quotations show that this very style was pursued in the body of the work. Aparārka (on Yaj. III. 322) quotes a sūtra<sup>121</sup> in similar style about a penance 'tulāpuruṣa' said to have been promulgated by Śiva himself. The sūtra often introduces verses as quotations with the words "an author says thus" (evam hyāha ; vide Aparārka on Yaj. I. 83, I. 154, III. 135, Vivāda-ratnākara pp. 443, 626). Numerous passages quoted as Hārīta's are identical with passages from other dharmasūtra works. The sūtra 'Jāyāpatyorna vibhāgo vidyate' is quoted as from Hārīta by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 268), which is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 16. The same work quotes 'pratyakṣavidhānād gārhaṣṭhyasya' as from Hārīta which is part of Gautama 3. 35. A verse about the enormity of usury quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 177) as Hārīta's is almost the same as Baudhāyana (I. 5. 79) and Vasiṣṭha<sup>122</sup> (2. 42). A verse about atipātakins (quoted by Aparārka on Yaj. III. 231) is the same as Viṣṇu 34. 2. Manu is mentioned by name in several verses (vide Smṛticandrikā III. p. 426, Vivāda-ratnākara p. 552-553). Two verses are cited in the Vyavaharatattva of Raghu-nandana as found in Hārīta, Baudhāyana (I. 10. 30) and Manu (8. 18-19). A verse quoted by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 21) is almost the same as Manu 8. 95. Several times we have the words 'Prajāpativaco yathā' (vide Aparārka on Yaj. I. 154 and Smṛticandrikā I. p. 181). Hārīta seems to have relied upon the views

120 'अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः । श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च ॥'. The Brahmayajña probably takes the words अथातो... स्यामः' from हारीत and not from the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra.

121 अथातस्त्रिनयनोक्तस्य तुलापुरुषस्य कल्पं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

122 The verse is 'मह्यन् वृद्धिर्जीवं च तुलया समतोलयत् । अतिष्ठद् मस्य कोटया वृद्धिर्जीवकल्पत ॥



of 'ācāryas' in several places.<sup>123</sup> He often quotes the views of others (eke, अपरे<sup>124</sup>) and sometimes refutes them.<sup>125</sup>

Hārīta refers to the Vedas, the Āngas, dharmaśāstra, metaphysics, and other branches of knowledge.<sup>126</sup> The quotations do not show that he belonged to any particular Veda, as he quotes from all the Vedas promiscuously. In this connection it is worthy of note that though Kumārila mentions Hārīta as an ancient dharma-sūtrakāra, he does not assign him to any particular school, while he assigns Āpastamba and Baudhāyana to the Taittiriya school.

Some of the doctrines of Hārīta are worth noting. He speaks of eight forms of marriage, but two of them are styled Kṣatra and Mānuṣa, while Ārṣa and Prājāpatya are omitted (vide Viramitrodaya, Saṁskāraprakāśa, p. 84). Vasiṣṭha has the same nomenclature (I. 29). Hārīta speaks of two sorts of women (*brahmavādīnis* and *sadyovādhas*) and states that the former were entitled to have the Upanayana performed, to keep the sacred fire and to study the Vedas.<sup>127</sup> He speaks of the twelve kinds of sons (vide Haradatta on Gautama 28. 32). He looks down upon the profession of an actor and forbids the employment of a Brāhmaṇa actor in any śrāddha or rite for gods.<sup>128</sup> Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 1332) quotes from Hārīta a lengthy passage in mixed prose and verse, where the worship of Gaṇeśa comes in.<sup>129</sup>

123 विस्वरूप on Yāj. I. 195. 'तन्मात्रकृतेदुनमेके वाससाय । न वा साधारणत्वात् । साधारणं हि वास इत्याचार्याः । तस्मात्सर्ववाससामुपघातापनोदनादेव शुद्धिः ।' अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 154. 'आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिरित्याचार्याः,' मीद. पा., p. 704. 'न सशुद्धानामयं लोको न पर इत्याचार्याः'.

124 Vide मद्. पा. pp. 607, 706: स्मृतिच. III. p. 422, अपरार्क on Yāj. II. 127.

125 अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 183. 'यान्नायनान्यपरिहार्याण्येके मन्यन्ते । तत्र । वर्णविशेषात् शुक्लमलिनसंसर्गदर्शनात् पापसंसर्गयोगाच्च तस्मात् पृथक् शौचाच्छ्रेयांसः ।

126 स्मृतिच. III. p. 290. वेदा अङ्गानि धर्मोऽध्यात्मं विज्ञानं स्थितिश्चेति षड्विधं श्रुतम् ।

127 द्विविधाः स्त्रियः । ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवद्भ्यः । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भिक्षाचर्या । quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 24. and चतुर्विंशतिमत-व्याख्या ( Benares ed.) p. 113.

128 कुशीलवादीन् देवे पित्र्ये च वर्जयेत् । quoted by अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 222-224.

129 We have there the names सालकटंकट, कूष्माण्डराजपुत्र, महाविनायक, वक्रतुण्ड, गणाधिपति. For the first two vide मानवगृहसूत्र II. 14 and याज्ञ. I. 285 ff.



A very interesting question is the relation of the verse quotations from *Hārīta* with the prose quotations from *Hārīta*. The *dharmaśūtra* was probably interspersed with verses as is the case more or less with all *dharmaśūtras* except that of *Gautama*. But there are numerous verses ascribed to *Hārīta* in the *nibandhas*, which are manifestly modern. Both the *Mitākṣarā* and *Aparārka* (on *Yāj.* I. 86) quote *Hārīta's* verses eulogising the *sati*. The *Smṛticandrikā* (III. p. 344) quotes his verses that refer to the signs of the Zodiac. There are numerous verses containing elaborate rules of procedure, ascribed to *Hārīta*, which are quite foreign to the general atmosphere of the ancient *dharmaśūtras*. All such verses must be ascribed to a comparatively later date. In the *Śuddhimayūkha* it is said that certain verses quoted from the *Mahābhārata* by *Hārīta* are not found in several copies of the *Mahābhārata*.

Dr. Jolly (in 1889) collected together most of the prose and verse citations from *Hārīta* on the *Vyavahāra* section. In *Jivananda's* collection, we have a *Laghu-Hārīta-smṛti* (I. pp. 177-193) and a *Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti* (I. pp. 194-409). The former contains seven *adhyāyas* and about 250 verses, dealing with the duties of the four castes and the *āśramas* and with *Yoga*. The latter is professedly a *Vaiṣṇavite* work, said to have been proclaimed by *Hārīta* to *Ambariṣa*; it is divided into eight chapters and contains about 2600 verses, dealing with the *nītiya* and *naimittika* rites of the *varṇas* and *āśramas*, the nature of the individual and supreme self and the means of attaining *mokṣa*. In the *Ānandāśrama* collection of *smṛtis*, *Vṛddha-Hārīta* is divided into eleven chapters, the first two of *Jivananda's* being split up into five. The *Ānandāśrama* collection contains a *Laghu-Hārīta-smṛti* in 117 verses which is different from the *Laghu-Hārīta* of *Jivananda*. The former deals with purification from pollutions of various kinds, with *prāyaścittas*, rules about impurity on birth and death, *śraddha* and a few rules about inheritance, partition &c.

It is noteworthy that *Aparārka* (on *Yāj.* III. 254) quotes *Vṛddha-Hārīta* and *Hārīta*, both in prose, one immediately after another.

That the *Vṛddha-Hārīta* in verse is comparatively a late work follows from the fact that it distinctly recites that the *smṛtis* of *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Nārada* and *Kātyāyana* were known to it as authorities



on *rāja-dharma*.<sup>130</sup> Some of the quotations ascribed to *Laghu-Hārīta* in *Aparārka* and other works are found in the *Laghu-Hārīta*, e. g. the verse 'vinā yajñopavitena' (*Laghu-Hārīta*, *Ānandāśrama*, verse 23) is quoted by *Aparārka* on *Yaj. III. 289*. Some verses that are ascribed to *Hārīta* are found in the *Laghu-Hārīta*, for example, the verse 'snānam kṛtvā tu ye', cited by the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 203), occurs in the *Laghu-Hārīta* (*Ānandāśrama*, verse 41). It appears that several compilations were made at different times, embracing different topics of *dharma* and ascribed to *Hārīta*, probably because they were based more or less on the *Hārītadharmasūtra*.

That some of the verses ascribed to *Hārīta* are very ancient follows from several considerations. For example, *Viśvarūpa* quotes (on *Yaj. III. 246*) a verse from *Hārīta*. The *Sarasvativilāsa* quotes from *Hārīta* a brief passage which appears to be a portion of a verse and *Kātyāyana's* explanation thereon.<sup>131</sup> It follows that long before the sixth century A. D. *Hārīta* existed in verse.

For *Hārīta* on *Vyavahāra*, vide sec. 56.

## 12. The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita

From the *Tantravārtika* we learn (note 55 above) that the *Dharmasūtra* of *Śaṅkha-Likhita* was specially studied by the *Vaiśaṇeyins* (the followers of the white *Yajurveda*). The *Tantravārtika* also quotes a few words from that *dharmasūtra* which constitute an *Anuṣṭubh pāda*.<sup>132</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti*. chap. 23) contains the story of the two brothers *Śaṅkha* and *Likhita*. In the *Śānti-parva* (130. 29 and 132. 15-16) the word *Śaṅkha-Likhita* seems to be used in a double sense, *Śaṅkha* also meaning the forehead. *Yājñavalkya* (1. 5) mentions *Śaṅkha-Likhita* among the writers on *dharmaśāstra*. The *Parāśarasmṛti* says (1. 24) that in the four ages of *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*, the ordinances of *Manu*, *Gautama*, *Śaṅkha-Likhita* and *Parāśara* are respectively of paramount authority

130 राजधर्मोयमित्येवं प्रसङ्गान् कथितो मया । कात्यायनेन मनुना याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता ॥  
नारदेन च संप्रोक्तं विस्तरदिदमेव हि । तस्मान्मया विस्तरेण नोकमत्र नृपोत्तम ॥  
(*Jīvananda I*, 4th chap. p. 265; *Ānandāśrama*, 7th chap. 270-272).

131 हारितीनापि केचन भेदा उक्ताः । एकमूलो दिक्षुस्थानो द्विस्कन्धो द्विकलः । कात्यायनस्तु  
तान् व्याचरे । 2nd उद्घाटन, p. 61 (*Mysore edition*).

132 तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 139. 'स्नातधर्माधिकारे हि शङ्खलिखिताभ्यामुक्तम् — आम्नायः स्मृति-  
धारकः.'



in matters of *dharma*. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 248) quotes a verse from an ancient author which says that Śaṅkha and Likhita pondered deeply over the *dharma* promulgated to the sages by Manu and drew upon the Veda<sup>133</sup> also. Commentators and *nibandhakāras* from Viśvarūpa downwards profusely quote Śaṅkha-Likhita. A considerable portion of these quotations is in prose. Hence it is quite clear that the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita is an ancient one, that it was largely if not entirely in prose and that it was once easily accessible though it has not yet been discovered. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (vol. VII-VIII) I made an attempt at a reconstruction of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

Jivananda (collection of smṛtis, part II., pp. 343-374) prints in 18 chapters and about 330 verses a smṛti of Śaṅkha and a smṛti of Likhita in about 93 verses (part II., pp. 375-382). The Ānandāśrama collection also prints the same text of the two smṛtis. The latter also contains a Laghu-Śaṅkha-smṛti in 71 verses and a Śaṅkha-Likhita-smṛti in 32 verses. All these, except perhaps the Śaṅkha-smṛti in 18 chapters, are late compilations. The smṛti in 18 chapters seems to have been compiled very early. About fifty verses from it are quoted by the Mitākṣarā. In the 11th and 12th chapters occur a few prose passages, one of which is quoted even by Medhātithi. The numerous prose quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita do not however occur in these smṛtis. One point deserves special notice. Comparatively early writers sometimes ascribe the same text to Śaṅkha-Likhita or to Śaṅkha simply. The well-known sūtra about succession to a son-less man (*athāputrasya svaryātasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam &c.*) is ascribed to Śaṅkha by Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā, but to Śaṅkha-Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 135-136). Similarly the sūtra '*pitaryāśakte kuṭumbavyavahārān jyeṣṭhaḥ*' &c. is ascribed to Śaṅkha by Aparārka and to Śaṅkha-Likhita by the Vivāda-ratnākara, Dāyatattva and Madanapārijāta. Quotations ascribed to Likhita are few and far between. Some passages are ascribed by some writers to Śaṅkha and by others to Likhita. For example, a prose passage '*Uddhṛtya parikṣitābhiḥ*' &c. is ascribed to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 18) and to Śaṅkha by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 20) and by the Vīramitrodaya (Āhnikaprakāśa p. 68). Similarly the sūtra '*ubhābhyāmapī hastābhyām prāṇmukho devatīrthena kuryāt*' is ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita by the Pārāśaramādha-

133 समीक्ष्य निपुणं धर्ममृषिष्यो मनुभाषितम् । आसायात्सम्यगुद्धृत्य शङ्खश्च लिखितस्तथा ॥



viya (I. 1. p. 352) and to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 101). The relation of the Śaṅkha-smṛti in verse to the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha seems to be this. The former is based upon the latter and is a versified paraphrase or adaptation of portions of the dharmasūtra.<sup>134</sup>

The versified Śaṅkha shows a tendency towards greater strictness. The dharmasūtra allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a woman of any of the four castes, while the verse Śaṅkha restricts him to the first three castes.<sup>135</sup> It is not unlikely that the dharmasūtra contained a few verses as is the case with Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha. Even so early a writer as Viśvarūpa looked upon the prose and verse portions as the composition of the same author (vide his comment on Yāj. III. 237, and Aparārka pp. 1149, 1154, 1161).

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was commented upon early. Lakṣmīdhara in his Kalpataru (Ghose's Hindu Law vol. II., p. 504) draws attention to the fact that the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha read a well-known sūtra as 'sa yadyekah syāt' instead of 'sa yadyekaputraḥ syāt'. Lakṣmīdhara flourished between 1100-1160 A. D. as he was a minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj. The Vivādaratnākara (1314 A. D.) also cites the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. The Vivāda-cintāmaṇi (p. 67) quotes from the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita would appear, from the quotations in the *nibandhas*, to have closely resembled the other extant sūtras on dharma in style and contents. It embraced almost all the topics treated of in Gautama or Āpastamba. It agrees very closely with the words of Gautama and Baudhāyana in several places.<sup>136</sup> It is curious to note that a quotation from Śaṅkha

134 Compare उद्धृत्य परिपूताभिरङ्गिरिवोक्षिताभिरक्षाराभिरनधिश्चिताभिरकेनाभिरमुद्धृताभिः (quoted as Śaṅkha's by the वीरः, आह्निकप्रकाश, p. 68) with शङ्खस्मृति 9. 6

'आङ्गिः समुद्धृताभिस्तु द्विनाभिः केनमुद्धृतेः । वह्निना चाप्यदग्धाभिरङ्गुलीभिस्त्वष्ट्रोत् ॥

135 The दायभाग (ed. of 1829, p. 210) quotes 'भार्याः कार्याः स्वजातीयाः श्रेयस्वः सर्वेषां स्युरिति पूर्वकल्पः । ततोऽनुकल्पश्चतस्रो ब्राह्मणस्यानुपूर्व्वेण', the शङ्खस्मृति (4. 7) says 'ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया वेश्या ब्राह्मणस्य प्रकीर्तिता ॥

136 Compare 'नाब्राह्मणोतिथिर्ब्राह्मणस्य' (quoted in वीरः, आह्निकः, p. 452) with गो. ध. सू. 5. 39-42; 'दन्तवदन्तलम्बेषु' (quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 195) with गो. ध. सू. I. 41-43; 'न तिष्ठन्न प्रणतो नाङ्गुलीभिः' (चतुर्वर्गः III. 1, p. 977) with यो. ध. सू. I. 5. 15.



containing the names of writers of *smṛtis* cites Śaṅkha-Likhita as authority.<sup>137</sup>

The dharmasūtra seems to have permitted *niyoga*, speaks of twelve secondary sons, and did not favour (like Āpastamba) the claims of females to succeed to males. On certain points the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha marks a more advanced state of opinion than is the case with Gautama or Āpastamba. Śaṅkha speaks of several kinds of ordeals and appears to have contained elaborate prose rules about them (vide Aparārka on Yāj. II, 95 ; *Smṛticandrika* II., p. 112, *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 270). As regards partition and inheritance, Śaṅkha-Likhita gives more detailed information than Āpastamba or Baudhāyana. The limits of Āryāvarta<sup>138</sup> stretched over wider areas according to Śaṅkha (i. e. to the east of Sindhu-Sauvira and to the west of Kāmpilya) than is the case with Baudhāyana (I. 1. 25) or Vasiṣṭha (I. 8-9). The style of Śaṅkha reminds one of Kauṭilya rather than of Gautama. The quotations hardly exhibit any ungrammatical forms. It is noteworthy that Yājñavalkya is included among the authors of *smṛtis* by Śaṅkha (vide note 137 above). If it is the extant Yājñavalkya-*smṛti* that is meant to be referred to, then the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha will have to be assigned to a late date. But this does not seem to be likely. From the fact that the Yājñavalkya-*smṛti* itself enumerates Śaṅkha-Likhita among ancient authors on *dharma*, from the general style of the work, from the development of the legal conceptions it presents and from its doctrines about the rights of women, it appears almost certain that the extant Yājñavalkya-*smṛti* is much later than the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha. There are close correspondences between Śaṅkha and Yājñavalkya.<sup>139</sup>

137 'स्मृतिर्षर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतारो मनुयमदक्षविष्ण्वज्जिरोबृहस्पत्युश्चानापस्तम्ब-  
गौतमसंवर्ताग्निहारीतकात्यायनशङ्खलिसितपराशरव्यासशतातपप्रचेतोयाज्ञवल्क्यादयः ।  
quoted in चतुर्वर्ग. I. p. 527; वीर० परिभाषा०, p. 16 and स्मृतिच.

138 'देश आर्यो गुणवान् ... पाक् सिन्धुसौवीरादक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक्  
परिधात्रादनव्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ।' quoted in वीर०, परिभाषा०, p. 57.

139 compare 'बभूवृते वा सीमन्तः' शङ्ख quoted in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2., p. 734 with  
याज्ञ. I. 11; 'चूडाकर्म यथाकुलम्' शङ्ख (quoted in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2., p. 743)  
with पाङ्क. I. 12; 'दारानाहरेत्सदृशानसमानार्थेयानसम्बन्धानासप्तमपञ्चमात् पितृमातृ-  
बन्धुभ्यः' शङ्ख (quoted in उज्ज्वला on आप. ध. सू. II. 5.11.16) with  
पाङ्क० I. 53.



The prose quotations from Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to the Vedāṅgas, Śaṅkhyā, Yoga, dharmasāstra. Śaṅkha recognised eight forms of marriage. The views of Śaṅkha about the status of the offspring of mixed marriages differed from those of Baudhāyana (I. 8. 6) and Manu (X. 6) and were intermediate between the latter two.<sup>140</sup> The *tarpaṇa*<sup>141</sup> (which resembles the one in Baudhāyana, though it is more elaborate) refers to the six Vedāṅgas, Bhārata (but not Mahā-bhārata), to twenty writers on *dharma* and contains numerous details about geography, mythology, and cosmogony which are generally found in the Purāṇas. The dharmasūtra frequently cites the opinions of others. It mentions by name the views of Prajāpati, Āṅgīrasa and Uśanas (Vivādaratnākara p. 537), Prācetasā (Vivādarat. p. 557-560), Vṛddha-Gautama (Madana-pārijāta pp. 701-2). The verse quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha further mention Yama, Kātyāyana, and Śaṅkha himself. But in drawing chronological conclusions it is better to leave the verse quotations out of account. The same verses are ascribed to Manu and Śaṅkha<sup>142</sup> and a few sūtras closely resemble the Manusmṛti.<sup>143</sup> Six identical verses occur in the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (28. 10-15) and in the Śaṅkha-smṛti (10th chap.).

All these circumstances lead to the conclusion that the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha is probably later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and so must be assigned to some date between 300 B. C. to 100 A. D.

### 13. Mānavadharmasūtra—Did it exist?

Following the orthodox view of Western Sanskrit scholars that most of the dharmasūtras are older than almost all, if not all, the metrical smṛtis, I gave the first place of honour to the dharmasūtras of Gautama and others. But my own views differ to a great extent from those of the orthodox school of Sanskritists represented by Max Müller and Bühler. It is high time to state here my views about

140 ' ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पन्नो क्षत्रिय एव भवति ' शङ्ख quoted in मिताक्षरा on Yāj. I. 91.

141 Vide चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. pp. 950-955 and श्री०, आह्निक, p. 356. ff. for तर्पण.

142 The verse गर्भाग्ने दे कुर्वति in चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 112 is मनु. 2. 36: ' भूतका-  
स्यापको यस्तु स उपाध्याय उच्यते ' quoted in स्मृतिच. I, p. 34. in मनु II. 141.

143 ' इषुं गृह्णाति राजन्या मनोर्दं वेश्या दशान् शूद्रा ' quoted in परा. मा. I. 2., p. 98.  
Compare मनु 3. 44.



the existence of a Mānava-dharma-sūtra supposed to be the original of our extant Manu.

Some western scholars, particularly Max Müller and Weber, started the ingenious theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast or remodelling of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra. Max Müller went so far as to enunciate the bold generalisation "There can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine dharma-śāstras which we possess now, are *without any exception* nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharmas* belonging originally to certain Vedic caranās" (H. A. S. L. pp. 134-135). For this sweeping generalisation there were very few data when it was made, as is admitted by Bühler. This theory of Max Müller was as hasty, as unfounded and as uncritical as several other theories of his such as that about the renaissance of Sanskrit Literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, about the absence of the art of writing in India before Pāṇini and about the uniform employment of the śloka for literary purposes in his so-called sūtra period and earlier. Western Scholars had to give up such theories before the stern logic of facts, but they have tenaciously clung to the theory about the Manusmṛti being a recast of the Mānavadharmasūtra. One of the main planks of Max Müller's edifice was the now exploded theory about the non-employment of the *anuṣṭubh* during the sūtra period (which he tentatively placed between 600 B. C.—200 B. C.) for continuous composition. In spite of the fact that one of the main planks has totally collapsed Bühler makes strenuous efforts to rehabilitate Max Müller's theory by additional *a priori* arguments (S. B. E. vol. 25, pp. xviii-xxiii and xxxi-xxxix). The main points brought forward by Bühler are:—(I) The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (IV. 5-8) contains four sūtras, the first of which is 'The Mānava says that one may kill an animal only in honouring the Manes, gods and guests.' There follow two verses and a passage in prose with *iti* at the end. Bühler argues that all the four sūtras are quotations and as the extant Manusmṛti is in verse, they must be regarded as taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra. (II) There are other quotations in Vasiṣṭha attributed to Manu which either contradict the present Manusmṛti or have no counterpart in the latter. Bühler draws special attention to the fact that Vasiṣṭha (19. 37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and which has nothing corresponding to it in the extant Manusmṛti.



(III) A fragment of Uśanas quotes an opinion of Manu about impurity, which is in prose.<sup>144</sup> Bühler himself points out that here one ms. reads 'Sumantuḥ' for 'Manuḥ'. Therefore this argument is of very little use in establishing the existence of a *Mānavadharmasūtra*. Besides, it is possible that the mutilated passage is not a quotation at all, but a mere summary of Manu's views. There is no 'iti' at the end to show that it is a quotation. (IV) Kāmandakīya-nīṭisāra (II. 3) says that according to the Mānavas the *vidyās* to be studied by a king are three, viz. the three Vedas, Vartā, and Daṇḍanīti and that what is called Ānvikṣikī is but a branch of *ṭrayī*; while the Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the four as distinct *vidyās*.<sup>145</sup> Kāmandaka (XI. 67) says that Manu prescribed that the council of ministers should consist of twelve;<sup>146</sup> while Manu (7. 54) says that the 'sacivas' should be seven or eight. Bühler therefore argues that Kāmandaka has in mind the *Mānavadharmasūtra* and not the Manusmṛti and on the word 'Mānavāḥ' makes the following observations 'It is a very common practice of Indian authors to refer in this manner to the books restricted to special schools. But I know of no case where the doctrines of the *Mānavadharmasūtra* or of any other work, which is destined for all Aryans and acknowledged as authoritative by all, are cited in the same or similar way' (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII). In the first place it has to be noted that Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing the words of Kauṭilya in the above two places.<sup>147</sup> Further it is note-

144 In No. 644 of Viśrambag (I) in the Deccan College there is a fragment of Uśanas where we read उपस्पृश्य... (gap) मनुराह । बाले देशान्तरस्थे चानमिके वीरध्वनि (1) अनाशकमित्रवेशे युद्धहेतु च सयः शौचन. The words बाले देशान्तरस्थे occur in Manu 5. 78 in the same connection. For the rest, compare Menu 5. 93 and 95. We must probably read देशान्तरस्थं च सामिके. No. 191 of A 1881-82 is another fragment of Uśanas which contains the same passage, Bühler's mss. read सयः शौचानुष्ठपतिताभितनिन्दिताचोरैर्न सह संवसेत् and he proposes शौचमिष्टमिति.

145 The words of the मनुस्मृति are त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शाश्वतीम् । आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां वार्तास्मार्मांश्च लोकतः ॥

146 कामन्दक says 'द्वादशेति मनुः प्राह षोडशेति गृहस्पतिः । उशना विंशतिरिति मन्त्रिणां मन्त्रिमण्डलम् ॥

147 'त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः । त्रयीविशेषो आन्वीक्षिकीति' कोटिल्य I. 2; 'मन्त्रिपरिषद् द्वादशमात्मान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडशेति गृहस्पत्याः विंशतिमित्योशनसाः' कोटिल्य I. 15.



worthy that Kamandaka employs the word 'Manuḥ' while Kautilya uses the word 'Mānavāḥ' (about the number of ministers). Therefore according to the Kamandakiyanitisāra there was no difference between the two, viz. the words 'Manuḥ' and 'Mānavāḥ' denoted the same thing, a work. What Bühler means by his emphasis on the word 'Mānavāḥ' is not quite clear. Early writers like Kumārila and Viśvarūpa employ the word 'Mānavam' with reference to the Manusmṛti just as they use the word Vasiṣṭham to denote the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (vide Tantra-vārtika pp. 80, 115, 642 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 245 and 257). Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Br. Upaniṣad I. 4. 17 applies the word 'mānava' to the Manusmṛti 'mānava ca sarvā pravṛttiḥ kāmahetukyeveṭi' (referring to Manu II. 4). Besides, there is hardly any conflict between the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti on the point of the number of the *vidyās*. The Mānavas knew that Ānvikṣiki was counted as a fourth *vidyā* but said that it was really comprehended in the study of the Vedas. The Manusmṛti only lays down from whom the *vidyās* were to be learnt. As regards the number of ministers, we cannot afford to forget that the Manusmṛti (7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. Another explanation also is possible. In the final remodelling of the Manusmṛti from its original in verse it is not unlikely that a few changes were made. (V) On the strength of the preservation of the complete set of the sūtra works of Āpastamba on śraūta, grhya and dharma (also of Baudhāyana and Hiranyakeśin), it is urged that the Mānava *caranā* had a sūtra on dharma. The Mānavaśrautasūtra (parts 1-5 edited by Dr. Knauer and the *chayana* by Miss Gelder at Leipzig in 1921) and the Mānava-grhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer in 1897 and recently in the Gaikwad Oriental Series) are extant. Bühler admits (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII) that the main pillars of his arguments are the quotations ascribed to Manu in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra.

The four sūtras of Vasiṣṭha (IV. 5-8) which are the sheet anchor of Bühler's argument have been dealt with above under Vasiṣṭha (pp. 53-56). If, as Bühler says, the four sūtras are one quotation, since 'iti' occurs at the end of the 8th sūtra, then we have here a quotation within a quotation, as 'iti' occurs also in sūtra 5. But this would be absurd. Besides sūtra 8 is really summarised from some Brāhmaṇa passage, as indicated above. The proper construction of the four



sūtras is as follows :— The fifth sūtra merely summarises the views of the Manusmṛti to be gathered from Manu V. 41 and 48. The word 'Mānavam' stands for the Manusmṛti just as it does in the Tantravārtika and in Viśvarūpa. Then the two verses of Manu are quoted. In the 8th sūtra a Brāhmaṇa passage is cited in support of the position that sacrificing an animal is not 'killing' (that leads to sin).

As regards the few quotations which cannot be found in the extant Manusmṛti the following points deserve consideration. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra contains numerous verses identical with those of the Manusmṛti. Most of the quotations attributed to Manu are found in the Manusmṛti. Hence even if a few quotations are not found in our Manu, we cannot at once jump to the conclusion that Vasiṣṭha had before him not the Manusmṛti, but the Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides Bühler is not right in saying that Vasiṣṭha 11. 23, 12. 16 and 23. 43 either contradict or find no counterpart in our Manu (S. B. E. vol. 25 p. XXXIV). Vasiṣṭha 11. 23 corresponds with Manu 3. 245-246.<sup>148</sup> None of the three contradict anything contained in the Manusmṛti. Vasiṣṭha 23. 43 (about Śiśuklecchra) has nothing corresponding to it word for word in our Manu, but it seems to be an echo of Manu 11. 211.<sup>149</sup> In Vasiṣṭha 12. 16 (paryagnikaraparṇa

148 'प्राक्संस्कारात्ममीतानां स्वयंश्यानामिति स्थितिः । भागधेयं मनुः प्राह उच्छिष्टोच्छेषणे उभे ॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 23. Should we not read स्वयंश्यानाम्, which would correspond to the word दासवर्ग in Manu? मनु reads 'असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां त्यागिनां कुलयोषिताम् । उच्छिष्टं भागधेयं स्याद् दर्भेषु विकिरिष्य यः ॥ उच्छेषणं भूमिगतमजिह्वास्याशठस्य च । दासवर्गस्य तत्पित्र्ये भागधेयं प्रचक्षते ॥ ' 3. 245-246. The close correspondence between Vas. and Manu in ideas and phraseology should be specially marked.

149 वसिष्ठ (23. 43) 'अहः प्रातरहर्नक्षत्रमहरेकमयाचितम् । अहः पराकं तन्त्रैकमेवं चतुरहो परो ॥ अनुपहृत्य विप्राणां मनुर्धर्मभृतां वरः । बालवृद्धानुरेष्वेवं शिशुकृच्छ्रमुवाच ह ॥ ; मनु 11. 245. 'व्यहं प्रातस्त्रयहं सायं च्यहमश्यादयाचितम् । व्यहं परं च नाक्षनीयात्प्राजापत्यं चरन् द्विजः ॥. It would be noticed that the शिशुकृच्छ्र comes to one-third of the प्राजापत्यकृच्छ्र, as the शिशुचान्द्रायण (मनु. 11. 218) is a milder edition of the चान्द्रायण. The प्रायश्चित्त for minors and women was one half or one third of that for adult males (vide बी. ध. सू. II. 1. 51. and आक्षिप्तस्मृति verse 33). बी. ध. सू. (II. 1. 65) describes the four day's observance as the कृच्छ्र for women, minors and old men. याज्ञ. III. 319 calls it पादकृच्छ्र.



hy-etan-manurāha Prajāpatiḥ) there is nothing that contradicts our Manu; that half and the preceding verses bear a close correspondence to Baudhāyana Dh. S. I. 4. 2. Similarly Bühler's argument about Mānava śloka in the Triṣṭubh metre is not quite sound. The text of Vasiṣṭha is far from satisfactory. On the non-occurrence of that verse or a corresponding śloka in our Manu no superstructure can be built. Vasiṣṭha quotes (4. 37) a sūtra or opinion of Gautama which is not found in the extant Gautamadharmasūtra. Verses ascribed to Vasiṣṭha in the nibandhas are not found in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (*vide* n. 108 above.)

The analogy of the works of the schools of Āpastamba and others can furnish no proof. There are on the other hand weighty grounds for discarding that analogy altogether. It is a remarkable fact that excepting the three *caranās* (of the Black Yajurveda) of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Hiranyakeśin that arose and flourished in the southern portion of India, no *carāṇa* of any of the other Vedas has an extant dharmasūtra ascribed to the founder of the *sūtra-carāṇa*. An explanation is suggested in the following lines. The Brāhmanas in southern India were in the very early days of their colonisation surrounded by an alien culture and by alien customs. It was necessary therefore to formulate distinctly the rules of general conduct for the Aryan community in southern India, that studied the Black Yajurveda. The same necessity did not exist in northern India, where the members of the *sūtracarāṇas* knew their ordinary every day duties very well, and were more or less a homogeneous community with the same ideals and culture. Therefore in the beginning when manuals of śrauta and grhya ceremonies were first composed, it was not thought necessary to compose set treatises on *dharma* for each *carāṇa*. Some of the rules of conduct were embodied in the grhya sūtras because they were germane to the subjects treated of in them (such as the duties of Brahmacārins and householders, holidays etc.). Works, however, dealing with the general usages prevalent among the Aryan community in various parts of northern India must have been composed early enough. When the knowledge of the existence of the complete set of the sūtra works in the Āpastamba and other *carāṇas* of the Yajurveda in southern India permeated to northern and central India, the leaders of the *carāṇas* cast about for works that would complete the works of their *carāṇas* and bring



them in a line with those of Āpastamba and others. Therefore the various *caranās* seized upon several dharmasūtras and adopted them in their schools for study. This must have occurred at a comparatively early date. For Kumārila, as we saw above, enlightens us as to what dharmasūtras were specially studied in which Vedic schools. The fact that, though Gautama and Vasiṣṭha are said to have been specially studied by the students of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛgveda respectively, there is hardly anything in these dharmasūtras that specially connects them with the two Vedas affords some corroboration of the above hypothesis. This assimilation of independent dharmasūtras into individual *sūtracarāṇas* probably took place before or in the first centuries of the Christian era. Śābara (on Jaimini I. 3.4) seems to make fun of the dharmasūtras when he says that the direction to observe *brahmacarya* for forty-eight years was a device of those who wanted to hide their impotence (Gautama 2. 52, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 11-12, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 1. speak of *brahmacarya* for 48 years). This shows that these dharmasūtras could not have been regarded as very authoritative by all early writers. Jaimini I. 3. 11 (according to Śābara) denies the independent authority of Kalpasūtras. It appears that the Mānava school, which according to the *caranavyūha* was a subdivision of the Maitrāyaṇīya, dwindled in numbers very early. Kumārila, who was a most learned and profound student of the various branches of Sanskrit literature, nowhere mentioned the Mānavadharmasūtra as studied by followers of the Black Yajurveda, though he mentions Baudhāyana and Āpastamba as studied by them. He places the Manusmṛti even higher than the Gautamadharmasūtra and betrays no knowledge of the existence of the Mānavadharmasūtra. Viśvarūpa who is generally identified with Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkara, remarks that the Mānavacarāṇa is not existent (or found).<sup>150</sup>

The foregoing discussion will, it is hoped, induce every impartial critic to endorse the conclusion that on the materials so far available the theory that the Mānavadharmasūtra once existed and that the extant Manusmṛti is a recast of that sūtra must be held not proved.

#### 14. The Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya

This epoch-making work was first published by Dr. Shamasastri in 1909 in the Mysore Sanskrit Series and was also translated by him. Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum has published the work

<sup>150</sup> 'न च मानवादिचरणोपलब्धिर्हस्ति' p. 18 of विश्वरूप's comment on आचार section.



with his own commentary called *Śrīmūla*. Dr. Jolly and Dr. Schmidt edited the text with a valuable introduction and the commentary, called *Nayacandrikā*, of *Mādhavayajvan* on portions of the text in the Punjab Sanskrit series at Lahore. In this work the edition of 1919 by Dr. Shamasastri has been used. This work has given rise to frequent and furious controversies about its authorship, its authenticity and its age and it cannot be said that we have heard the last of this din of controversy. Moreover this work has inspired besides numerous articles in journals several monographs, some of which have somewhat high sounding titles, such as Narendranath Law's 'Studies in Ancient Indian Polity,' Dr. P. Banerji's 'Public Administration in Ancient India,' Ghosal's 'History of Hindu Political Theories,' Majumdar's 'Corporate Life in Ancient India,' Benoy Kumar Sarkar's 'Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus,' Jayasval's 'Hindu Polity,' Prof. S. V. Visvanathan's 'International Law in Ancient India (1925)'. It is not possible to discuss at great length all the problems about *Kauṭilya* here. Only a brief statement can be attempted. For fuller study reference may be made to the following works and papers :— Hillebrandt's 'über das *Kauṭilyaśāstra* und Verwandtes' (Breslau 1908), Z D M G vol. 67, pp. 49-96 (Dr. Jolly), Z D M G vol. 68, pp. 345-359 and vol. 69, p. 369 ff; J R A S 1916, pp. 130-137 (Prof. Keith), I. A. for 1918, pp. 157-161 and pp. 187-195 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Dr. Sukthankar), Dr. Kalidas Nag's 'Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra' (Paris 1923) and its translation in 'Journal of Indian History' vol. V, Dr. Otto Stein's 'Megasthenes und *Kauṭilya*' (Vienna 1922), K. V. Rangasvami Ayyangar's lectures on Ancient Indian Polity (Madras 1916), Dr. Winternitz in *Calcutta Review* 1924 and in his history of Indian Literature (vol. III, pp. 509-524), I. A. for 1924, pp. 128-136 and 141-146 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Prof. Utgikar); Dr. Johann J. Meyer's 'Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben das *Arthaśāstra* des *Kauṭilya*' (Leipzig, 1925) and Prof. N. C. Bandopadhyaya's exposition of the social ideal and political theory of *Kauṭilya*. The Indian Antiquary for 1925 (pp. 175 and 201) gives an exhaustive bibliography on the date of *Kauṭilya*.

The *Kauṭilya* is the oldest extant work on *Arthaśāstra*. Though *Arthaśāstra* and *Dharmaśāstra* are often contradistinguished on account of the difference of the two śāstras in ideals and in the



methods adopted to reach them, Arthaśāstra is really a branch of Dharmaśāstra as the former deals with the responsibilities of kings for whom rules are laid down in many treatises on *dharmā*.<sup>151</sup> For this reason and the further reason that the Kauṭilya contains two sections (called dharmasthīya and kaṇṭhakaśodhana) on the administration of justice, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya deserves careful consideration in this work. According to the Caranavyūha of Śaunaka, Arthaśāstra is an Upaveda of Arharvaveda. The purpose of this Śāstra as stated in the Kauṭilya itself is 'to prescribe means for securing and preserving (power over) the earth'.<sup>152</sup> Yājñavalkya distinctly states (II. 21) that in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the rule is that the former prevails.<sup>153</sup> Nārada also (I. 39) says the same thing.<sup>154</sup> From comparatively ancient times Caṇakya *alias* Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta has been credited with the composition of a work on Arthaśāstra. The Kāmandakiyanitisāra<sup>155</sup> pays a glowing tribute of praise to Viṣṇugupta, who, singlehanded, brought about the downfall of Nanda, bestowed the earth on Candragupta and distilled from the ocean of Arthśāstra the quintessence, his work on politics. Kāmandaka further tells us that he looked upon Viṣṇugupta as his *guru*.<sup>156</sup> The Tantrākhyāyikā (H. O. S. vol. 14) which is certainly not later than 300 A. D. pays homage to Caṇakya the Great as one of the authors of treatises on Politics.<sup>157</sup> Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāracarita

151 'धर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गतमेव राजनीतिलक्षणमर्थशास्त्रमिदं विवक्षितम्' मिता० on Y5j. II. 21.

152 तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति । कौ. 15. 1. So also the very first sentence is 'पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्त्रानि संहृत्येकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।'

153 अर्थशास्त्रास्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ।

154 यत्र विप्रातिपासिः स्याद्वर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्तमं धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

155 यस्याभिचारवज्जेण वज्रज्वलनतेजसः । पपात मूलतः श्रीमान् सुपर्वा नन्दपर्वतः ॥ एकाकी मन्त्रशक्त्या यः शक्त्यो शक्तिधरोपमः । आजहार नृचन्द्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय मेदिनीम् ॥ नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः । समुद्बुधे नमस्तमे विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥ काम. I. 4-6.

156 'विद्याश्चतस्र एवैता इति नो गुरुदर्शनम् ।' काम० II. 6; 'चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः' कौटिलीय I. 2.

157 मनवे वाचस्पतये शुक्राय पराशरये ससुताय । चाणक्याय च महते नमोस्तु नृपशास्त्रकर्तृभ्यः ॥ verse 2.



(section VIII, p. 131, 2nd edition B. S. Series) says that the teacher Viṣṇugupta compressed Daṇḍanīti for the sake of the Maurya king into six thousand ślokaś and quotes passages from Cāṇakya.<sup>158</sup> Bāṇa associates the work of Kauṭilya with harsh and cruel expedients.<sup>159</sup> The Pāṇcatantra identifies Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta and speaks of Cāṇakya as the author of Arthaśāstra (*vide* part I. p. 2 ed. by Kielhorn part II. p. 65 and part III. 50 ed. by Bühler). Kauṭilya figures very largely in the Purāṇas (*vide* Pargiter's 'dynasties of the Kali age' pp. 69-70 and Viṣṇupurāṇa 4. 24. 26-28). He has a prominent place in the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, as appears from the works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. The Mṛcchakatika (I. 39 B. S. series) refers to Cāṇakya. The Mudrārākṣasa identified Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya and suggests the derivation of the latter name from 'Kuṭila' (crooked).<sup>160</sup> Some of the above items of information are supported by the personal references contained in the Arthaśāstra itself. At the end of the first chapter of the first *adhibikarṇa*, Kauṭilya is said to be the author of the Śāstra and at the end of the 10th chapter of the second *adhibikarṇa* Kauṭilya is said to have laid down the rules for royal edicts for the sake of the king.<sup>161</sup> The last verse<sup>162</sup> tells us that he who impatiently wrested the earth from the Nanda king composed the work and after the colophon a verse tell us that seeing the differing interpretations of bhāṣyakāras on the Arthaśāstra, Viṣṇugupta himself composed the sūtra and the bhāṣya.

The first question that arises for consideration is the authenticity of the work, that is, the question whether it can be the work of the

158 'इयमिदानीमाचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्याये षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिता ।' दशकुमार० VIII: सत्यमाह चाणक्यः 'चित्तज्ञानानुवर्तिनोऽनर्था अपि प्रियाः स्युः । दक्षिणा अपि तद्वाव-  
यहिष्कृता द्वेष्या भवेयुः' दशकुमार VIII. Compare कौटिलीय V. 4 verses at the end.

159 'येषामतिनुशंसप्रयोपदेशनिर्वृण कौटिल्यशास्त्रं प्रमाणम्' कादम्बरी p. 109 (Peterson).

160 कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः स एष येन क्रोधाग्निं प्रसभमदाहि नन्दवंशः । मुद्राराक्षस I.

161 सुस्रग्रहणविज्ञेयं तत्त्वार्थपदनिश्चितम् । कौटिल्येन कृतं शास्त्रं विमुक्तग्रन्थविस्तरम् ॥  
कौटिलीय I. 1: सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुकम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च । कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शास-  
नस्य विधिः कृतः ॥ कौटिलीय II. 10.

162 येन शास्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः । अमर्षेणाद्भुतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥  
बृह्म विप्रतिपत्तिं बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् । स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च  
भाष्यं च ॥



famous minister of Candragupta Maurya, who was a contemporary of Alexander, and who must therefore have flourished about 320 B.C. This question very largely depends upon the age of the work. But other considerations, more or less of a-subjective character and depending upon the absence of certain things from the Kauṭilya, must be dealt with first. Jolly, Keith and Winternitz hold that the extant Kauṭilya is not the work of the Maurya minister. One argument, viz. that a person like Cāṇakya who had to build a vast empire such as that of Candragupta and who was bent down with the cares of the empire could not have found time to write such a work, may be brushed aside as entirely futile, being a purely subjective argument. Some persons may say that he could have found time, just as Sayana and Mādhava could find in later days, to write such a work in the midst of all cares, while others may deny the possibility of such a thing. Similarly most of the arguments from the silence of the Kauṭilya are also quite unconvincing and lead to no certain and universally acceptable conclusion. The non-mention of Pataliputra or of the empire of Candragupta is of very little use in deciding the question of the authenticity of the work. The argument of Stein and Winternitz that in Megasthenes' account of India no great person named Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya appears and that the former's account of the condition of India does not tally with that presented by the Kauṭilya is of very little weight. We have no means for finding out what proficiency Megasthenes had acquired in the languages of India so as to be able to hold conversation with all sorts and conditions of men. Besides it is well known that Megasthenes' writings have been handed down in a fragmentary state and that he often spins his own yarns. Megasthenes declares the Indians to be unacquainted with writing. But no Western scholar would now subscribe to the view that writing was unknown in India about 320 B. C. Dr. Jolly himself has to remark that the idealising tendency in Megasthenes greatly impairs the trustworthiness of his statements (p. 40, Introduction to Kauṭilya). This question of the authenticity of the work is bound up with the question whether it can be the work of an individual author or whether it is the product of a school. Hillebrandt vehemently argues that it is the product of a school and Jacobi as vehemently repudiates that hypothesis. The great stumbling block according to many scholars in the way of regarding Kauṭilya as the author of the work is the fact that the views of Kauṭilya are cited by name about 80 times in the work

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itself almost always in opposition to the views of other teachers. But there is nothing specially to be wondered at in this. In order to avoid looking too egotistic, ancient authors generally put their own views in the third person as said by early writers like Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa.<sup>163</sup> It has to be admitted that the first person singular also is used by ancient writers, though rarely.<sup>164</sup> Jacobi (I. A. for 1918 p. 188) and Keith are both wrong in thinking that the view of Kauṭilya is criticized by Bhāradvāja in V. 6. Kauṭilya states his position first and then mentions the view of his predecessor.<sup>165</sup> Dr. Jolly (Intro. to Kauṭilya p. 44) is wrong in his explanation of Apadeśa (in XV. 1.<sup>166</sup>). That word is applied to passages which mean 'this or that author says this or that' and the Kauṭilya cites from his own work a case of the statement of various views on a certain point. These words do not at all indicate that according to the Arthaśāstra Kauṭilya was a stranger. Keith thinks (J. R. A. S. 1916 p. 135) that as Kauṭilya is derived from Kuṭila, an author will not cite his own views under such an epithet. It is not unlikely that Cānakya acquired the epithet Kauṭilya on account of his methods in dealing with the Nandas and that as he did so from no purely selfish motives but for ridding the country of such tyrants as the Nandas are represented to have been, he might have come to relish the name given to him by the people. It has to be noted in this connection that many of the writers quoted in the Kauṭilya bear nicknames (such as Piśuna, Vāṭavyādlii, Kauṇapadanta). This leads to the question as to whether the name is Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya. Hillebrandt seems to imply that all mss. employ the first form, while Pandit T. Ganapatisastri says his mss. support the latter form though in the first few pages he prints Kauṭilya. Mss. of the Kādambārī, the Pañcatantra and other works support the form Kauṭilya and the Mudrārākṣasa does the same by pointedly hinting at the etymology.

163 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकाराः स्वमतं परापदेशेन ब्रुवन्ते' मेघानिधि, on याज्ञ. I. 2 विश्वरूप says किं तु भगवतैव परोक्षीकृत्यात्मा निर्दिश्यते स्वप्रशंसानिवेधात् ।'

164 यास्क says 'तान्यप्येके समामनन्ति ... तत्समामने' निरुक्त VII. 13; vide याज्ञ. I. 56. (न तन्मम मतं यस्मात् &c.) and II. 133.

165 एवमेकैश्वर्यममात्यः कारयेदिति कौटिल्यः । नैवमिति भारद्वाजः ।

166 एवमसावादेत्यपदेशः । 'मन्त्रिपरिषद् द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः, यथासामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्यः' इति.



A com. on the Kāmandakiyanitisāra styles the Kauṭilya as Kuṭala-bhāṣya and Kuṭala is said to be a *gotra*. The form Kauṭalya is said to occur in an inscription at Ganesar in Dholka dated Vikrama Samvat 1291 ( i. e. 1234-35 A. D. ). Vide Indian Historical Quarterly vol. I. p. 786. It is very difficult to decide between the rival claims of the two forms, but it appears that the form of the name, Kauṭalya, is due to a later attempt to solve the difficulty of an author parading his views as those of a man nicknamed "crooked". Whether Kuṭala or Kauṭalya was known as a *gotra* ṛṣi in ancient times is extremely doubtful. Neither the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra ( Uttaraśaṭka, 6th chap., 10th Kaṇḍikā ) nor the Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra ( 24. 5-10 ) mentions Kuṭala among the several *gotra* groups. In later works on *gotras*, we find the name in several forms. In the Pravaraḍarpana of Kamalākara Kauṭali is said to be one of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa group of the Bhṛguṣ ( p. 156, edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore ) and Kauṭilya is assigned to the Yaska group of the Bhṛguṣ ( p. 158 ). The Pravaramaṇjari enumerates the Kauṭilyas ( p. 32, of the edition by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore ) among the Yaska group of the Bhṛguṣ, also among the Śaradvanta group of the Gautamias, a branch of the Āṅgirasas, ( p. 161 ) and Kauṭili as one of the Bhṛguṣ ( p. 42 ). We have to remember that so early a writer as Kāmandaka ( who was well known to Bhavabhūti and Vāmana's Kāvyalankārasūtra-vṛtti ) who is assigned to the third century A. D., and the Tantrākhyāyikā distinctly assign a work on politics to the minister of Candragupta. No weighty arguments have been advanced so far why this tradition vouched for so early should be disregarded. Keith finds it impossible that in the words 'six thousand ślokas' used by Daṇḍin the word śloka could mean a unit ( in prose ) of 32 letters. But Daṇḍin is evidently repeating the words that occur in the Arthasāstra itself at the end of the first chapter.<sup>167</sup>

Before proceeding to discuss the age of the Kauṭilya, it is advisable to say a few words on the form, style and contents of the work. The work is divided into 15 adhikaraṇas, 150 chapters, 180 topics and contains 6000 ślokas ( i. e. units of 32 letters ). The work is in prose interspersed with a few verses. Each chapter has

167 शास्त्रसमुद्देशः पञ्चदशधिकरणानि सप्तत्रिंशदध्यायशतं सार्शान्तिप्रकरणशतं षट्श्लोक-  
सहस्राणीति । These words of the Kauṭilya must mean 6000 units of 32  
letters and nothing else.



at the end at least one verse and sometimes more. A few verses occur also in the midst of some chapters as in I. 8, I. 15, II. 10, II. 24, V. 6, VII. 5, VII. 6, VII. 9, VII. 13, X. 3, XIII. 4. There are about 340 verses excluding *mantras*. Almost all these verses are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, only eight verses being in the classical Indravajrā or Upajāti metres (in II. 9, II. 10 and X. 3). In our utter ignorance about the literature on Arthaśāstra prior to Kauṭilya it is impossible to say how many of these verses are borrowed and how many are of his own composition. There can be no doubt that some of these verses were composed by him (e. g. the two verses in I. 10, where the views of Ācāryas are given, and the words 'etat Kauṭilya-darśanam' occur). It appears that some verses are clearly quotations. For example, the verse 'nāsyā guhyam' at the end of I. 15, and the verse 'saṁvatsareṇa patati' at the end of IV. 7 are Manu 7. 105 and 2. 180 respectively. The last occurs in Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62 and also in Vas. I. 22. The two verses in the Upajāti metre in X. 3 'yaṁ yajñasaṅghaiḥ' and 'navam śaravam' occur respectively in the Parāśaradharmaśāstra (chap. III. p. 12 of Jivānanda, part II) and in the Pratijñā (IV. 3<sup>168</sup>). It is noteworthy that they are introduced with the words 'apiha ślaukai bhavataḥ' and follow a quotation from or summary of a Vedic passage. Twelve verses in VII. 9 are introduced with the words 'tatraitad bhavati' and may be quotations. A few of the verses bear a close resemblance to verses of other works; e. g. the verse 'prṣṭaḥ priyahitam brnyāt' (in V. 4) which is very similar to Manu. 4. 138. In some cases he connects verses with his own words, e. g. the words 'kurvataśca' with 'nāsyā guhyam' (at the end of I. 15) and the last verse of II. 25. The style of the Kauṭilya is simple and direct. It is not concise like that of the Vedānta or Vyākaraṇa sūtras. It resembles the dharmaśāstras of Gautama, Hārita and Śaṅkha-Likhita, but is not as archaic as that of Āpastamba. According to the commentaries the several headings of the prakaraṇas are sūtras and the contents of them the bhāṣya (vide Nayacandrikā pp. 137, 143-44 &c., edited by Dr. Jolly). It abounds in numerous technical and rare terms. It is generally in

168 The manner in which the गृह्यसूत्र brings in this verse does not show that it is the author's own. The verse is preceded by the words गृह्यसूत्रम् and is probably put in as a weighty utterance from some ancient source.



accordance with Pāṇini's grammar, though such un-Pāṇinian words as 'pāṇiṣṭhatama' (in VII. 11) rarely occur. It employs the word 'avyaya' in the masculine (II. 10), while Pāṇini (I. 1. 37) employs 'avyayam'.

The whole work on account of its careful arrangement of topics and unity of design impresses one as the product of a single brilliant mind. The Kautiliya sheds such valuable light on the social, economic, political and religious life of ancient India and contains information on so many topics that it is not possible to convey any idea of its contents in a brief summary. The subjects of the fifteen *adhikaraṇas* are :— I. the discipline of the king, sciences to be learnt by him, the place of Ānvikṣiki and politics, qualifications of ministers and purohita and their temptations, the institution of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, duties towards harem, king's personal safety ; II. about superintendents of various state departments, founding villages, pastures and forests, forts, duties of the chamberlain (sannidhātā), the commissioner for revenues from forts, country, mines, forests, roads &c. ; accountant-general's office ; embezzlement of public funds ; royal edicts ; examination of precious stones for the treasury and mines ; superintendent of gold ( i. e. of coins issued from the mints ) ; superintendent of store-house ( of agricultural produce &c. ), of commerce, of forests, of arms, of weights and measures, of tolls, of weaving, of liquor houses, of slaughter houses, of prostitutes, of shipping, of cows and horses, of the capital and cities ; III. Administration of justice, rules of procedure, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, stridhana, twelve kinds of sons ; other titles of law ; IV. removal of thorns, protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against national calamities such as fires, floods, pestilence, famines, demons, tigers, snakes, etc ; suppression of those who live by foul means ; detection of juvenile crime ; arrest of criminals on suspicion, accidental or violent deaths, torture to extort confessions ; protection of all kinds of state departments ; fines in lieu of cutting off of limbs, sentence of death with or without torture ; intercourse with maidens ; punishment of fine for various wrongs ; V. conduct of courtiers, award of punishment for treason, replenishing of treasury in case of emergency ; salaries of state servants, qualifications of courtiers, consolidation of royal power ; VI. constitution of the maṇḍala, seven elements of sovereignty, qualities of king, peace and arduous work



as the source of prosperity; sixfold royal policy; threefold *śakti*; VII. circle of states is the field for the employment of the six lines of policy; the six *guṇas* (saṁdhi, war, neutrality, marching, taking shelter and *dvaiddhibhāva*); causes leading to the dwindling and disloyalty of armies; combination of states; saṁdhi for the acquisition of a friend, gold or land; an enemy in the rear; recouping of lost strength; a neutral king and a circle of states; VIII. about *vyasanas* (vices and misfortunes) of the several elements of sovereignty; troubles of the king and the kingdom; troubles of men and of the army; IX. work of an invader, proper time for invasion, recruitment of the army, accoutrements, internal and external trouble, disaffection; traitors, enemies and their allies; X. about war; encamping the army, march of the army, battle-fields, work of infantry, cavalry, elephants &c.; array of troops for battle in various formations; XI. concerning corporations and guilds; XII. concerning a powerful enemy; sending an envoy; intrigues, spies with weapons, fire and poison and destruction of stores and granaries; capture of the enemy by stratagems; final victory; XIII. capture of forts; sowing dissensions; enticing of king by stratagem; spies in a siege; restoring peace in a conquered country; XIV. secret means, stratagems for killing an enemy, producing illusive appearances; medicines and incantations; XV. division of this work into sections and their illustrations.

It would be interesting to say a few words separately on the chapter about judicial administration. Dr. Jolly has collected together the passages of the Kaṭīliya on judicial administration that bear a very close resemblance to the several works on ancient Indian Law (vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 67, pp. 51-90). It will be seen therefrom that there is the greatest correspondence between the Kaṭīliya and Yājñavalkya. It is no doubt true that many passages from Manu and Nārada agree closely with those of the Kaṭīliya but not to the same extent as those of Yājñavalkya. A few striking examples are quoted below.<sup>169</sup> The question then arises whether there is

169 (a) अभियुक्तो न प्रत्यभियुञ्जति अन्यत्र कलहसाहसार्थसमवायेभ्यः । न चाभियुक्तेऽभियोगोऽस्ति । को. III. 1; अभियोगमनिस्त्यै नैनं प्रत्यभियोजयेत् । कुर्यात्प्रत्यभियोगं च कलहे साहसं च ॥ याज्ञ. II. 9-10; (b) प्रतिरोधकव्याधिदुर्भिक्षभयप्रतीकारे धर्मकार्ये च पत्युः । को. III. 2; दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ संप्रतिरोधके । गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्ता न स्त्रियं दातुमर्हति ॥ याज्ञ. II. 147; (c) सोऽदर्याणामनेकपितृकाणां पितृतो दापयिमागः । को. III. 5; अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना । याज्ञ. II. 150;



borrowing and if so who the borrower is. The agreement in phraseology is so close that it must be regarded as a case of borrowing and in my opinion it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti that borrows. The reasons are many. Yājñavalkya represents on numerous points of law a very great advance upon the doctrines of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya does not contain distinct directions upon the four stages of a law suit (plaint, reply, proof and judgment) nor upon the threefold aspects of proof (documents, witnesses, prescription). Yājñavalkya goes into all these matters. The Kauṭīliya does not recognise the widow or mother as heir to a sonless man; Yājñavalkya does so. Kauṭilya does not mention the *bandhus* as heirs; he hardly says anything about re-union.<sup>170</sup> The Kauṭīliya divides the stridhana of a woman dying during her husband's lifetime among her sons and daughters, while Yāj. prefers the daughters to the sons.<sup>171</sup> It is not necessary to multiply examples. It goes without saying that Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage of juristic principles than the Kauṭīliya and so must be later than the latter by several centuries. The Kauṭīliya agrees very closely with Manu also, but considerations of space prevent me from going into the points of agreement. There are however numerous fundamental points on which Manu and the Kauṭīliya disagree.

Kauṭilya allows *niyoga* even in the case of Brāhmaṇas (last verse of III. 6 and at the end of I. 17 about kings). Manu first speaks of *Niyoga* and then condemns it (vide 9. 57-63 and 9. 64-68). As Brhaspati refers to this fact in Manu's work,<sup>172</sup> it appears that the

(d) नष्टपट्टमासाय स्वामी धर्मस्थेन ग्राहयेत् । देशकालानिपत्तो वा स्वयं गृहीत्वा पश्येत् ।  
कौ. III. 16; नष्टपट्टमासाय हतारं ग्राहयेन्नरम् । देशकालानिपत्तो च गृहीत्वा स्वय-  
मर्पयेत् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 169; (e) वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणामाचार्यशिष्यधर्मभ्रातृसमान-  
तीर्थ्या रिकथभाजः । कौ. III. 16; वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणा रिकथभाजिनः ।  
क्रमेणाचार्यसन्निष्ठधर्मभ्रात्रैकतीर्थिनः ॥ याज्ञ. II. 137.

170 But see 'अपितृद्रव्या विभक्तपितृद्रव्यैः सह जीवन्तः पुनर्विभजेरन्' कौ. III. 5.

This contains a reference to reunion.

171 जीवति भर्तारं मृतायाः पुत्रा दुहितरश्च स्त्रीधनं विभजेरन् । अपुत्राया दुहितरः । तदभावे  
भर्ता । कौ. III. 2; अमजःस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्भात्यादिषु चतुर्विंशति । दुहितृणां प्रसूता  
चेच्छेषेषु पितृगामि तत् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 145.

172 Yājñavalkya's word are 'उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु'; vide कृष्णक on  
मनु 9. 68 for the whole quotation.



passages condemning *niyoga* were put in probably earlier than the first centuries of the Christian era. Though Kautilya speaks of almost the same 18 titles as those in Manu (8. 4-7) almost under the same names, there is a slight difference. Manu has no such title as *Prakirṇaka*. Kautilya speaks of *upanidhi* and extends the same rules to *Nikṣepa*, while Manu speaks of the title as *Nikṣepa*. The ancient dharma-sūtras do not give the technical names of the eighteen titles of law, though some of them do occur therein. *Vāk-pāruṣya* and *daṇḍapāruṣya* occur in G. Dh. S. (12. 1) and Vas. (17. 61). Baud. seems to have known the term 'Strisaṅgrahaṇa' (Dh. S. II. 2. 54). *Steya* occurs in all. Gautama speaks of *nidhi* (Dh. S. 12. 39). Manu positively says (9. 155) that the son of any member of the first three *varṇas* from a Śūdra woman does not inherit his father's wealth (though the preceding verses 151-154 seem to lay down different rules), while Kautilya allows such a son a share when there are sons born to a Brāhmaṇa from wives of higher castes or one third when he has no other sons (III. 6). Manu expressly mentions the mother and paternal-grandmother as heirs (9. 217), while Kautilya appears to ignore them. Manu prohibits the remarriage of widows (V. 161-165), while Kautilya allows not only widows to remarry, but also wives whose husbands have not been heard of for a year or more according to circumstances (III. 4). Kautilya allows a wife to desert her husband, if the latter is of a bad character, has become a traitor to the king, endangers her life or has become an outcaste or impotent<sup>173</sup> (last verse of III. 2). Kautilya further seems to have allowed divorce which is unknown to any other known lawgiver, but he bases it only on the ground of mutual hatred and says that a marriage in the approved forms cannot be dissolved<sup>174</sup> (III. 3). Manu is very harsh upon gamblers and asks the king to suppress gambling and banish gamblers (9. 221-224), while Kautilya only brings gambling under the control of the king for the purpose of detecting thieves &c. (III. 20). Manu first allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry even a Śūdra woman and then condemns such a thing (III. 13-19), while Kautilya does not condemn such unions. These divergences and others lead us to conclude

<sup>173</sup> नीचत्वं परदेशं वा प्रस्थितो राजकिल्बिषी । प्राणानिहन्ता पतितस्त्याज्यः क्लीबोपि वा पतिः ॥ कौ०.

<sup>174</sup> अमोक्ष्या भर्तुरकामस्य द्विषती भार्या । भार्यावाञ्छ भर्ता । परस्परं द्वेषान्मोक्षः । अमोक्षो भर्मा विवाहनामिति । कौ०.



that the Kauṭilya is much older than the extant Manusmṛti, which is in many matters carried away by puritanic zeal, while its older portion is more in harmony with the spirit of the Kauṭilya. Therefore the Kauṭilya is long anterior to the time when the extant Manusmṛti took its present form. The Kauṭilya refers to the opinion of the Mānavas in five places. Two of the views ascribed to the Mānavas by Kauṭilya are the same as those which Kāmandaka (II. 3 and XI. 67) ascribes to Manu. According to the Mānavas, the *vidyās* to be studied by a prince were three, viz. trayī, vārtā and daṇḍanīti, what is called *ānvīkṣikī* being but a branch of trayī; and the council of ministers was to consist of twelve. The Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the *vidyās* as four and lays down (7. 54) that the Council should consist of seven or eight *sacivas*. Bühler and others on account of this difference in the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti thought that Kauṭilya was referring to the Mānavadharmasūtra. In my humble opinion the evidence for the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra is practically nil, as detailed above in section 13. From the references to Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetasas Manu contained in the Mahābhārata, particularly in the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* it appears that there were two works in verse on *dharma* and politics attributed to these two or there was one work containing both. These works were subsequently recast as the Manusmṛti. It is therefore that some difference is noticed between the views ascribed to the Mānavas and the extant Manusmṛti. Besides there is no real conflict in the matter of *vidyās*. The Manusmṛti does not positively say that the *vidyās* are four and not three; it simply says from whom trayī and the other three are to be learnt. The Manusmṛti (in 7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. It is possible that in recasting several changes were made. The third opinion of the Mānavas quoted by Kauṭilya is about the fine to be imposed upon officers of the state occasioning loss of revenue (II. 7). The other two views of the Mānavas quoted are concerned with the fine to be imposed on false witnesses and for forcible seizure of jewels<sup>175</sup> &c. It must be admitted that in the extant Manusmṛti there is nothing exactly corresponding with these views. But from this fact no one conclusion alone can be drawn. There may be a mistake in quoting, or there may be inter-

<sup>175</sup> कूटसाक्षिणो यमर्थमभूतं वा नाशयेयुस्तद्दशगुणं दण्डं दद्यादिति मानवाः । कौ. III. 11 :

‘रत्नसारफलकुप्यानां साक्षे मूल्यसमो दण्ड इति मानवाः । कौ. III. 12.



polations, it may be that some of the verses in the original Manusmṛti have dropped out or that Kauṭilya is quoting not the Manusmṛti itself, but the views of works based on or explanatory of Manu. It is noteworthy that Bṛhaspati<sup>176</sup> contains a verse very similar to the views on sāhasa attributed to the Mānavas. We shall see below that Bṛhaspati's work was more or less a supplement of Manu. The only authors or schools, besides the Mānavas, cited by name in the dharmasthīya section are the Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas. It is remarkable that the well-known and ancient Dharmasūtrakāras like Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Hārita are nowhere quoted by name. It is noteworthy that in the dharmasthīya section Kauṭilya several times quotes the views of ācāryas and of some others under the word "apare". Some of these views correspond closely with the discussions in the ancient dharmasūtras. One of these is the question as to whom the child belongs, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten. Kauṭilya first quotes the view of the ācāryas that it belongs to the husband of the mother of the child, then says "that some hold that it belongs to the begetter, while Kauṭilya holds that it belongs to both."<sup>177</sup> It is to be noted here that both Baud. and Āp. say that according to the Brāhmaṇas the sons belong to the begetter, while Vasiṣṭha says there is a dispute on the point, both views being supported by ancient authorities. Gautama speaks of both views and at last (18. 13 "dvayorvā") seems to come to the same conclusion as Kauṭilya. It is not unlikely that Kauṭilya has in mind this discussion in the Dharmasūtras and also in Manu (9. 48-54 where the view is that the child belongs to the husband of the woman). Some of the other views attributed to ācāryas are that a woman could visit the houses of her husband's relations, of prosperous men, of village headmen, of female ascetics &c. (III. 4); that very poor men could divide even waterpots at a partition (III. 5); that the master who did not employ a servant ready to work according to agreement had to

176 स्त्रीपुंगोहेमरत्नानि देवविप्रधनं तथा । योषेयं चोत्तमं द्रव्यमेवा मूल्यतमो दमः । बृहस्पति  
quoted in व्यवहारमयूख on साहस.

177 परपरिग्रहे बीजमुत्सृष्टं श्वेत्रेण इत्याचार्याः । माता भक्षा यस्य रेतस्तस्यापत्यमित्यपरे ।  
विद्यमानमुभयमिति कौटिल्यः । कौ. III. 7. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 18. 9-13, बौ.  
ध. सू. II. 2. 34-36; आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 5-6 (where the the same  
three verses as in Baud. occur); वसिष्ठ 17. 6-9.



pay the wages agreed upon as if the work had been finished (compare *Viṣṇu* V. 157); he who forcibly confined a man or woman or who by force released another from imprisonment was to be fined between 500 and 1000 (III. 17); that disputes of a remote date shall not be complained of and that he who is the first to complain wins, since one runs (to court) as one cannot bear the pain (III. 19); that in a complaint by one gambler against another, the successful party has to pay the fine called *pūrvasāhasa* and the defeated party the fine called *madhyasāhasa* (III. 20).

The foregoing discussion about the *dharmasthīya* section shows that in the sphere of the administration of justice, Kauṭilya is far in advance of the *dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana and so is much later than these (though in certain matters such as the rights of women to succeed to males he closely agrees with Gautama and Āpastamba), while he is earlier than the extant *Manusmṛti* (though not earlier than the oldest kernel of the *Manusmṛti*) and very much earlier than Yājñavalkya.

The question of the date of the Kauṭilya can be settled only approximately and for that we have to rely only on the internal evidence. The external evidence does not carry us far; we can only say that the Kauṭilya is certainly not later than the 2nd century A. D., since Kāmandaka, the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, and Bāṇa, speak of it with admiration. No one claims it to be earlier than 300 B. C. Even Keith who assigns it a late date and cannot place it earlier than 100 B. C. at the most has to admit (*J R A S* 1916, p. 135) that for a precise date we have no real ground.

The Kauṭilya quotes five schools by name: *Mānavāḥ* (five times), *Bārhaspatyāḥ* (6 times), *Aśvanasāḥ* (7 times), *Parāśarāḥ* (4 times), *Āmbhīyāḥ* (once) and the following individual authors; *Kātyāyana* (1), *Kiṇjalka* (1), *Kaunapadanta* (4), *Ghotakamukha* (1), (*Dirgha*) *Cārāyana* (1), *Parāśara* (2), *Pisuna* (6), *Pisunaputra* (1), *Bāhudantiputra* (1), *Bhāradvāja* (7, once as *Kaṇṇika Bhāradvāja*), *Vāṭavyādhi* (5), *Viśālākṣa* (6). He either differs from all these authors or they differ from each other in all the places where they are cited. All the individual authors that are cited only once occur on the same page (except *Bāhudantiputra*). He quotes the views of *ācāryas* over fifty times and in each case differs from them. "Ācāryas" means the ancient authors on the śāstra



collectively. Even the Nirukta quotes certain views as those of *acāryas*. Kauṭilya is cited about 80 times. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana mentions a Ghoṭakamukha and a Cārāyana. Whether they are identical with the authors cited by Kauṭilya is extremely doubtful. The Mahābhārata mentions among writers on Dandanīti the following who occur in the Kauṭilya also :—Brhaspati, Manu, Bhāradvāja, Viśalakṣa, Śukra ( the same as Uśanas ) and Indra ( probably Kauṭilya's Bāhudantiputra ), whose abridgment of Brahman's work is called Bāhudantaka in the Śāntiparva ( chap. 59 ).

According to the Nayacandrikā, Piśuna, Bhāradvāja, Kaunapadanta and Vātavyādhi stand for Nārada, Droṇācārya, Bhīṣma and Uddhava respectively ( pp. 73, 69, 74, 91 ).

The Mahābhārata mentions other writers on politics, viz. Gaurasīras, Kaśyapa, Utathya, Vāmadeva, Vasuhoma, Kāmandaka, ( Śāntiparva 123. 11 ) and a few others which are not found in the Kauṭilya.

The Kauṭilya knows the four Vedas, the charms and incantations of the Atharvan, the six *āṅgas*, includes under *itihāsa*, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra ; it knows the Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata<sup>178</sup> schools of thought. It mentions Mauhūrtikas, Kārtīntikas ( astrologers ), Jupiter and Venus. It refers to dhātusāstra ( Metallurgy ). Sanskrit was the official language and in the Śāsanādliikāra it mentions such *guṇas* of composition as mādhurya, audārya, spaṣṭatva, which show the beginnings of the Alamkāra śāstra. There is nothing to wonder at in this. In the second century A. D. we have the inscription of Rudradāman, which enumerates the *guṇas* of *kāvya*. The Kauṭilya does not mention edicts on stone or copper. It refers to Vaiśikakalājñāna ( II. 27 ). The Kauṭilya closely agrees with the Kāmasūtra in several respects, and the two works contain several identical passages ( such as the list of kings that fell victims to intrigues and about *trivarga* ). Keith argues from this that the Kauṭilya and the Kāmasūtra are not separated by a long interval and that it is a late work. Dr. Jolly also is of the same opinion ( p. 24 Intro. to Arthaśāstra ). If the Kāmasūtra held up the Kauṭilya as its model, then the two works would certainly look very much alike. There are points of difference

178 लोकायत occurs in the महाभाष्य on वर्णका तान्त्रवे ( पा. VII. 3. 45 ). Vide Kielhorn vol. III., pp. 325-326.



between the two works, e. g. they differ in their attitude towards flesh-eating and the Kātyāyana speaks of planetary influence and *lagna*, while the Kautilya is silent on these points and only condemns in general terms the consulting of stars. We must note here that the Kautilya ( IX. 4 ) speaks of consulting *nakṣatras*, which were known from the earliest Vedic period and some of which were looked upon as auspicious for sacrificial purposes even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ( S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 1-2 ) and the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras. The Kautilya follows the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa in the system of a *yuga* of five saṁvatsaras, in prescribing two intercalary months in a *yuga* and in saying that at the end of one *ayana* the variation between the length of the day or the night comes to six muhūrtas ( vide II. 20 ). Keith argues that the ślokas in the Kautilya are more classical than even those of the Rāmāyaṇa and that it contains correct Triṣṭubh stanzas which are wanting in the Brhaddevatā ( a work of the 4th century B. C. ). But this argument can produce no impression on those scholars who ascribe the Rāmāyaṇa to the 5th century B. C. or earlier. Nor is the date of the Brhaddevatā beyond the pale of discussion. There is no consensus of opinion among scholars as to the exact time when classical ślokas and correct Triṣṭubhs first came into vogue. It is to be noted that the Kautilya defines *padu* as *varṇasaṅghāta* and not as in Pāṇini ( *sup-tinantaṁ padam* ).

Among the countries and peoples frequently mentioned by Kautilya, several are interesting. He speaks of silks from the land of the Cinās<sup>179</sup> and blankets from Nepal. Keith says that the name Cina being derived from the Tsin dynasty in China ( which began its rule in 247 B. C. ) this would show that the Kautilya could not have been composed about 300 B. C. No one however knows how the word Cina was derived and besides as Keith admits the passage may be an interpolation. He speaks of the *Sangha* of the Vṛjṇis ( I. 6 ) and the *Śrenis* ( corporations ) of Kṣatriyas in the countries of Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra that lived by *vārtā* ( agriculture and trade ) and by the profession of fighting and the corporations of the Licchavika, Vṛjika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, and the Kurupañcālas that live on the title 'rāja' ( XI. 1 ). Some of these tribes such as the Licchavis, Vṛjīs ( Vajjis in Pāli ) and Mallas are well-known from ancient Buddhist works. What is meant by 'rājāśabdopajīvinah'

179 तथा कौशेय चमपट्टाश्च चीनभूमिजा व्याख्याताः । को. II. 11.



is not quite clear. It probably means that the organisation of the Licchavis and others was on democratic lines and that there was very keen competition for the honour of being elected the chief or president of those corporations, the latter being designated 'rāja'.<sup>180</sup> The *Nayācandrikā* explains that they bear the proud designation of 'rāja' but are penniless (and so can be easily employed in military service as mercenaries). We are told that the breed of horses from *Kāmbhoja*, *Sindhu*, *Āraṭṭa* and *Vanāyu* was the best and that *Bāhlika*, *Papeya*, *Sauvira* and *Taitala* breeds were of middle quality. The *Kauṭīliya* speaks of *Mleccha* tribes and tells us that among them one's own children could be sold or pledged without incurring punishment (III. 13).

There is hardly any distinctive reference to things Buddhist except one passage (III. 20) where a fine of one hundred (*paṇas*) is prescribed for him who invited to dinners in honour of gods or Manes a Buddhist (*Śākya*), an *Ājivaka*, a *śūdra* ascetic.<sup>181</sup> This shows that the work was written at a time when Buddhism was yet not a widespread religion and had not secured an honourable place among the people. The *Ājivika* was a well-known sect in ancient India, said to have been founded by *Makkhali Gosāla* (vide V. A. Smith's *Aśoka*, pp. 134, 198 of edition of 1909, I. A. 1912, p. 286, 'Dialogues of Buddha' I, p. 71, n. 1, *Journal of Bihar & Orissa Society*, 1926, pp. 53-62). *Aśoka* bestowed some caves on them. *Kauṭīliya* says that weights should be made of iron or of stones from *Magadha* and *Mekala* (country near the sources of the *Narmadā*).<sup>182</sup>

It is extremely doubtful whether the *Kauṭīliya* knew the extant text of the *Mahābhārata*. Most of the stories used as illustrations in the *Kauṭīliya* occur in the *Mahābhārata* (e. g. *Aila*, *Duryodhana*, *Haihaya Arjuna*, *Vātāpi*, *Agastya*, *Ambariṣa*, *Suyātra* i. e. *Nala*). But in some cases there is slight divergence between the two works, e. g. *Janamejaya* is said to have perished through having attacked *Brāhmaṇas* in anger, while the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 150) gives a different version; *Kauṭīliya* says (IV. 8) that *Māṇḍavya*, though not a thief, declared

180 In the *Jātakas* (Fausbøll vol I., p. 504 and vol. III., p. 1) reference is made to the 7707 *rājas* of the Licchavis in *Vesālī*.

181 शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतः शत्र्यो दण्डः। कौ. III. 20.

182 प्रतिमानान्वयोमयानि मागधमेकलशोलमयानि । कौ. II. 19.



himself to be a thief while the Mahābhārata (I. 107. 9) says that he spoke nothing; Kauṭilya mentions Jayatsena as the opponent of Nala (VIII. 3) in gambling, while the Mahābhārata gives his name as Puṣkara; the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa do not know that a Jāmadagnya ruled long as a king.<sup>183</sup> Kauṭilya seems to have known the Purāṇas. He says (III. 7) that *sūta* and *māgadha* of the Purāṇas are quite different<sup>184</sup> from members of the mixed castes called *sūta* and *māgadha* and includes Purāṇa (I. 5) among the subjects of royal study grouped under the head of *itihāsa*.

Kauṭilya exhibits a wonderful knowledge of herbs and drugs and Dr. Jolly thinks that his *Materia Medica* is more extensive than even Suśruta's. But the dates of Caraka and Suśruta are far from being settled and no approximately certain conclusion can be drawn from the drugs mentioned in the Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya speaks of 'rasada' (one who administers mercurial poison) and prescribes banishment for those who trade in or administer 'rasa' for money in order to do away with a person secretly (IV. 4.) In II. 13 he speaks of gold that is 'rasa-viddha' (amalgamated with mercury) and in II. 12 of liquids containing gold (rasāḥ Kāñcanikāḥ) and of Hinguluka. Dr. Jolly thinks that this knowledge of metallurgy and alchemy is of Graeco-Syriac origin and so the Kauṭilya is a work of the third century A. D.

It is of great importance to note that Kauṭilya lays down (II.4) that in the midst of the fort were to be constructed the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Lakṣmi and Madirā (Durgā?) and niches were to be set apart for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vijayanta and that the tutelary deities of the gates were to be Brahmā, Indra, Yama and Senapati (i. e. Skanda). We know from the Mahābhāṣya<sup>185</sup> (Kielhorn Vol. II. p. 429) on Pāṇini (V. 3. 99 'jivikarthe cāpānye') that the Mauryas set up images out of greed for money and that in its day images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were worshipped.

183 शत्रुष्वङ्गमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेन्द्रियः । अम्बरीषश्च नामाणां बुभुजान् चरं महीन् ॥  
को. I. 6.

184 पौराणिकस्त्वन्यः सूतो मागधश्च ब्रह्मसूत्राद्विशेषतः ।

185 'अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति । किं कारणम् ।  
मौर्यैर्हिरेण्यार्षिभिरचाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्वेताः संयति पूजायांस्तासु  
भविष्यति । महाभाष्य.



The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Kauṭīliya has certainly an ancient atmosphere about it, and that all that has so far been gathered from it agrees with its traditional date of 300 B. C. and no cogent arguments have been yet brought forward that would compel us to assign it a date later than the above by six centuries.

Two commentaries on the Kauṭīliya have been brought to light so far, one composed by Bhaṭṭasvāmin being called *Pratipadapañcīkā* and the other the *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan. Both are fragments. The first was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1925-1926, vol. XI and XII) by Messrs. K. P. Jayasval and A. Banerji-sastri. The com. is incomplete and begins with the 8th adhyāya of the 2nd adhikaraṇa and reaches up to the 36th adhyāya of the adhikaraṇa. The commentary on the whole work must have been very extensive, as the portion already printed on a part of the 2nd adhikaraṇa alone occupies 214 pages. This commentary quotes the explanations of previous commentators in the words 'anye', 'apare'. It quotes several ślokas of Brhaspati on the blemishes of diamonds and on prakāśa-taskaras. The commentary *Nayacandrikā* contained in Dr. Jolly's edition (Lahore) also is incomplete and begins with the 7th adhyāya of the 7th adhikaraṇa and breaks off in the 4th adhyāya of the 12th adhikaraṇa. It also refers to the views of its predecessors in the words 'kecit' &c. (vide pp. 35, 61, 62, 104, 115, 131, 191). It discusses various readings (pp. 136, 183, 188, 193 &c.).

Dr. Shamasastri includes in his edition 571 sūtras attributed to Caṇakya. Their relation to the Kauṭīliya is a subject which requires careful investigation. In my own opinion they are later than the Kauṭīliya. It would be beyond the scope of this work to enter into details. Vide Dr. Jacobi's article in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. III., pp. 669-676.

There are several *nīti* collections attributed to Caṇakya and published several times in different parts of India. All of them are later than the Kauṭīliya and are compilations of maxims and fine sayings. One of them the *Caṇakya-rājanitīśāstra* (published in Calcutta Oriental series, 1921, 2nd edition) contains 660 verses and was compiled under Bhojarāja. Several other compilations pass under the names *Vṛddha-Caṇakya*, *Laghu-Caṇakya* &c. All these are passed over here from considerations of space and utility.



15. *Vaikhāṇasa-dharma-praśna*

This work has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri (1913).

Mahādeva in his commentary called *Vaijayantī* (Anandāśrama ed.) on the *Satyāśadha Śrautasūtra* speaks of six Śrauta sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, viz. Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiranyakeśin, Vādhūla and Vaikhāṇasa, and frequently cites passages from the Vaikhāṇasa-śrautasūtra. In the *Carapavyūha* of Śaunaka, Vādhūla and Vaikhāṇasa are not mentioned. But that Vaikhāṇasa was a very ancient writer follows from the references contained in the ancient dharma works. In Gautama the word 'Vaikhāṇasa' occurs (Dh. S. III. 2) as the name for the order of forest hermits (*vānaprastha*) and in another sūtra (III. 26) he lays down that fire was to be consecrated according to the Śramaṇaka,<sup>186</sup> which latter is explained by Haradatta as *Vaikhāṇasa Śāstra*. Baudhāyana (Dh. S. II. 6. 17) has the same sūtra<sup>187</sup> and defines a Vaikhāṇasa as one who follows the rules of conduct laid down in *Vaikhāṇasa Śāstra* (Dh. S. II. 6. 16). The *Vasiṣṭha Dh. S.* (9. 10) also has the same sūtra as Gautama (Dh. S. III. 26). The *Manusmṛti* (VI. 21) speaks of the *Vānaprastha* as one who abides by the views of Vaikhāṇasa (*Vaikhāṇasamate sthitah*).

The *Vaikhāṇasadharma-praśna* is divided into three *praśnas*, each *praśna* being subdivided into *khaṇḍas*. There are in all 41 *khaṇḍas*. The work is a small one. The contents of the work are :- 1. the four *varṇas* and their privileges, and the four *āśramas*; duties of *brahmacārin*; four kinds of *brahmacārins*; duties of the householder; four kinds of *grhastha*, *vārtāvṛtti* (subsisting by agriculture), *śālina*, *yāvavara* and *ghorācārika*; forest anchorites; *vānaprasthas* are either *sapatnika* (accompanied by their wives) or *apatnika* (not so accompanied); *Sapatnika* are of four sorts, *Audumbara*, *Vairiṇca*, *Vālakhilya* and *Phenapa*; *apatnika Vānaprasthas*; of four kinds of *bhikṣus*, viz. *kuṭīcaka*, *bahūdaka*, *harisa* and *paramaharisa*; *sakāma* (performed with desire of wordly gain) and *niṣkāma* (not so performed) *karma*; *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*; three kinds of

<sup>186</sup> 'श्रावणकेन (श्रामणकेन) अग्निमाधाय' गो. ध. सू. 3. 26 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 17.

<sup>187</sup> गोविन्दस्वामी, the commentator of Baud. says 'वेदान्तोपि वानप्रस्थ एव ।

संज्ञान्तरकरणं तु संन्यवद्वारथम् । विसनसा ऋषिणा प्रोक्तं वेदान्तसंज्ञासम् । तच्च हि

बहवो वानप्रस्थस्योक्ता ग्रीष्मे पञ्चतपा इत्यादयः समुदाचाराः'.



Yogins and their subdivisions ; II. the details of the śrāmaṇaka rites of the vānaprastha ( khaṇḍas 1-4 ) ; duties of the forest hermit ; details of joining the order of saṁnyāsins ( khaṇḍas 6-8 ) ; age for saṁnyāsa ( above seventy or when childless or widower ) ; every day duties and observances of saṁnyāsins ; about *ācamaṇ* and *Saṁdhyā* ; saluting ( *abhivādana* ) of all relatives, male and female ; holidays for study ( *anadhyāya* ) ; bath and *Brahmayajña* ; rules about taking food ; forbidden and permitted food ; III. rules of conduct for grhastha ( khaṇḍas 1-3 ) , rules of the road ; purification of golden and other metallic things ; purification of other things ; about vānaprastha ; *bhikṣu* ; burial of a saṁnyāsin ; *Nārāyaṇabali* on the death of a saṁnyāsin, *tarpaṇa* in the case of saṁnyāsins with twelve names of Viṣṇu, Keśava &c. and with water ; *anulema* and *pratulema* ; the intermediate castes ; *Pratyas*, their origin ; name and means of subsistence ( khaṇḍas 11-13 ).

The *Vaikhānasadharmaprasṇa* appears by its style and its contents to be a work of comparatively later date than the dharmaśāstras of Gaṇṭama and Baudhāyana. It is probably a recast of older materials. It contains the names of more mixed castes than the dharmaśāstras and than even some of the later *smṛtis*. The present work seems to have been either written or retouched by a devotee of Viṣṇu. Faith in and devotion to Viṣṇu or *Nārāyaṇa* loom very large here ( I. 5. 5 *nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇāḥ*, I. 7. 6 and 9 ; II. 4-5 *bhaktiṃ Viṣṇuṃ dhyāyaṃ*, III. 7. 3 *Nārāyaṇaparaṃ brahmeti smṛat*, III. 9. 3 *Viṣṇorālayapārśve* ). It speaks of the eight *āṅgas* of Yoga ( I. 10. 9 ), of the Ayurveda with its eight *āṅgas* and of some treatise on evil spirits ( *bhūtatantra* III. 12. 7 ). It refers to the views of some in the word 'eke' ( I. 7. 4. and II. 9. 10 ). It speaks of the Śrāmaṇaka fire ( in I. 6. 2 and I. 7. 3-4 ). It does not allow *saṁnyāsa* to Kṣatriyas ( I. 1. 11 ). *Vaikhanas* is cited as an authority ( II. 5. 9 and III. 15. 14 ).

Bühler found a ms. of the *Vaikhānasasūtra*, consisting of a *grhya* in seven *praśnas*, three *praśnas* of *dharma* ( the same as described above ) and a fourth on *pravaras*. In the *grhya* a reference to *Budhāvāra* occurs ( R. and S. p. 9 ). Dr. Caland in his paper on *Vaikhānasa-sūtra* holds that the *Manusmṛti* borrows from *Vaikhānasa-grhya* and that the author of the latter was saturated with the idiom of Dravidian languages ( vide Prof. Keith's review in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1927, p. 623 ). Dr. Caland's



view about Manu is entirely wrong as will appear from the section on Manu. Vide Th. Bloch in 'über das Gṛhya-und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhāṇasa' (Lipzig, 1896).

### Other Sūtra Works on Dharma.

It will be proper to say a few words about some other sūtra works on dharma that are only available in mss. or are to be reconstructed from quotations in the digests. It is by no means to be supposed that these works that will be spoken of here were composed as early as those of Gautama, Āpastamba and others or were composed before the extant Manu and Yājñavalkya. But as the chronology of all ancient works on dharma is somewhat in a nebulous state, it is best to treat here of all works written in the sūtra style, even though in individual cases they may really belong to a later age than the works composed entirely in verse. They will be taken up in alphabetical order (Sanskrit).

### 16. Atri

That Atri was an ancient writer on *dharma* follows from a reference to him in Manu (III. 16) as holding the view that a *drifati* taking as wife a śūdra woman became fallen (*patita*). In the Deccan College collection there are several mss. (Nos. 185-187 of A 1881-82) of the Ātreya-dharmaśāstra in nine *adhyāyas*. They treat of gifts, prayers (*japya*) and *tapas* by which men are freed from all sins. Some of the chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The first three chapters are entirely in verse and some of the verses (such as *ekākṣaraṁ param brahma*) occur in the Manusmṛiti. The fourth opens with a long sūtra, which, in style, resembles later bhāṣyas and commentaries.<sup>188</sup> The 5th also is in verse and contains several verses found in Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. 28. 1, 4, 6). The sixth speaks of the specially holy hymns and verses of the Veda. Some of the verses here are the same as Vasiṣṭha (28. 10-11). The seventh refers to secret *prāyaścittas* and the very first sūtra after the opening words speaks of several non-Aryan tribes such as the Śakas, Yavanas, Kām-

188 अचीर्णप्रार्थ्यश्चत्तानां यमावपयनरकयातनानिष्व ( ! ) पतितानां यदि कदाचिन्मानुष्यं भवति तदेतच्चिह्नं ह्यङ्गुलशरीरा जायन्ते । तद्यथा । अतृनवादी सली मस्रहा कुष्ठी &c.

189 अधातो रहस्यानि व्याख्यास्यामः । नदनर्तकगायन-गान्धर्विक-श्वपाककारुक्वीशोत्कद-यीणाशाङ्क-शक-यवन-काम्बोज-बाह्लीक-सश-द्रविड-वङ्ग-पारश-वील्वातदीनां ( ! ) भुक्त्वा प्रतिगृह्य च ऋषीगमने सहभोजनं रहस्ये रहस्यानिप्रकाशे प्रकाश्यानि चरेत् ।



bhojas, Bāhikas, Khasas, Vāṅgas and Paraśa ( Persians ? ) &c. It is to be noted that the same sūtra ( with slight variations ) is quoted as Atri's by Aparārka ( on Yāj. III. 266 p. 1123 ). The 7th and 8th chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The 9th is in verse and speaks of Yoga and its *āṅgas*. It refers to the fact that Śiśupāla, son of Damaghoṣa, because in his hatred of Govinda he always thought of the latter, went to heaven. The same sūtra work is noticed in I. O. Cat., pp. 380-81, Nos. 1305 and 1306.

There are several works styled Atri-smṛti or saṁhitā in the mss. One of them is in six chapters on secret prāyaścittas, gifts, pitṛmedha and ācāra ( vide I. O. Cat., p. 381, No. 1308 ). There is another work styled Atrisāṁhitā printed in Jivananda's collection ( part I. pp. 13-46 ). It contains about 400 verses and deals with the following topics :— importance of honouring *guru*, duties of four castes ; purifications of several *malas* ; virtues of Brāhmaṇas such as śauca, anasūyā ; definition of *iṣṭa* and *pārta*, ten yamas and niyamas ; importance of sons ; adopted sons, prāyaścittas for taking forbidden food or drink and for other transgressions, impurity on birth and death ; cāndrāyana, Kṛcra, Sāntapana ; gifts ; purifications from avoidable contacts with rajasvalā &c. ; Śrāddha and the Brāhmaṇas to be invited for it.

In this work Atri is himself cited as an authority. Other authors and works quoted are : Āpastamba ( p. 30 ), Yama ( p. 41 ), Vyāsa ( p. 24 ), Śāṅkha ( pp. 22, 35 ), Śātātapa ( p. 35 ). The Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Purāṇas, Bhāgavatāḥ ( p. 45 ) are mentioned. It contains ( on p. 14 ) the verse ' sadyaḥ parati mānsena ' which is found in Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. ( 2. 27 ) with the words ' athāpyudāharanti '. There are other verses also which occur elsewhere e. g. ' atha cenmantravid ' occurs in Vasiṣṭha II. 20, ' tryaharṇ sāyaṇ tryaharṇ prātaḥ ' ( p. 23 ) is also Manu XI. 211. On p. 26 occur the words ' atrāpyudāharanti ' and so what follows is a quotation. On p. 32 there are three verses in another metre.

Atri's verse about adoption <sup>190</sup> is quoted as the first authority on adoption in the Dattakamimāṃsā. He mentions the seven *antyajas* to be the washerman, the shoemaker, *naṭa*, *buruḍa*, *kaivarta*

190 अपुत्रेष्वेव कर्तव्यः पुत्रप्राप्तिनिधिः सदा । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात्तस्मात्प्रयत्नतः ॥ अत्रि  
p. 17.



(fisherman), meda, and *bbilla* ( p. 29 ). He further says <sup>191</sup> that there is no question of untouchability in fairs, marriage seasons, in Vedic sacrifices and in all festivals. He says that Brāhmaṇas from Magadha, Mathurā and three other places are not honoured ( at a śrāddha ) though as learned as Bṛhaspati. <sup>192</sup>

The work mentions the signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā and the Scorpion ( p. 43 ), and hence was not composed before the first centuries of the Christian era.

In Jivananda there is a Laghu-Atri ( part I, pp. 1-12 ) in 6 chapters and about 120 verses, dealing with the means of being freed from sins ( such as *prāṇāyāma*, sacred formula, gifts &c. ), with purifications from impurity on death and birth, with gifts. It mentions Manu. In the fourth chapter there are about ten lines in prose. There are numerous verses that occur also in the *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra*, e. g. Vas. 26. 8-9 and 16-18 occur on p. 3 ; Vas. 28. 11-16 occur on pp. 4-5. It is difficult to say who the borrower is.

There is a *Vṛddhātreyasmṛti* in Jivananda ( part I. pp. 47-59 ) in five chapters and about 140 verses. This closely resembles the *Laghu-Atri-smṛti* described above. In the commencement both have the same six verses beginning with 'bhagavan kena dānena' and the works have many verses in common. In the fourth chapter of both the same prose passages occur.

Viśvarūpa on Yāj. ( III. 257 ) quotes two verses from Atri on *prāyaścitta* which are found in none of the three works described above. <sup>193</sup>

In the *Mahābhārata* ( *Anuśāsana* 65. 1 ) Atri is credited with the view that those who make a gift of gold give ( practically ) all

191 देवयानविवाहेषु यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च । उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु सृष्टासृष्टिर्नि वियते ॥ p. 33.

192 मागधो माधुर्यश्चैव कापटः कीटकानुजौ । पञ्च विप्रा न पूज्यन्ते बृहस्पतिसमा यदि ॥ ( p. 45 ). What is कापट ! Should we read कीटकानुजौ ( residents of the countries of कीकट and अनुज ) ?

193 The verses are भुक्त्वा तु प्रतिलोमानां सूतादीनामकामतः । प्राजापत्यं चरेत्कच्छं त्रिरात्रं स्वाहताशनः ॥ चण्डालवर्जिते चान्ने स्पृष्टा चैनं विशेषतः । भुक्त्वा रुक्छ-मविज्ञाने ज्ञात्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥



objects. This bears a close resemblance to two verses that occur in Laghvatī (Jīvananda part I. p. 5) and Vṛddhatī (part I. p. 51).<sup>191</sup>

### 17. Uśanas.

That Uśanas wrote a work on politics follows from several circumstances. The Kauṭīliya quotes the Auśanasah seven times. It is almost certainly referring to a work. That work contained directions on the administration of justice also, as Kauṭīliya speaks of Auśanasah method of partition (in allowing a tenth additional share to the eldest son, III. 6), as Auśanasah prescribed fines in cases where witnesses proved stupid &c. (III. 11) and fines for forcible seizure of jewels &c. (III. 17). The Mahabhārata, Śāntiparva<sup>192</sup> (chap. 56, 29-30 and 57. 3) refers to a work on politics by Uśanas and quotes three verses, the last being found in Sabhā 55. 14. In other places also we have a Nītiśāstra ascribed to Bhārgava (Śānti 210. 20) and certain verses are ascribed to him (Śānti 57. 40-41 and 139. 70-71). *Idē* also Anuśāsana 39, 8-9 and Sabhā 62. 11-12. The Nītiprakāśikā of Janamejaya refers to a succession of teachers of politics from Brāhmā down to Janamejaya and says that Śukra was

194 सर्वान् कामान् प्रयच्छन्ति यः प्रयच्छन्ति काञ्चनम् । इत्थेवं भगवानात्रिः पितामहसुतोऽब्रवीत् ॥

अनुशासन 65. 1. The verses in the two Atris are अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वेणवी सूर्यसुताश्च यावः । लोकास्तयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ सर्वयमेव दानानांगकजन्मानुगं फलम् । ह्यष्टकक्षितिवेत्तुनां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥ The first verse occurs in Vas. 28. 16, in Vanaparva 200. 28, in the Rajim plate of Tivāradeva (Fleet's Gupta inscriptions No. 81).

195 श्लोको चोशनसा गीतो पुरा तत महर्षिणा । तौ निबोध महाराज स्वमेकाग्रमना नृप ॥  
उत्थय शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वृद्धान्तगं रणे । निगृह्णीयात्स्वधर्मेण धर्मापक्षी नराधिपः ॥ विनश्य-  
मानं धर्मं हि योभिरक्षेत्स धर्मवित् । न तेन धर्महा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥  
शान्तिपर्व 56. 28-30; भगवाननुशना चाह श्लोकमत्र विशापते । तदिदंैकमना राजन्  
गदतस्तं निबोध मे ॥ द्वाविमौ यस्तने भूमिः सर्पो बिलशयानिव । राजानं चाविरोद्धारं  
बाह्व्यां चाप्रवासिनम् ॥ शान्तिः 57. 2-3; श्लोकभाष्यं पुरा गीतो भार्गवेण महात्मना ।  
आख्यानं रामचरिते नृपतिं प्रति भारत ॥ राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्या ततो  
धनम् । राजन्यसति लोकस्य कृतो भार्या कृतो धनम् ॥ शान्तिः 57. 40-41; निश्चयः  
स्वार्थशास्त्रेषु विश्वासश्चासुखोदयः । उशना चैव याधे द्वे प्रह्लादायाम्बवीत्पुरा ॥  
शान्तिः 139. 70.



one of those who abridged the enormous extent of *rājaśāstra*.<sup>195</sup> The *Mudrārākṣasa* (I. p. 71 Telang's ed.) also speaks of Auśanasi Daṇḍaniti. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 307) asks the king to appoint ministers in accordance with the views propounded in the *śāstras* of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas and quotes a long passage in prose from Bṛhaspati in which the *śāstras* of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas are joined together. This work on politics probably contained verses also. Medhātithi on Manu (7. 15) quotes two verses speaking of eight activities of a king.<sup>196a</sup> So also on Manu 8. 30 Medhātithi cites from Uśanas the words 'prakṛtīm balam rājā,' which are an Anuṣṭubh *pāda*. This *sūtra* work on politics by Uśanas has not yet been discovered. The *Taṇḍya-Mahābrāhminya* says that Kāvya Uśanas was the *purohita* of the *Asuras* (7. 5. 20).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. of an *Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra* in prose with a few verses, viz. No. 644 of Visrambag (1) and No. 191 of A 1881-82. The first contains only two folios (2 and 4) and the available portion begins in the midst of the 2nd chapter. In the second ms. also the first folio is wanting and there are gaps in the fourth chapter. It is noteworthy that the second folio of the second ms. begins just at the beginning of the 2nd folio of the first. The work is a brief one (8 folios) in seven *adhyāyas*. Their contents are:—II. impurity on birth and death; purification of certain things in certain ways such as with water, ashes &c.; III. the four *varṇas* and the mixed castes such as *Rathakāra*, *Ambastha*, *Sūta*, *Ugra*, *Māgadha* &c., the *Vrātyas*; IV. no bodily injury to be done to *Brāhminya*; *prāyaścittas* for killing a *Brāhminya* or a man of the other *varṇas* and for other *Mahapātakas*, *prāyaścitta* for eating

195 ब्रह्मा महेश्वरः स्कन्दश्चेन्द्रः मातृतप्तः मनुः । बृहस्पतिश्च शुक्रश्च भारद्वाजो महा-  
तपाः ॥ वेदव्यासश्च भगवान् तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः । एते हि राजशास्त्राणां प्रणेताः  
परंतपः । लक्षश्वयाज्ञागो ब्रह्मा राजशास्त्रं महामतिः । पञ्चाशच्च सहस्राणि रुद्रः  
संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत् ॥ It is further said that Skanda, Indra, Prācētaśa Manu,  
Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, Gaurasīras and Veda-Vyāsa abridged  
respectively to 25000, 10000, 6000, 3000, 1000, 100, 500 and 300 *adhyāyas*  
and that Tanamejaya abridged even the last.

196a आदाने च विसर्गे च तथा प्रेपनिषेधयोः । पञ्चमे चार्थवचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे ॥ दण्ड-  
शुद्ध्योः सदा युक्तस्तनाद्यगतिको नृपः । अष्टकर्मो दिवं याति राजा शत्रुभिरर्चितः ॥  
These are quoted also by कुल्लुक on Manu VII. 154.



the flesh of certain animals and for eating certain plants like garlic, *prāyaścitta* for adultery; discussion whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman; *prāyaścittas* for killing various beasts and birds; fourteen *vidyās*; V. *śrāddhakalpa*; what Brāhmaṇas are *pankti-pāvana*; details of *śrāddha*, food and flesh at *śrāddha*; who are unfit to be invited at *śrāddha*; VI. what things a Brāhmaṇa could not sell; VII. punishments for the Mahāpātakas; what are pure things at all times. Some of the views of the Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra are worth special notice. The son of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣattīya or Vaiśya from a wife of the varṇa immediately next to it belonged to the caste of the father.<sup>197</sup> No sin or punishment attached to one if one killed an *ātalaṇi* armed Brāhmaṇa. The fourteen *vidyās* are said to be the six *aṅgas* and the four Vedas, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa.<sup>198</sup>

The work very often quotes the views of others with the words 'eke'; for example it says 'the impurity on birth is ten nights for the parents of the child, but according to some only for the mother.'<sup>199</sup> The son of a Brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman is called *pārasava*, but according to some he is *niṣāda*. The whole of the portion in the ms. about the mixed castes bears a very close resemblance to Baudhāyana ( Dh. S. I. 9 ) except in a few particulars.<sup>200</sup> At the end of all chapters from the second ( except the third ) there are verses and also in the midst. There are verses introduced with the words 'there is a śloka on this point' ( *bhavati cātra ślokaḥ* ) or with the words 'api codāharanti'.

197 बाह्मणेन क्षत्रियायां जातो बाह्मण एव सः । chap. III folio 3 a.

198 अतुर्दश विद्यास्थानानि पुनः षडङ्गाश्चत्वारो वेदा मीमांसा न्याय एव च । धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं च विद्या हेताश्चतुर्दश ॥ . It will be noticed that there is a śloka from षडङ्गाः which is almost the same as Yāj. I. 3.

199 दशरात्रं मातापितृभ्यः सूतकं मातुर्त्यके । folio 2 a ; compare गौ. ध. सू. 14. 14 'मातापित्रोस्तस्मात्तुवां' ( and हरदत्त's comment thereon for various views ); यो. ध. सू. I. 5. 105-109, where Baudhāyana's own view is that both are impure for ten days, but according to some the mother and according to others the father has to observe impurity for ten days.

200 The ms. ( 3rd chap. ) has तत्र सवर्णासु सवर्णाः । बाह्मणेन क्षत्रिया ... सः । वैश्यायाम्बुधः । शूद्रायां पारशवो निषाद इत्येके । क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायां क्षत्रियाः शूद्रायामुभयः । वैश्येण शूद्रायां वैश्यः । शूद्रेण वैश्यायामायोगवः क्षत्रियायां क्षत्ता बाह्मण्यां चण्डालः ५०.



There are about 45 verses in the work, the 7th and last chapter being almost entirely in verse. As the mss. are corrupt and full of gaps, it is often difficult to find out whether a particular passage is prose or verse. In several verses the words 'Manur abravīd' occur and in one place 'tan manor anusāsanam'. The latter closely agrees with Manu. Several verses are common to Manu and Uśanas. The verse 'gurutaṭpe bhagaḥ karyat' (Manu 9. 237) occurs in the ms. So also the verse 'yena yena cidāṅgena' occurs in both.<sup>202</sup> The words of Manu (v. 78) 'bāle desāntarasthe' are expressly quoted with the words 'Manur-aha'. There are many other verses which, though not cited expressly as from a particular author, are found in other ancient works. For example, the verse 'āpaḥ śuddha bhūmi-gataḥ' is Manu 5. 128 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 57. The half verse 'kāruhasatḥ śucir nityam' is Manu 5. 126 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 48. The verse 'yadekarātreṇa karoti pāpam' occurs in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 11) and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 42. The verse 'tryaham prātas tryaham naktam' is Manu XI. 211. It is a remarkable fact that some of the verses in this dharmasūtra agree closely with the verses in the Uśanas-smṛti in verse, published by Jīvananda, e.g. the verse 'datvā tu Vedāntaryatham' occurs on p. 523 and the verse 'nimantritastu yo vipro adhvānam samprapadyate' on p. 527. Even the prose passages bear a close resemblance to the versified smṛti on many points, e.g. the prose passages about the duration of the satisfaction of the Manes by the offerings of the flesh of various animals occur almost in the same words in the versified smṛti of Uśanas (Jīvananda, part I, p. 522).

The Auśanasa-dharmasūtra contains several passages in prose which are the same as some verses in Manu.<sup>203</sup> The sūtra

201 The ms. reads 'दशस्थानानि दण्डस्य चात्मनो (तन्मनो?) रनुशासनम् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु सामान्यं ब्राह्मणस्त्वक्षतो भवेत् ॥', while मनु (8. 124) is दश ... दण्डस्य मनुः स्वायम्भोवर्षी । त्रिषु वर्णेषु यानि स्युरक्षन्तो ब्राह्मणो व्रजेत् ॥

202 The ms. reads येन येन हि चण्डेन (चिदङ्गेन) हिंस्याच्छ्रेयांसमन्वजः । तदेव तस्य छेत्तव्यं छिन्ने निर्विषहो भवेत् ॥; in मनु (8. 279) the last pāda is तन्मनो-रनुशासनम्.

203 The ms. has (in chap. II) रहसु स्त्रीमुखं शुचिः । शुचया कलपातने पक्षिणः । असवे वत्सः । शङ्ख (मृग) ब्रह्मणे श्वा । ऊर्ध्व नाभेः पुङ्खः । गोमेष्या पृष्ठतः । पुरस्तादमः । स्त्रियाः सर्वतः । हृदयमास्तामशुचिः । Compare मनु I. 92, बो. ध. सू. I. 5. 49 and बसिष्ठ 3. 45.



quotes in one place the divergent views of Vasiṣṭha,<sup>204</sup> Hārīta, Śaunaka, and Gautama on the question whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman. The view of Vasiṣṭha (as quoted in the ms.) is that a Brāhmaṇa could take to wife girls of all the four castes, but in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (I. 24) a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to marry girls of the three higher castes only. It is possible that the ancient reading of Vasiṣṭha's text was 'catasrah' (as quoted in the Auśanasa) which was changed into 'tisrah'. The passage reminds us of Manu III. 16 (Śūdravedī patatyatreḥ), but the views ascribed to Śaunaka and Gautama in the ms. differ from those ascribed to them in Manu. In another passage Vasiṣṭha's views seem to be quoted.<sup>205</sup>

From quotations in Haradatta's commentary on Gautama and from the Smṛticandrikā it appears that they had access to a sūtra work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of *dharma*, viz., *acāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes prose passages of Uśanas on *anadhyāya* (I. p. 59),<sup>206</sup> on *dantadhavana* (I. p. 106) and Haradatta quotes a prose passage on *anadhyāya* (on Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 1) and a prose passage on the fine for a kṣatriya abusing a śūdra (on Gau. Dh. S. 12. 10) and on *Niyoga* (on Gau. Dh. S. 18. 5). These passages are not found in the ms. But there are others that are found. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes two passages, which occur in the mss.<sup>206</sup> It

204 The ms. (chap. IV) has पतितो वृषलीपतिरित्युच्यते । न पततीत्येके । ब्राह्मणस्य कल्पविहितमवस्थो- (सोऽ)नुपूर्वेण भार्या भवतीति वसिष्ठ आह । पतति न पततीति संशयः । वृषलीं पतीति (वृषलीं गत्वा पततीति ?) हरीतः । जनमात्पततीति शौनकः । तदप-  
स्यः पततीति गौतमः । The words of वसिष्ठ are 'तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्वेण द्वे राजन्यस्य ऐक्यं वैश्यशूद्रयोः । शूद्रामप्येके मन्त्रवर्जं तद्वत् । तथा न कुर्यात् । I. 24-26. It should be noted that one ms. of वसिष्ठ omits the words 'वर्णानु... कुर्यात्'.

205 यस्तु पुनर्ब्राह्मणो धर्मपत्नीमुखेन मैथुनं सेवेत स दुष्यतीति वैवस्वतः (वै वांसिष्ठः ?) प्राजापत्येन शुष्यतीति हरीतः (chap. 4); compare वसिष्ठ 12. 23. and Manu XI. 67 and 173. The reading वैवस्वतः also is explicable. वैवस्वत may stand for मनु.

206 The passages are 'तत्र गोमयोदकेर्भूमिभाजनभाण्डशौचं कुर्यात्' (chap. V, about śrāddha) and 'अविद्वराहमाजिरकुक्कुटनकुलशूद्ररजस्वलाशूद्रीभर्ताश्च दूरमनपा-  
यितव्याः (ऽमपनेतव्याः). They occur in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (III. p. 409 and p. 411).



appears therefore that the mss. either contain a portion only of the complete Auśanasa-dharma-sūtra or an independent sūtra work. The former alternative looks more probable. The foregoing discussion has shown that the sūtra work is later than the dharma-sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and also than the Manusmṛti, which it probably knew in a very ancient version slightly differing from the extant one.

In Jivananda's collection of smṛtis there is an Auśanasa-dharma-śāstra in 51 verses (part I. pp. 497-501). It deals with mixed castes and their avocations, such as sūta, māgadha, caṇḍāla, śvapaca, pulinda &c. The same work occurs in the Ānandaśrama collection, pp. 46-48. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 94) remarks that the means of livelihood for the mixed castes should be sought for in the works of Uśanas and Manu.<sup>207</sup> It is probably this smṛti that is meant. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 says that the sale of hides and working on hides were the means of livelihood for Dhigvaṇas according to the Auśanasa.

In the same collection (part. I. pp. 501-554) there is another smṛti ascribed to Uśanas in 9 chapters and about 600 verses. It treats of Upanayana, daily observances like *ācamana*, Vedic study, occasions of *anadhyāya*, the dharmas of *snātaka*; śrāddha, proper Brāhmaṇas for śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, rites after death, *prayaścittas* for the mortal sins and lesser sins.

This smṛti quotes Uśanas himself, also Manu, Bhṛgu (Bhṛgu-putra III), Prajāpati and speaks of dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Pāṇcarātras, Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas. Numerous verses from the Manusmṛti are found in it (e. g. Manu II. 42, 49, 50, 125) occur in the first chapter alone. There is a brief prose passage towards the end of the 9th chapter. It speaks of Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas and atheists together (p. 525).

None of these smṛtis in verse contains the passages in verse on *vyavāhara* ascribed to Uśanas that occur in the Mitākṣarā, Smṛti-candrikā and other works.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 260) and Aparārka (e. g. p. 158, 192, 255) contain prose passages ascribed to Uśanas and the same works contain numerous verses ascribed to Uśanas most of which are not

<sup>207</sup> एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानवे च द्रष्टव्याः । मिता.



found in the two smṛtis in Jīvananda. Some of the verses in Aparārka ascribed to Uśanas are found in the Ausānasasūpti (e. g. Aparārka p. 418 'kuryād-aharāḥ śrāddham' is Jīvananda I. p. 521).

In other cases the verses quoted from Uśanas in Aparārka, though not quite identical, bear a very close resemblance (e. g. the four verses in Aparārka p. 450 closely resemble Jīvananda I. p. 525 and have some verses in common).

Among the views on Vyavahāra quoted from Uśanas are some interesting ones. It was he who said that a son was not bound to pay his father's debt, if it was a fine or unpaid toll or what is not vyavahārika.<sup>208</sup> He holds that even blind, deaf or old men, women, minors could be witnesses in charges of *sāhasa* (Aparārka p. 671). He is quoted also on ordeals, on svāmipālavivāda and on steya.

A work styled Śukranītisara was edited by Oppert (Madras 1882) and by Jīvananda (Cal. 1892) and translated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. Series. That work is a very interesting one, but is comparatively of a late date.

### 18. Kaṇva and Kāṇva

From the Ap. Dh. S. it appears that Kaṇva and Kāṇva were two distinct writers on dharma. In I. 6. 19. 2 Āpastamba starts the question as to the persons, food at whose house was permitted. He states various views on that point and says that Kaṇva was of opinion that food may be taken at anybody's house provided the latter offered it with a request (I. 6. 19. 3) and that the opinion of Eka, Kuṇika, Kāṇva, Kutsa and Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7) was that only that food that was offered by a pure and religious man should be partaken. In another place (I. 10. 28. 1) Āpastamba gives it as the opinion of Kautsa, Hārīta, Kaṇva and Puṣkarasādi that a man became a thief if in any case whatever he appropriates another's belongings. The Kumbhakonam edition of Pandit Halasyanatha reads Kāṇva for Kaṇva.

Kaṇva is quoted a few times in the Smṛticandrikā on Āhnikā (daily duties) and śrāddha. One of these quotations is in prose (I. p. 97).<sup>209</sup> Haradatta in his commentary on Gautama cites

<sup>208</sup> दण्डो वा दण्डशयो वा धृत्कं तच्छेपमेव वा । न दातव्यं तु पुत्रेण यच्च न व्यावहारिकम् ॥  
मिता. and अपराक on चाज्ञ. II. 47.

<sup>209</sup> अप्यरे वेदेनिहासपुराणानिति ध्यायन् ब्राह्मेण तीर्थनैष्ठियोः सलोमदेशमुन्मज्जेत् ।



verses of Kaṇva in several places (e. g. Gautama Dh. S. 21, 3, 23, 3 and 11).<sup>210</sup> The first verse bears a close resemblance to Manu XI. 180 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62. Kaṇva is quoted in the Ācār-mayūkha and the Śrāddha-mayūkha.

The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 58) quotes a verse of Kaṇva on the length of the stay of a *sannyāsin* in a village or town. On Yaj. III. 260 the Mit. quotes a verse of Kaṇva stating the *prāyaścitta* for a Brāhmaṇa having intercourse with the Kṣatriya wife of his teacher.

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Library there is a ms. of Kaṇva (vol. V, p. 1929 No. 2624).

### 19 Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa.

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11. 20) cites a verse which contains the view of Kāśyapa that a woman who is bought cannot be a *patnī* and that she is not authorised to take part in religious (daiva) rites or rites for the Manes.<sup>211</sup> This verse is ascribed to Kātyāyana in the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 87). The *Vanaparva* quotes *gāthās* of Kāśyapa on forbearance (29. 35-40). Whether Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa are two different writers of dharmasūtras it is rather difficult to say. Probably they are identical. It appears that the dharmasūtra of Kāśyapa comprised all the usual topics of dharmasūtras, such as daily duties, śrāddha, āśauca, *prāyaścitta*. This sūtra has been quoted by all eminent writers from Viśvarūpa downwards. Viśvarūpa quotes Kāśyapa (in prose) on the *prāyaścitta* for contact with *caṇḍālas*<sup>212</sup> and for killing a cow when the sinner is a Brāhmaṇa or a member of another caste.<sup>213</sup> The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 23) quotes a prose passage from Kāśyapa on freedom from impurity on death.<sup>214</sup>

210 The verse is संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन समाचरन् ।

यानाशनासनैर्नित्यमित्याहुर्महत्वादिनः ॥

211 क्रीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते ।

सा न देवे न सा पित्र्ये दासी तां कश्यपोऽबवीत् ॥

212 चण्डालश्चाकपुलकसादिसंकरे सव्यवधाने षण्मासान् गोमूत्रयावकाः पश्चात्काले पातभ्याः ।  
एवं प्रतिमासवृद्ध्या वृद्धिरा परिवृत्तेः सूर्यस्य । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 257.

213 प्रायश्चित्तमकामावाप्तौ कामरुतेत्येके । ... ब्राह्मणेभ्यो निवेदयित्वा सशिशं वपनं कम्ब ।  
प्राजापत्यं कृच्छ्रमाचरेत् । क्षीणान्ते धेनुं तिलधेनुं दद्यात् । ... तेन चर्मणा प्रावृत्तो  
मासं गोष्ठे वसेत् । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 262.

214 बालानामदन्तजानानां त्रिरात्रेण शुद्धिः ।



The quotations in the *Smṛticandrikā* on *āhnikā* and *śrāddha* are all in verse. Haradatta on Gautama ( 22. 18 ) quotes a sūtra on the *prāyaścitta* for *govadhā*,<sup>215</sup> which is also quoted by Viśvarūpa. Haradatta ( on Gaut. 23. 26 ) quotes a very long sūtra on the *prāyaścitta* for eating several rhings and doing several forbidden acts.<sup>216</sup> Haradatta ( on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 2 ) quotes several verses mentioning the seven kinds of *punarbhū*s. The Hārata quotes a sūtra from Kāśyapa on *āsauca*. Aparārka quotes several sūtras and a few verses under both names Kāśyapa and Kāśyapa ( vide Yaj. I. 64, III. 265, I. 222-25, III. 251, 288, 290, 292 for verses ).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. ( No. 200 of 1884-87 and No. 122 of A, 1881-82 ) which contain a Kāśyapa-smṛti in prose ( 4 folios having 8 lines on each side ). It begins ' *athātaḥ Kāśyapīyān gṛhasṛhadharman vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* '. It deals with the duties of householders, with *prāyaścittas* for doing mischief to wells, dikes, ponds, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas, for killing a cow and other beasts and birds, with rules on mourning after death and impurity on birth, with *prāyaścittas* for eating garlic and other similar things, with the five mortal sins, with *prāyaścittas* when such portents as earthquakes, lightning flashes occur, or for such accidental occurrences as the breaking of the milk pot, with purification of vessels of wood, metals, with the visible physical sins of sins committed in previous lives, with the seven *punarbhū*s.

In this work some of the sūtras quoted as Kāśyapa's in the commentaries are found, ( e. g. the quotation No. 216 ' *laṣuna* ' &c. above ). So also the verses about *punarbhū*s of seven kinds quoted by Haradatta are found in the mss. In this smṛti, Kāśyapa is frequently cited as an authority.

It is to be noted that Kāśyapa is not mentioned by Yāj. as one of the *dharmaśāstrapravajakas*, though Parāśara ( chap. I ) mentions Kāśyapa *dharmaḥ*. The *Smṛticandrikā* ( I. p. 1 ) and the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* ( p. 13 ) speak of 18 *Upasṛtis* in which Kāśyapa's is included.

215 गो इत्वा तद्धर्मणा परिवृतो मासं गच्छेत्तथास्त्रिषण्णस्मायौ नित्यं पञ्चगव्याहारः ।

216 लघुनपलाण्डुगृज्जनकुक्कुटभक्षणे मेदःशुक्रपानेऽयाज्ययजनेऽभोज्यभोजनेऽभक्ष्यभक्षणेऽगम्यागमने चैवं प्रायाश्चित्तं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो निवेद्य षड्रात्रोपेक्षितश्रीर्णान्ते प्राच्यामुदित्यादिषी गत्वा यत्र भक्ष्यपशूनां शब्दो न श्रूयते तस्मिन्देशेऽग्निं प्रज्वाल्य ब्राह्मसनमास्तीर्य तदग्नीनिन विधिना पुनःसंस्कारमहति ।



## 20. Gārgya

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Gārgya is enumerated among the expounders of Dharma (dharmavaktārah). He quotes two sūtras, one from Gārgya (on Yāj. I. 72<sup>217</sup>) and the other from Vṛddha-Gārgya<sup>218</sup> (on Yāj. I. 195). Therefore it seems that a sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma did exist. The Mit. (e. g. on Yāj. III. 326), Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā quote several verses of Gārgya on āhnikā, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Parāśara also mentions Gārgya among writers on dharma. Aparārka contains (pp. 124, 190, 368, 544) verses from Gārgya on topics of dharma. It seems that the two writers are identical. Aparārka also quotes several verses from Gārgya of astronomical import (e. g. p. 547 on the nomenclature of the months as *Caitra* in connection with the signs of the zodiac). This was probably an independent work. Fragments of a Gārgi saṁhitā on astronomy and astrology have been recovered and it contains valuable historical information (vide Kern's preface to Brhat-saṁhitā pp. 33-40 and Mr. Jayasval in JBORS. vol. 14, p. 397 ff.). A Jyotiṛ-Gārgya and a Brhad-Gārgya are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā. The Nityācārapradīpa (p. 20, BIS) mentions Garga and Gārgya separately as smṛtikāras.

## 21. Cyavana

The Mit., Aparārka and other works cite several sūtras and some verses from Cyavana. Aparārka quotes a very long prose passage from Cyavana (on Yāj. I. 207) about the procedure of making the gift of a cow and about the *mantras* to be recited in that ceremony. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 30) and Aparārka both cite a sūtra of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for coming in contact with a dog, a śvapāka, a corpse, smoke from a funeral pyre, wine, wine-vessel &c. Aparārka cites prose passages of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow (on Yāj. III. 264-265), for touching, carrying or burning the corpse of one who commits suicide (on Yāj. III. 292), on the method of the purification of houses, vessels, articles of food when touched by caṇḍālas (on the same verse).

## 22. Jātukarnya

Viśvarūpa on (Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Jātukarnya is mentioned as an expounder of

<sup>217</sup> पतिताः स्त्रियस्याज्या भर्तृवधपतिज्ञार्था च ।

<sup>218</sup> अनेकोद्वाये काष्ठशिले भूमिसमे ।



dharmā.<sup>219</sup> The name is variously written as Jātukarṇi or Jātukarṇya or as Jātukarṇa. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a passage from Aṅgīras in which Jātukarṇya is enumerated among writers of Upasmṛtis. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Jātukarṇya a number of times.<sup>220</sup> On Yāj. I. 1, he gives a sūtra about "pratilomas"; on Yāj. I. 2 there is a sūtra saying that a pupil should not all of a sudden put a question to his teacher in an assembly of people, on Yāj. I. 29 about a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wearing an Upavita of hemp and wool when initiated for sacrifice, on Yāj. I. 37 as to the age when a Brāhmaṇa became a vrātya, about the prohibition of marrying another wife of a different caste when one has already married a savaṛṇa wife (on Yāj. I. 79), about the time for śrāddhas (on Yāj. I. 215). These quotations show that Jātukarṇya composed a sūtra work on ācāra and śrāddha, which was comparatively ancient. The quotations of Jātukarṇya in Mitākṣarā Haradatta, Aparārka, and later writers are in verse and so it appears that by that time the work had been lost or forgotten. Aparārka (p. 423) quotes a verse of Jātukarṇya which refers to the zodiacal sign Virgo. This would place the verse Jātukarṇya not very much earlier than the 3rd or 4th century A. D.

### 23. Devala.

In the Mit. there are several prose passages quoted from Devala, e. g. on Yāj. I. 120 there is a sūtra on the dharmas of the śūdra and the avocations open to him;<sup>221</sup> on Yāj. I. 128 there is a sūtra dividing householders into Yāyāvara and Śālina and describing each of them.<sup>222</sup> In Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā there are several

219 भूयांसो धर्मवक्ता उत्पन्ना भाविनस्तथा। निधानं सर्वधर्माणां वेद एव हि शाश्वतः॥  
नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः। योधाचनो जातुकर्णो विश्वामित्रः पितामहः॥

220 'प्रतिलोमास्त्वन्तावसायिनः', 'नाकस्मास्त्वन्तावे गुरुं पृच्छेत्', 'दीक्षितौ चेद्वाजन्यवैश्यौ  
शणाधिके कुर्याताम्', 'द्विगुणां गायत्रीमतिक्रम्य ब्राह्मणो वात्यः स्यात्', 'सवर्णया  
कृतदारो नाम्नामिच्छेत्सन्तानस्यान्यगामित्वात्', 'अथ श्राद्धमपरपक्षे सर्वत्राविशेषात्।  
नभस्य एव वा सामर्थ्योपपत्तिभ्याम्'.

221 तानि च देवलोकानि । शुद्धधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कलत्रादिपेषणं कर्षणपशुपालनभारोद्भूतपण्यव्यवहारचित्रकर्ममृत्युगीतवेणुवीणामुरजमृदङ्गवाद्नादीनि ।

222 यथा हि देवलः । द्विविधो गृहस्थो यायावरः शालीनश्च । तयोर्थायावरः प्रवरः याजनाभ्यापनप्रतिप्रहरिकथसंचयवर्जनात् । षट्कर्माधिष्ठितः प्रेक्ष्यचतुष्पदगृहग्रामधनधान्ययुक्तो लोकानुपवीं शास्त्रिन इति ।



prose quotations from Devala. On Yāj. III. 58 Aparārka quotes a long prose passage on the rules of conduct for a yati; on Yāj. III. 109 Aparārka cites a very long passage, in which Sāṅkhya and Yoga are defined, reference is made to extensive *Tantras* on the two systems and a brief résumé is given of the Śāṅkhya system, which greatly resembles the *Taitvasamāsa*. On Yāj. III. 227 Aparārka has a prose quotation from Devala about *patitas*. In the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 63) there is a lengthy passage from Devala on the daily duties of the *brahmacārin*, a *sūtra* (I. p. 52) is quoted about *brahmacārya* for 48 years and in another place there is a prose passage about the wife's duties.<sup>221</sup>

In the *Mit.*, in Haradatta, Aparārka and the *Smṛticandrikā* there are numerous quotations in verse from Devala on *ācāra*, *vyavahāra*, *śrāddha*, *prāyaścitta* and other topics. That seems to have been an independent work. In the *Ānandaśrama* collection of *smṛtis* there is a *Devalasmṛti* in 90 verses dealing with purification and *prāyaścittas* for contact with *Mlecchas*. This appears to be a late compilation. Some of the verses contained therein are ascribed to other authors, e. g. verses 17-22 are ascribed to Āpastamba by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. p. 1200) and verses 30-31 are ascribed by the *Mit.* (on Yāj. III. 290) and Aparārka to Viṣṇu.

The *Mahābhārata* ascribes the view to Devala that in man there are three *jyotis*, viz. offspring, *karma*, and learning.<sup>222</sup>

Aparārka and the *Smṛticandrikā* cite verses from Devala on partition, inheritance, on woman's power over *stridhana*. These show that Devala, the jurist, flourished about the same time as the great jurists *Bṛhaspati* and *Kātyāyana*.

#### 24. Paithīnasi

Though not enumerated in *Yājñavalkya*, *Paithīnasi* seems to have been a comparatively ancient *sūtrakāra* on *dharma*. On Yāj. III. 262 Viśvarūpa quotes a *sūtra* of *Paithīnasi* on the *prāyaścitta* for killing a cow. Dr. Jolly (R. und S. p. 12) following Dr. Caland (Ahnencult &c. pp. 99, 109) thinks that *Paithīnasi* belongs to the *Atharva-veda* as the prose quotations on *śrāddha* agree with the ritual of

<sup>221</sup> पतिशुभूषा सहधर्मैचर्या तत्सुख्यमानपूजनम् ।

<sup>222</sup> त्रीणि ज्योतीनि दृश्य इति वै देवलोक्यते । अपश्ये कर्म विद्या च यतः सृष्टा प्रजास्ततः ॥  
सभाषर्ष 72. 5.



the Atharvans. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 53) quotes a sūtra of Paiṭhīnāsī to the effect that a person should marry a girl who is beyond the third degree on the mother's side and beyond the fifth on the father's side.<sup>225</sup> On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two sūtras relating to impurity on death.<sup>226</sup> The Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and other writers quote numerous sūtras of Paiṭhīnāsī. The Smṛticandrikā has a prose quotation on the duties of women.<sup>227</sup> In another place the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 263) cites a sūtra on partition.<sup>228</sup> Aparārka (p. 112) quotes two verses of Paiṭhīnāsī recommending the practice of *sati* to women of all castes except Brāhmaṇa women. Aparārka (p. 239) quotes a sūtra saying that the food of astrologers, bell-makers and grāmakūṭas is poison.<sup>229</sup> Aparārka quotes (on p. 744) a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Paiṭhīnāsī about inheritance to a deceased sonless man.<sup>230</sup> Aparārka quotes another important prose passage<sup>231</sup> "the wealth of (a heirless) *brotriya* goes to the *pariśad* and not to the king, the king should not appropriate the wealth of temples and guilds, deposits and the wealth of minors and women." Then the sūtra quotes a verse on the same topic, which seems to refer to Mānu 9. 194 in the word 'of sixfold origin' (*ṣaḍāgama*). Another sūtra quoted by Aparārka (p. 754) says 'when an appointed daughter dies, her husband does not take her wealth; if she be issueless, her mother or mother-in-law should receive it.' Aparārka quotes a verse of Paiṭhīnāsī (p. 921) 'at the time of marriage, famines, sacrifices, fairs and pilgrimages there is no impurity due to birth or death.'

225 श्रीनर्तत्य मातुः पश्चात्तस्य च पितृत इति च पैठीनसिना &c.

226 नित्यानि विनिवर्तन् धनानवर्जं शालाग्रौ चैके । सावित्र्या चाञ्जलिं प्रक्षिप्य प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं ध्यायेन्ममस्कुप्यात् ।

227 स्त्रियो गृहदेवतास्तां न शौचं न कर्त्तुं नोपवासः । पतिशुश्रूषयेव स्त्रियो गच्छन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ स्मृतिच० II. p. 252.

228 पैतृकै विभज्यमाने दायाये व्रतृणां समो विभागः ।

229 सांत्तरिकपाण्डिकग्रामकूटान्नं विधम् । . The word ग्रामकूट (a village officer) is well known from inscriptions.

230 अपुत्रस्य स्वर्थातस्य धातृगामि धनं तदभावे गानापितरौ लभेतां पत्नी वा ज्येष्ठा ।

231 'पतिपदगामिं वा श्रोत्रियद्वयं वा राजगामिं । न हार्यं राज्ञा देवतागणसंस्थितं न निक्षेपो-  
पनिधिक्रियाक्रमगतं न बालस्त्रीधनानि । एवं त्स्याह । न हार्यं स्त्रीधनं राज्ञा तथा बाल-  
धनानि च । नार्याः षडागमं वित्तं बालानां पैतृकं धनम् ॥'. This whole passage is ascribed to शङ्ख in वि. र. p. 598.



25. *Budha*

This *sūtrakāra* is not mentioned by Yāj. nor by Parāśara. He is very rarely cited. Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 4-5, Kalpataru (quoted in *Vira-mitrodaya*, *Paribhāṣā* p. 16), Hemādri,<sup>232</sup> *Jīmūta-vāhana's Kālaviveka* are probably the earliest writers to mention him. In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of a *Budha-dharma-sāstra* in prose (No. 507 of 1881-82 and No. 145 of 1895-1902, 2 folios). The work is very brief<sup>233</sup> and speaks of *upanayana*, marriage, eight forms of marriage, the *saṁskāras* from *garbhādhāna* to *Upanayana*, the five daily great *yajñas*, *śrāddha*, *pākayajñas*, *haviryajñas*, *somayāga*, the means of subsistence for a *Brāhmaṇa*, the duties of *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras*, the orders of forest hermits and *sannyāsins*, removal of thorns by the king, administration of justice, king's duties.

The work does not produce the impression of being early. It is in the nature of a summary of larger works on *dharma*. All quotations in Hemādri cited from *Budha* are not found in the mss.

26. *Brhaspati*

That *Brhaspati* was an ancient teacher of *Arthaśāstra* follows from the *Kautiliya*, wherein the *Brhaspatyas* are cited six times. In the *Mahābhārata* (*Śanti*, chap. 59. 80-85) *Brhaspati* is said to have compressed into 3000 chapters the work on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* composed by *Brahmā*. The *Vanaparva* (32. 61) speaks of *Brhaspati-niti*. The *Mahābhārata* several times cites verses (*gāthas* or *ślokas*) said to have been sung by *Brhaspati*<sup>234</sup> (vide *Śanti*. 23. 25, 56. 38-39, 57. 6-7). *Vide*

232 चतुर्वर्गे (दानस्तण्ड p. 527) says 'आदिशब्दश्च बुधदेवसामयजापतिवृद्धशालानप-  
पेठोनसिद्धागलेयच्यवनमरीचिवत्सपारस्करपुलस्त्यपुलहकनुकष्यशङ्खात्रयाणां ग्रहणम्'.

233 The *Budha sūtra* opens as follows;—अधर्मां बुधधर्मशास्त्रं व्याख्यास्यामः ।  
श्रेयोभ्युदयसाधनो धर्मः । गर्भाश्रमे ब्राह्मणो वसन्त आत्मानमुपनयेत् । एकादशे  
क्षत्रियो ग्रीष्मे । द्वादशे वैश्यो वर्षासु । मेखलाजिनदण्डकमण्डलूपवीतानि धारयेत् । &c.  
हेमाद्रि (परिशेष, काल, p. 309) quotes this as *Budha's* from स्मृति-  
महार्णव.

234 भूमिरेतो निगिरनि सपौं विलशयामिव । राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवासिनम् ॥  
शान्ति. 23. 15. This verse (with the reading द्वाविमौ यसने भूमिः सपौं &c.)  
is ascribed by शान्तिपर्व 57. 3. to *Uśanas*; vide note 195 above. बार्हस्पत्यं च



also Śānti. 58. 13-16, 69. 23-24. The Anuśāsana (39. 10-11) speaks of the Arthaśāstra composed by Brhaspati and others. In some of these places there are distinct references to a śāstra or *mata* of Brhaspati and sections of his work are referred to (as e.g. *rājadhikāra*). The Śānti-parva (170. 12) describes how a king could, according to Brhaspati's views, secure his goal in four ways.<sup>235</sup> In the Vanaparva (150. 29) men are said to be upheld by the *nayas* proclaimed by Brhaspati and Uśanas. Vide also Sabhā 50. 9, 55. 6, 73. 7-8, Udyoga 33. 71-72, 55. 66. The Kāmasūtra repeats the tradition that Brahman composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* and that Brhaspati dealt with a portion of that work, viz. on *artha*.<sup>236</sup> Vide note 196 above. Āśvaghoṣa (Buddhacarita I. 46) speaks of the *rājaśāstra* of Śukra and Brhaspati. According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya some of the special views of Brhaspati's school were that there were only two vidyās for kings viz. *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti* and that the council of ministers should comprise 16 members. According to Kāmandaka and the Pañcatantra (II. 41) 'aviśvāsa' was the sheet-anchor of royal policy according to Brhaspati. The Yaśastilaka (p. 13) says that the *nīti* of Brhaspati had no place for Gods.<sup>237</sup> The commentary on the Nītivākyaṃṛta gives the first verse of Brhaspati.<sup>238</sup> Viśvarūpa contains several prose quotations which from their context must have been taken from Brhaspati about the qualifications of a *senāpati*, *pratihāra*, *dāta*, &c. It is somewhat strange that in this quotation the *mantrin* is required to be deeply conversant with the śāstras of Manu, Brhaspati and Uśanas. For similar prose quotations, *vide*

शस्त्रे च श्लोका निगदतः पुरा । ... क्षत्रमणं नृपं नित्यं नीचः परिभेदजनः । हृत्तयन्ता गजस्यैव शिर एवाकुरुते ॥ शान्ति 56. 38-39 : मरुत्तन हि राजा वै गीतः श्लोकः पुरातनः । राजाधिकारं राजेन्द्र बृहस्पतिमते पुरा ॥ गुरोःस्थालितस्य कार्यकार्यमजागतः । उत्पद्यमतिपन्नस्य दण्डो भवति शाश्वतः ॥ शान्ति 57. 6-7.

235 चतुर्विधा ह्यर्थसिद्धिर्बृहस्पतिमते यथा । पारम्पर्यं तथा देवं काम्यं मेत्रमिति प्रभो ॥ शान्ति 170. 12.

236 प्रजापतिः प्रजाः सृष्टुं तासां स्थितिनियम्भनं त्रिवर्गस्य साधनतन्त्रयत्नां शतसहस्रेणाद्ये प्रोवाच । तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः स्याद्यम्बुवो धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक् चक्र । बृहस्पतिरर्थाधिकारिकम् । 5-7

237 बृहस्पतिनित्यं ह्यदेवमातृकाः ।

238 वाचा कथेन मनसा प्रणम्यङ्गिरसं मुनिम् । नीतिशस्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि भूपतीनां सुखायहम् ॥



**Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 323, II. 154.** That *Brhaspati* also wrote a *sūtra* work on *vyavahāra* and other topics of *dharma* follows from the quotations contained in *Viśvarūpa* and *Haradatta*. For example, *Viśvarūpa* cites a prose passage from *Brhaspati* (on *Yāj. II. 38*) about the duty of the king to restore property stolen from his subjects if he could not recover it from the thief, about the rising scale of the rates of interest according to the castes, about the debts of a deceased man being payable by those who took his wealth, by his wife or by his son, about a surety being made to pay when the principal died, about the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* getting a share on his father's death and about his taking the whole estate with the king's permission if there were no legitimate issue of the *śūdra*.<sup>238</sup> *Haradatta* on *Gautama 22. 18* quotes a prose passage from *Brhaspati* on the *prāyaścitta* for killing a cow. These quotations establish that *Brhaspati* wrote a *sūtra* work on *dharma* also (i. e. at least on *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*). *Viśvarūpa* also quotes a few verses from *Brhaspati* on *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta* and in one place at least indicates that the verse he attributes to *Brhaspati* occurred in the same work in which a prose passage quoted by him occurred.<sup>239</sup> From this it follows that the *sūtra* work of *Brhaspati* on *dharma* contained verses also in *Viśvarūpa*'s time. Whether the two works on *arthaśāstra* and *dharma* were composed by the same *Brhaspati* cannot be determined. It looks probable that they were composed by different authors. *Yāj. (I. 4-5)* mentions *Brhaspati* among the expounders of *dharma*. He is probably referring to the *sūtra* work on *dharma* disclosed by quotations from *Viśvarūpa*.

<sup>238</sup> तथा च बृहस्पतिः चारुपट्टं तु सर्वभ्यामिव्यवर्गेयम् । अलभे स्वकोशं ह्य । अदद्वचर-  
किलिषी स्पत् ।' on याज्ञ. II. 38; तथा च बृहस्पतिः—पदोपचयत् क्रमेण-  
तरेषाम्—इति on याज्ञ. II. 39; बृहस्पतिश्च धनस्त्राहारिपुत्राणां पूर्वमावे पथोत्तर-  
माधमर्ण्यं तदभावे क्रमशोन्येषां रिक्तभाजाम् । on याज्ञ. II. 47; तथा च बृहस्पतिः  
उपस्थाप्य विपत्तावुपस्थाप्यस्य पुनः प्रतिभूदांष्यः इति । on याज्ञ. II. 55; तथा च  
बृहस्पतिः—'कामतश्च शूद्रादरोधनस्य भ्रातुरसं समानमात्रं प्रेते पितरि दद्युः शुभ्र-  
श्चेत्' इति । on याज्ञ. II. 138.

<sup>239</sup> on याज्ञ. III. 262 विश्वरूप says 'बृहस्पतिना तु द्वादशाहेन, गोघाती तद्वत्त्वापात-  
मुच्यते । स्त्रीराहारो भवेत्तत्र स्त्रीरुपयथानोपि वा ॥' तथेदमन्वयः 'गयत्या द्वादशाहसं  
&c. (two verses)'. तथेदं तत्रैवान्वयः 'द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्याहारः पशुरात्रं वा याव-  
काहारो गच्छे दत्ते । ... मासगतं भोजयित्वा शुभ्रेदेत्यहं बृहस्पतिः' इति ।  
The words द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्याहारः are attributed to बृहस्पति by हरदत्त also.



In the Mit. and other commentaries and nibandhas over seven hundred verses on vyavahāra and a few hundred more on ācāra and prāyaścitta are cited from Bṛhaspati. That seems to have been an independent work composed between 300 and 500 A. D., which will be discussed later on ( vide sec. 37 ).

In Jivananda's collection ( part I. pp. 644-651 ) and in the Ānandaśrama collection there is a Bṛhaspatismṛti in 80 verses in which Bṛhaspati is represented as instructing Indra about gifts. Several mss. in the Deccan College Collection contain this smṛti, but in an abridged form in 70 and 49 verses ( No. 130 of 1884-86 and No. 147 of 1895-1902 ). Vide also I. O. cat. p. 386 No. 1324, 1325-1328. Aparārka quotes ( p. 1225 ) verse 7 of this smṛti ( in verse ) and the Dānaratnākara quotes verses 6 and 7 as from Dāna-Bṛhaspati.

The Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Lahore, 1921) is a later work and does not deserve more than a passing notice. In six chapters it deals with the conduct, duties, studies of kings, omens, rules of policy &c.

### 27. Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja

There is a Śrauta sūtra and a Gṛhya sūtra attributed to Bhāradvāja. The Ms. of the śrauta in the Bombay University Library contains nine prāśnas and a portion of the 10th and begins 'darśapaurṇamāsau vyākhyāsyāmaḥ'. It quotes Ālekhaṇa and Āśmarathya frequently. The Gṛhya has been edited by J. W. Salomons. It appears from quotations in Viśvarūpa and other early commentators that a sūtra work on dharma attributed to Bharadvāja or Bhāradvāja was in existence. The forms Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja probably refer to the same work. On Yāj. (I. 15) Viśvarūpa quotes a prose passage from Bhāradvāja prohibiting the learning of *mlecchā* tongues and calling upon the preceptor to teach his pupil pure words, observance of Saṁdhyā and the kindling of fire;<sup>239a</sup> on Yāj. I. 32 Bhāradvāja is quoted as prescribing a penance for even thinking of causing harm to beings;<sup>239b</sup> on Yāj. I. 185 a lengthy sūtra of Bharadvāja on the purification of certain things is quoted, wherein is cited the view of some that boys are purified by a mere bath

<sup>239a</sup> तथा च भारद्वाजः—न म्लेच्छभाषां शिक्षेत । म्लेच्छो इ वा एष यदपशब्द इति विज्ञायते । तस्माच्छिष्यमुपनीय साधुशब्दाश्च शिक्षयेत् सन्वयोपासनामीधनानि ।

<sup>239b</sup> तथा च भारद्वाजः—'मनसा प्राणिर्हिसायां त्रिर्द्रुपदामावर्तयेत्' इति ।



when touched by *antyajas*; <sup>240</sup> on Yāj. I. 236 a prose passage of Bhāradvāja forbids in śrāddhas the use of certain cereals as food. <sup>241</sup> Aparārka quotes a long prose passage (p. 1155) from Bhāradvāja in connection with the *prāyāścitta* for cessation of *grhya* fires for various periods.

In the *Smṛticandrikā*, in Haradatta and in several other works verses of Bhāradvāja are quoted, which appear to be taken from a *smṛti* in verse.

That Bhāradvāja was an ancient writer on *arthaśāstra* follows from the *Kauṭīliya*, wherein the views of Bhāradvāja are cited seven times and of Kaṇva Bhāradvāja once. Some of the views of Bhāradvāja as described in the *Kauṭīliya* are that a king should choose his ministers from amongst his fellow-students, that the king should consider his line of policy alone in secret, that the princes should be punished secretly when they manifest no love for the king their father, that the minister should set one prince against another when the king is on his death-bed, that when calamities befall the king and the minister, the former is the lesser of two evils, that one should bow down before the strong. This last view occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in the same words. <sup>242</sup> The *Śāntiparva* (chap. 140) contains a dialogue between Bhāradvāja and king Śatruñjaya of Sauvira in which *danḍa* is said to be the most pre-eminent among the expedients. The same *parva* (chap. 58. 3) mentions Bhāradvāja in a list of writers on *rajaśāstra*. The *Yasastilaka* <sup>243</sup> (4th Āśvāsa p. 100, Nirṇayasāgara ed.) quotes two verses of Bhāradvāja from his treatise on the topic of the six *guṇas*. This shows that Bhāradvāja's work on politics was available in the 10th century and contained verses (probably intermixed with prose).

<sup>240</sup> यत्तु भारद्वाजः—'न शौचं शयनासनकटप्रस्तरयानप्रस्तरगण्डोपधानकशिपुकम्बलकुम्भद्वय-  
न्धमणिफलकशिलासहस्ररोम्णामनिस्तानां च काष्ठानां नृणपलालदात्रां कुमारानामभ्यत्र  
श्लेष्मणान्दन्त्यस्पर्शनं स्नानं कुमारानामेके' इति । .

<sup>241</sup> माषाढकीमुद्रवर्जं विदलानि न दद्यात्—इति भारद्वाजः ।

<sup>242</sup> कौटिल्य says (12. 1) इन्द्रस्य हि स प्रणमति यो बलीयसो नमति—इति भारद्वाजः;  
शान्तिपर्व 67. 11. has 'इन्द्राय स प्रणमते नमते यो बलीयसे ।'

<sup>243</sup> अवक्षेपेण हि सतामसतां प्रग्रहेण च । तथा सत्त्वेष्वभिद्रोहाद्धर्मस्य च कारणान् ॥  
विमाननाच्च माऽयानां विश्वस्तानां च घातमात् । प्रजानां जायते लोपो नृपतेश्चायुषः  
क्षयः ॥ इति कथमिदमभाषत बाह्वृण्यप्रस्तावे भारद्वाजः ॥



The Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. III. p. 231) quotes a verse of Bharadvāja which divides a pledge into four varieties. A few quotations from Bharadvāja on matters of vyavahāra are cited in other works. For example, the Sarasvatī-vilāsa cites a verse of Bharadvāja that a compromise, an exchange and a partition, if fair and equal, could be annulled only for ten days, but could be annulled till the 9th year, if unfair.<sup>244</sup> It appears that the verses of Bharadvāja on vyavahāra are taken from a work other than the ancient work on politics.

### 28. Śātātapa

Śātātapa is enumerated among the expounders of dharma by Yāj. (I. 4-5) and by Parāśara. Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka quote several prose passages of Śātātapa on prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 236) tells us that Śātātapa spoke of only eight upapātakas and that without dealing with śrāddha as a principal topic he spoke of some of the subsidiary details of śrāddha.<sup>245</sup> The latter passage quoted from Śātātapa is a half verse. So Viśvarūpa had a prose work of Śātātapa before him, mixed with verses. Haradatta on Gaut. (Dh. S. 22. 18) quotes a prose passage of Śātātapa about the penance for killing a cow. In the Mit., the Smṛticandrikā and other works numerous verses of Śātātapa are quoted on ācāra and śrāddha. This work of Śātātapa in verse is most probably a different one from the sūtra work. It appears that there are several smṛtis ascribed to Śātātapa. In Jivananda's collection there is a smṛti of Śātātapa called Karmavipākā in six chapters and about 231 verses. Its contents are : certain diseases are concomitants of certain sins; gifts of land, cows &c.; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; penances for killing a Brāhmaṇa, a cow &c., penances for drinking wine, for incest and forbidden sexual intercourse of various sorts, for thefts; rites for those who meet with violent and accidental death. The last verse declares that the Smṛti was promulgated by Śātātapa to his pupil Śarabhaṅga. It is a late production. It prescribes the reading of the Harivaṃśa ( II. 30 ) as a penance for infanticide.

244 सन्धिश्च परिवृत्तिश्च विभागश्च समः यदि । आदशाहं निवर्तेत विषये नववत्सरात् ।  
सरस्वतीविलास pp. 314, 320.

245 यथा शातातपः श्राद्धमनुकन्देव तद्रताम्पुजानाह—‘विना यज्ञोपवीतेन गन्धैर्यस्तु समालभेत्’  
इति । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 4-5.



No. 1362 of the I. O. catalogue ( and cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. V. pp. 1994-96 ) is a Śātātapa-smṛti in twelve chapters dealing with prāyaścittas for mahāpātakas, prāyaścittas for injuries to various beings, marriage, vaiśvadeva, śrāddha, pītṛtarpaṇa, rules about taking one's dinner, prāyaścitta for dogbites and similar matters; impurity on birth and death, rules of conduct ( ācāra ).

No. 1361 of the I.O. catalogue is a treatise in mixed prose and verse on prāyaścittas for the Mahāpātakas and Upapātakas. Several verses of Manu ( such as III. 8, 11, 171 ) occur therein. It contains 139 verses. In Mitra's Notices (II. p. 4) there is a ms. called Karmavipāka in 87 chapters and 2376 verses, of which the work in Jivananda's collection seems to be a part or abridgment.

Aparārka in several places quotes the views of Śātātapa immediately followed by quotations from Vṛddha-Śātātapa or *vice versa* ( e. g. on Yāj. I. 190, on III. 292 p. 1195 and p. 1201 ).

No. 205 of A. 1882-83 of the Deccan College Collection is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 64 verses on prāyaścittas for doing various things, on śrāddha, on washing the teeth. I. O. Cat. No. 1360 p. 398 is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa-smṛti in 97 verses on defilement and purifications. The Ānandāśrama collection contains a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 68 verses ( pp. 232-235 ) on prāyaścittas, purification from various defilements and other miscellaneous matters. There are two prose passages therein.

Hemādri mentions a Vṛddha-Śātātapa along with several other smṛtikāras ( vide note 232 above ). In the Vyavahāramāṭṛkā of Jimūtavāhana ( p. 305 ) Vṛddha-Śātātapa is cited on the six kinds of *uttara* ( defendant's reply ).<sup>246</sup> This shows that Vṛddha-Śātātapa wrote on Vyavahāra also.

The Mit. ( on Yāj. III. 290 ) cites a Bṛhat-Śātātapa.

Hemādri ( III. 1. 801 ) speaks of a bhāṣyakāra of Vṛddha-Śātātapa.

#### 29. Sumantu.

From Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka it follows that Sumantu composed a sūtra work on *dharma*, particularly on ācāra and prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Sumantu on upapātakas,<sup>247</sup>

<sup>246</sup> बृहद्शांतातपवचनं तु बहुलजीर्णरुतमिषम्येस्माभिर्दृष्टं न पुनर्मोजयेदे ।

<sup>247</sup> एवं सुमन्तुः ' क्षीरजतगोस्तेष्वं गोभ्य गमनं नाशकं भूम्यनृतं क्षत्रियैश्चमगोघ्नता परिवि-  
सितावकीर्णिता प्रतिक्षपकवृत्तिभ्यःपुष्पातकानि ' इति । विवरूप on चाक्ष, III. 239-240.

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on *prāyaścitta* for Brāhmaṇa-murder (on Yāj. III. 237), for drinking wine (on Yāj. III. 250), for theft of gold (on Yāj. III. 252), for incest (on Yāj. III. 253-54), for killing a cow and about *ātatāyin* (on Yāj. III. 261). In one quotation from Sumantu cited by Viśvarūpa the views of *ācāryas* and of *Āngirasa* are mentioned.<sup>248</sup> The *prāyaścittas* for Brāhmaṇa-murder and for killing a cow contained in Viśvarūpa occur in *Haradaita* (on Gaut. 22. 13 and 18). Most of the quotations cited by Viśvarūpa occur in *Aparārka* also. The *Hāratalā* (p. 68) quotes *sūtras* of Sumantu on *āśauca*. One well-known *sūtra* of Sumantu is 'no *prāyaścitta* (or blame) is incurred by killing an *ātatāyin*, except cows and brāhmaṇas'.<sup>249</sup> *Aparārka* quotes *sūtras* from Sumantu condemning marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter and recommending the abandonment of a young wife in certain circumstances.<sup>250</sup> In the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* a prose passage of Sumantu is cited on the seven constituents of *rājya*.<sup>250a</sup>

These quotations from Viśvarūpa and others establish that a prose work on dharma by Sumantu existed early enough. It appears however that the work was not a very ancient one. Neither Yājñavalkya nor Parāśara mentions Sumantu among the propounders of *dharma*. On the other hand the name of Sumantu is an ancient one. In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XII. 6. 75 and 7. 1). Sumantu is said to have been a pupil of Jaimini and a promulgator of the *Atharvaveda*. Vide *Śāntiparva* 341. 19 for Sumantu and other pupils of Vyāsa. In the daily *tarpaṇa* the name of Sumantu occurs along with Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila.

248 न ब्राह्मणस्य पतनमिच्छन्त्याचार्याः किल्विष्णुपगतः पातव्य इत्याङ्गिरसः—इति । विष्णुरूप on याज्ञ. III. 237.

249 विष्णुरूप on याज्ञ. III. 262 quotes it as 'नाततायिवधे प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः,' while the *मिता*, on याज्ञ. II. 21 quotes it as 'नाततायिवधे दोषोन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात्'; the *स्मृतिमञ्जरी* of गोविन्दराज (I. O. ms. No 1736) has 'आततायिन्यदोषोन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः'.

250 मातुलसुतां पेतृव्यसेधौ समानार्थगोत्रां च परिणीय चान्द्रायणं चरेत् परित्यज्यैनां विभूयात् । अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 53; 'कन्या कुत्सितान्यजातिकर्मशीला व्याधुपहता परिणीता यद्यक्षतयोनिः स्यात्परित्यक्तव्या' अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 65.

250a अतः सप्ताङ्गानि सर्वथा संरक्ष्याणीत्याह सुमन्तुः 'स्वाम्यमात्मना संरक्षेत् । अमात्यान् संमानेन । वर्णान् रक्षणेन । जनान् वर्णधर्मरक्षणेन । कुर्वाण धनधान्यादिसमृद्ध्या । क्रौञ्चमुचितव्ययेन । दण्डं स्वधर्मेण । मित्रं सत्यभाषणेन । इति ।' सरस्वती० p. 46.



Numerous verses on dharma are also cited from Sumantu by Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works. This may probably be a different work from the sūtra work of Sumantu. In one verse of Sumantu (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 223) occur the words 'Śaṅkha-sya vacanaṁ yathā' and in another (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 217-218) the Kanyā sign of the zodiac is referred to.

It is remarkable that the Mū. and Aparārka contain no verses of Sumantu on vyavahāra. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa is rich in quotations from Sumantu on vyavahāra. A compromise, exchange or partition, if fair, could be annulled up to the tenth day, but if unfair up to the 9th year (vide note 244 above). 'If even as much as a māṣa went from the buyer to the seller, that would support the sale of the land (sold) just as a small dose of poison permeates the whole body and when no purchase-money is paid or only a portion is paid, then the purchase is called *avākṛaya* and is liable to be set aside if the price is not paid in (good time).' Sumantu prescribes a fine for selling and purchasing land without the consent of the neighbouring members of the family and says that in case of pre-emption, the neighbours on the east are preferred to all and those on the south come last.<sup>252</sup> Sumantu defines a mortgage by conditional sale (called '*uktalābhakṛaya*') and a sale for arrears of revenue by the king's orders (called '*ājñākṛaya*').<sup>253</sup>

### 30. The Smṛtis

The word *smṛti* is used in two senses. It is applied to all ancient orthodox non-Vedic works such as Pāṇini's grammar, to the śrauta, grhya and dharma sūtras, to the Mahābhārata, to Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. In a narrower sense *smṛti* and dharma-

251 माषमात्रमपि द्रव्यं केतुर्विक्रेतरि स्थितम् । व्याप्नोति सकलं भूमिं कायमरुपं विषं यथा ॥  
अर्धदत्तमदत्तं तु क्रयमाहुरवक्रयम् । अवक्रयो निर्वर्तते यदि काले न दीयते ॥  
सरस्वती० p. 321.

252 ज्ञात्वादीननुज्ञाप्य समीपस्थानतन्दिनाम् । कयविक्रयकर्तारो तत्संभं दण्डमदंतः ॥  
सरस्वती० p. 322: 'चतुःसामन्तसंनिध्ये प्राची दिग्बलवत्तरा । उदीची च प्रतीची च  
सर्वाभावे तु दक्षिणा ॥ p. 323.

253 किञ्चित्च द्रव्यमादाय काले दास्यामि ते क्वचित् । नो चेन्मूलमिदं त्यक्तं केदारस्येति  
यः क्रयः ॥ स उक्तलाभ इत्युक्तं उक्तकालेऽप्यनर्पणात् ॥ सरस्वती० p. 324: मूल्यस्य  
पादमर्धं वा मूल्यमाज्ञाक्रये स्थितम् । मूल्यं तदाप्यमसिलं दत्त्वा क्षेत्रं समाश्रुयात् ॥  
आ त्रिभोगात् ततः केतुः परतो दृढतामियात् । p. 323.



śāstra are synonyms, as Manu says.<sup>254</sup> The word *smṛti* occurs in Taittiriya Āraṇyaka (I. 2). Gautama (Dh. S. I. 2) and Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. I. 4) speak of *smṛti* as one of the sources of dharma. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 25) employs the word *smṛti* and has in view Gautama's dharmaśūtra according to Haradatta. In the Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra the word *smṛti* occurs (vide VI. 8. 23 and XII. 4. 42).<sup>255</sup> In the Vedāntasūtras the word *smṛti* is employed in a wide sense, in one place as referring even to the sāṅkhya system.<sup>256</sup> In that work the word is used according to Śāṅkara with reference to the Mahābhārata or the Manusmṛti (Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 47, III. 1. 14 and 21, IV. 2. 14).

In ancient times the number of *smṛtis* (i. e. works on dharmaśāstra) must have been very small. Gautama mentions by name no *smṛtikāra* except Manu, though he speaks of dharmaśāstras (XI. 19). Baudhāyana names seven (besides himself) authors on dharma, viz. Anpajāṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Prajāpati, Maudgalya and Hārīta. Vasiṣṭha names only five authors, Gautama, Prajāpati, Manu, Yama, and Hārīta. Āpastamba mentions a large number, viz. ten, some of whom like Eka, Kuṇika and Puṣkarasādi are no more than mere names to us. Manu speaks of only six (besides himself) viz. Atri, the son of Utathya, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Vaikhāṇasa (or rather Vikhanas) and Śaunaka. But in all these works the writers are mentioned only casually and there is no regular enumeration or list of writers on dharma in one place. Aparārka quotes (p. 7) a sūtra of Gautama (not found in the printed G. Dh. S.) in which sixteen authors of dharmaśāstras including himself are enumerated.<sup>257</sup> The same sūtra with slight variations is ascribed to Śāṅkha-Likhita in the Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa p. 16). Yājñavalkya is probably the earliest writer who enumerated in one place (I. 4-5) twenty expounders of dharma (including himself and counting Śāṅkha and Likhita as two distinct persons). It will be noticed that Yāj. omits Baudhāyana. Parāśara also gives a list of 19 expounders of dharma (excluding

<sup>254</sup> श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वे स्मृतिः । मनु II. 10.

<sup>255</sup> स्मृतेषां स्याद् व्याख्यानम् । पू. मी. सू. XII. 4. 42 (refers to आर्विज्य).

<sup>256</sup> स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्नन्यस्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गात् । वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 1.

<sup>257</sup> अत्र गौतमः । स्मृतिधर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतास्तु मनुविष्णुदक्षऋषिः शतवृद्धस्त्वयुशान-  
ज्जायन्तस्तु गौतमसंवर्तत्रियकात्यायनशङ्खलिखितपराशरव्यासशानानपप्रचेतोयाज्ञवल्क्यादयः ।



himself), but his list differs slightly from that of Yāj. Parāśara omits Bṛhaspati, Yama, and Vyāsa and adds Kāśyapa, Gārgya and Pracetas. The Tantra-vārtika ( p. 125 ) of Kumārila speaks of eighteen dharmasamhitās. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, who adds ten names to the list of Yājñavalkya ( vide note 219 above ). The Caturviṃśatimata is a work which professes to give the views of 24 sages on dharmaśāstra, viz. all those listed by Yāj. ( except Kātyāyana and Likhita ) and six more, viz. Gārgya Nārada, Baudhāyana, Vatsa, Viśvāmitra, Saṅkha ( Saṅkhyāyana ? ). Aṅgīras as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā ( I. p. 1 ), Hemadri ( Dānakhaṇḍa p. 528 ), the Sarasvativilāsa ( p. 13 ) and other works mention Upasṁritis.<sup>259</sup> There is a smṛti called Ṣaṭtriṃśanmata quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and other works. Paithīnāsi as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works enumerates 36 smṛtis.<sup>260</sup> Aparārka says that the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa speaks of 36 smṛtis and his enumeration of them is slightly different from that of Paithīnāsi.<sup>261</sup> The Vṛddhagautamasṁṛti ( Jīvananda part II. pp. 498-499 ) gives a list of 57 dharma-śāstras. The Prayoga-pārijāta as quoted in the Viramītrodaya enumerates 18

258 दकारो धर्मशास्त्राणां मनुर्विष्णुर्मोक्षिणः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवर्तशातातपपराशराः ॥ आपस्तम्बो-  
शनीव्यासाः कात्यायनवृहस्पतिः । गौतमः शङ्खलिसितो हारीतोत्रिहं तथा ॥ याज्ञ. I. 4-5  
( Telvandrum ed. ). The Mit. reads the two verses differently though the  
names are the same.

259 नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः । बोधायनो जातुकर्णो विष्णुमित्रः सिता-  
महः ॥ जाबालिर्नौचिकेतश्च स्कन्दो लौगाक्षिकश्यपो । व्यासः सनत्कुमारश्च शन्तनुर्जनक-  
स्तथा ॥ व्यासः कात्यायनश्चैव जातुकर्णः कपिञ्जलः । बोधायनश्च काणादो विष्णुमित्र-  
स्तथैव च ॥ पेंठीनसिर्गोमिलश्चैत्युपस्मृतिविधायकाः ॥ quoted as from प्रयोगपरिज्ञप्त  
by वरिमित्रोदय ( परिभाषाम. p. 18 ). The Mit. adds that these upasṁritis  
were enumerated by the Madanaratna also.

260 तेषां मन्वीङ्गोव्यासगौतमाशुशनीयमाः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवर्तशातातपपराशराः ॥ विष्णु-  
पस्तम्बहारीताः शङ्खः कात्यायनो गुरुः । प्रचेता नारदो योगी बोधायनपितामहौ ॥ सुमन्तु-  
काश्यपो बभ्रुः पेंठीनो व्याघ्र एव च ॥ सत्यव्रतो भरद्वाजो गार्ग्यः काष्णो जिनिस्तथा ॥  
जाबालिर्जमदमित्रः लौगाक्षिर्भस्सर्भवः । इति धर्मप्रणेतारः षट्त्रिंशद्वयः स्मृताः ॥  
quoted in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and संस्कारमयूख.

261 ताभ्य मनुविष्णुयमदक्षोङ्गिरोत्रिहस्पत्युशनपस्तम्बवसिष्ठकात्यायनपराशरव्यासशङ्खलिसि-  
तसंवर्तगौतमशातातपहारीतयाज्ञवल्क्यप्रचेतोबुधदेवलसोमजमदमित्रिविष्णुमित्रमजपति-  
नारदपेंठीनसिपितामहबोधायनछागलेयजाबालिष्यवनमरीचिकश्यपा इति षट्त्रिंशदेव  
स्मृत्यन्तरे पठिताः । अपरार्क p. 7.



principal *smṛtis*, 18 *upasmṛtis* and 21 other *smṛtikāras*.<sup>262</sup> If all the *smṛtis* cited in the later *nibandhas* such as the *Nirṇayasindhu*, the *Mayūkhas* of *Nilakaṇṭha* and the *Vīramitrodaya* be taken into account, the number of *smṛtis* will be found to be about 100.

The *smṛtis* thus relied upon are the products of different and widely separated ages. Some of them are entirely in prose or in mixed prose and verse, while the large majority are in verse. A few of them are very ancient and were composed centuries before the Christian era. Such are the *dharmaśūtras* of *Gautama*, *Āpastamba*, *Baudhāyana*, and the *Manusmṛti*. Some were composed in the first centuries of the Christian era such as the *smṛtis* of *Yājñavalkya*, *Parāśara*, *Nārada*. Most of the *smṛtis* other than the above fall between the period from 400 A. D. to 1000 A. D. The chronology of all these *smṛtis* presents perplexing problems. Some of the metrical *smṛtis* are remodellings of older *sūtras* as in the case of *Śaṅkha*. There are sometimes as many as two or three different *smṛtis* going under the same name, e. g. *Śātaṭapa*, *Hārīta*, *Atri*. Then the confusion is worse confounded by the fabrications of sectarian zeal, such as the *Hārītasṁṛti* which is full of *Vaiṣṇavaite* teachings. There are several works going under the names of well-known *smṛtikāras* with the prefixes *Vṛddha*, *Bṛhat*, *Laghu*. In many cases the works going under these names are different from the *smṛtis* that are without these prefixes and this differentiation took place at a very early date in certain cases, for example, so early a writer as *Viśvarūpa* distinguishes between *Yājñavalkya* and *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya*, *Gārgya* and *Vṛddha-Gārgya*. Similarly *Viśvarūpa* quotes (on *Yāj. I. 69*) *Vṛddha-Manu* and (on *Yāj. I. 19*) *Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha*, which latter probably was different from the *Vasiṣṭhadharmaśūtra*, as the latter does not contain the details given

262 The 18 principal *स्मृतिकारः* according to the *प्रयोगपरिजात* are *मनु, बृह-  
स्पति, दक्ष, गौतम, यम, अङ्गिरस्, योगीश्वर, प्रचेतस्, शातातप, पराशर, संवत्, उश-  
नस्, शङ्ख, लिखित, अत्रि, विष्णु, आपस्तम्ब, हारीत*. The *उपस्मृतिः* have been  
enumerated above (in n. 259). The other 21 *smṛtis* are : *वसिष्ठो नारदश्चैव सुम-  
न्तुश्च पितामहः । विष्णुः कार्णार्जिनिः सत्यव्रतो गार्ग्यश्च देवलः ॥ जमदग्निर्भारद्वाजः  
पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः । आत्रेयश्च गोवयश्च मरीचिर्वत्स एव च ॥ पारस्करश्च-  
र्ष्यश्च वैजवापस्तथैव च । इत्येते स्मृतिकर्तार एकविंशतिरिति ॥ वीर०, परिभाषाम०  
p. 18.*



by Viśvarūpa.<sup>263</sup> In some cases the works designated Vṛddha or Bṛhat are larger and in all cases later than the works without those prefixes. For example, Parāśara and Bṛhat-Parāśara ( Jivananda part II. pp. 55-310 ), Gautama and Vṛddha-Gautama ( Jivananda part II. pp. 497-638 ). Some of the works with the prefix Vṛddha are versified compilations of prose works, e. g. Mit. on Yāj. III. 267 quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which is merely the versified equivalent of Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra chap. 50. 6, 12-14. It appears that sometimes the same work is cited with the prefix Vṛddha or Bṛhat, e. g. the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 quotes a passage from Bṛhad-viṣṇu which is the same as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 17. 4-7.

As most of the writers of digests quote from memory and had recourse to mss. and not to standard editions, even well known verses are ascribed to different authors in different works. The verses 'bhrātṛṇām-aprajāh' &c. which are quoted as Nārada's ( Nārada 16.25-26 ) in the Vyavahāramayūkha are attributed to Śaṅkha in the Madanapārijāta ( p. 680 ). The three verses about *bandhus* are ascribed to Baudhāyana by Mādhyama and to Vṛddhaśatāpa by the Madanapārijāta ( p. 674 ).

In spite of all these drawbacks, an attempt will be made in the following pages to arrange some of the leading versified smṛtis in chronological order beginning from the Manusmṛti.

All these smṛtis are not equal in authority. Most of them are obscure and are only rarely cited by ancient commentators. Exclusive of the dharmasūtras hardly a dozen smṛtis have found commentators. If we are to judge of the authority of a smṛti by the commentaries thereon, then the Manusmṛti stands pre-eminent. Next to it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

### 31. The Manusmṛti

So many editions of this work have been published in India since 1813 ( when the Manusmṛti was first published at Calcutta ), that it is not possible to name them. In this work the Nirṇaya-sāgara edition with the commentary of Kullūka has been used throughout. Another edition of Manu well known on this side of India is that of the late V. N. Mandlik who published several com-

<sup>263</sup> बृद्धवासिष्ठेयमेव मध्ये सौम्यमिति तु विशेषः. Vide वसिष्ठध. सू. III. 64-68 for the five तीर्थे on one's hand.



mentaries such as those of Medhātithi, Govindarāja and others. The Manusmṛti has been translated into English several times. The best known translation is that of Dr. Bühler in the S. B. E. series (vol. 25). Dr. Bühler also added an exhaustive and very scholarly introduction to his translation and dealt with numerous problems connected with the Manusmṛti.

In the Ṛgveda Manu is spoken of as the father of mankind (Ṛg. I. 80. 16, I. 114. 2, II. 33. 13) and a Vedic poet prays that he may not be led away from the ancestral path of Manu.<sup>264</sup> Another Vedic bard says that Manu was the first to offer sacrifice (Ṛg. X. 63. 7). In the Taittiriya Saṁhitā and the Tāndya-mahā-brāhmaṇa it is said 'whatever Manu said is medicine.'<sup>265</sup> Taittiriya-Saṁhitā (II. 1. 5. 6) also says that mankind is Manu's (Mānavyo hi prajāḥ). In the Taittiriya Saṁhitā (III. 1. 9. 4-5) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V. 14) we have the story of Manu dividing his wealth among his sons and of the exclusion of his son Nābhānediṣṭha. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 216) gives us the story of Manu and the deluge. In the Nirukta (chap. III) there is a discussion about the rights of sons and daughters. One of the views there propounded is that children of both sexes take their father's wealth and a ṛk and śloka are cited in support of that position.<sup>266</sup> The śloka refers to the opinion of Manu Svāyambhuva. It is noteworthy that that śloka is opposed to a rik, which means that the śloka is not Śruti but is Smṛti. So before Yaska wrote there were smṛti texts in verse in which Manu was spoken of as a law-giver. We have seen how Gautama and Vasiṣṭha quote the views of Manu and how Āpastamba connects Manu with the promulgation of śrāddhas (II. 7. 16. 1). The Mahābhārata in numerous places speaks of Manu, sometimes as Manu simply, sometimes as Svāyambhuva Manu (Śānti 21. 12) and also as Prācetas Manu (Śānti 57. 43). In the Mahābhārata (Śānti. chap. 336. 38-46) we are told how the supreme being composed a hundred thousand ślokas

<sup>264</sup> मा नः पृथः सिन्धोन्मान्वादिभिः दूरं वैष्ट परावतः । ऋग्वेद VIII. 30. 3.

<sup>265</sup> यद्वै किं च मनुरवदत्तद्वेषजम् । ते. सं. II. 2. 10. 2 : 'मनुर्वै यत्किंचावदत्तद्वेषजं भेषजनायै' ताण्ड्य. 23. 16. 17.

<sup>266</sup> अविशेषेण मिथुनाः पुत्रा दद्यादा इति । तदेनदृक्श्लोकाभ्यामुक्तम् । अक्लादक्लात्संभवासि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासी स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ इति । अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वार्थभुवोऽभवति ॥



on *dharma*, how Manu Svāyambhuva promulgated those *dharma*s and how Uśanas and Brhaspati composed *śāstras* based on the work of Manu Svāyambhuva.<sup>267</sup> In another place the account is slightly different and Manu does not figure therein. Śānti-parva (chap. 59. 80-85) describes how the original work of Brahmā on the three, *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*, in 100000 chapters was successively reduced to 10000, 5000, 3000 and 1000 chap. respectively by Viśalakṣa, Indra, Bahudantaka, Brhaspati and Kāvya (Uśanas). The prose introduction to the Nārada-smṛti says that Manu composed in 100000 ślokaś, 1080 chap. and 24 *prakaraṇa*s a *Dharmaśāstra* and imparted it to Nārada, who abridged it into 12000 verses and taught it to Mārkaṇḍeya, who in his turn compressed it into 8000 ślokaś and passed it on to Sumati Bhārgava, who again reduced it to 4000 ślokaś. The Nārada-smṛti then gives the first verse<sup>268</sup> of that work which is a combination of the extant Manu I. 5-6 and says that vyavahāra was the 9th *prakaraṇa* out of 24 in the original work of Manu. It will be noticed how this version differs from that of the Mahābhārata wherein Nārada is altogether ignored. The extant Manusmṛti (I. 32-33) narrates how from Brahmā sprang Virāj, who produced Manu, from whom were born the sages including Bhṛgu and Nārada, how Brahmā taught the *śāstra* to Manu, who in his turn imparted it to the ten sages (I. 58), how some great sages approached Manu and sought instruction in the *dharma*s of the *varṇa*s and the intermediate castes and how Manu told them that his pupil Bhṛgu would impart to them the *śāstra* (I. 59-60). This appearance is kept up throughout the work. The sages interrupt Bhṛgu's discourse in several places (as in V. 1-2 and XII. 1-2). Manu is said to be omniscient (II. 7) and Manu is mentioned by name dozens of times in the work with the words "Manurāha" (IX. 158, X. 78 etc), or "Manur-abravid" or "Manor-anuśāsanam".

<sup>267</sup> ऋषीनुवाच तत्सर्वानुदश्यः पुरुषोत्तमः । कृतं शतसहस्रं हि श्लोकानामिदमुत्तमम् ॥ लोक-  
तन्त्रस्य कृत्स्नस्य यस्माद्दर्शः प्रवर्तते । ... तस्मात्प्रवक्ष्यते धर्मान् मनुः स्वार्थभुवः  
स्वयम् । ... स्वार्थभुवेषु धर्मेषु शास्त्रं चोशनसे कृते । बृहस्पतिमते चैव लोकेषु  
प्रतिचारिते ॥

<sup>268</sup> तत्रायमायः श्लोकः । आसीदिदं तमोमूर्तं न प्राह्वयत किञ्चन । ततः स्वयंभूर्मयावा-  
म्पादुरासीच्चतुर्मुखः ॥ Manu I. 5 is quoted as the verse of a स्मृतिकार by  
कमलशील in his comment on शान्तरक्षित's तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3118) in  
the middle of the 8th century A. D. Vide सुरेश्वर's बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक  
p. 487.



(VIII. 139, 279, IX. 239, etc.). That the introductory words in the Nārada-smṛti are not spurious or a later addition follows from the remark of Medhātithi that, according to the Nārada-smṛti, Prajapati composed a work in 100000 ślokas which was abridged by Manu and others.<sup>269</sup> No one should take very seriously these varying accounts even in the Mahābhārata and in the Nārada-smṛti, as they are intended to glorify some particular text or texts. According to the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as quoted in Hemādri, the Saṁskāra-mayūkha and other works, there were four versions of the Svāyambhuva śāstra composed by Bhṛgu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Aṅgiras.<sup>270</sup> So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites verses from Manusmṛti as those of Svayambhū ( vide com. on Yāj. II. 73, 74, 83, 85, where Manu 8. 68, 70-71, 380 and 105-6 are respectively quoted as Svayambhū's), while quotations from Bhṛgu cited by Viśvarūpa ( on Yāj. I. 187 and 252 ) are not found in the Manusmṛti. In the same way most of the verses quoted from Bhṛgu by Aparārka are not found in the Manusmṛti. One verse which Aparārka quotes from Bhṛgu ( on Yāj. II. 96 ) speaks of the view contained therein as that of Manu.<sup>271</sup>

It is almost impossible to say who composed the Manusmṛti. It goes without saying that the mythical Manu, progenitor of mankind even in the Rgveda, could not have composed it. What motives could have induced the unknown author to palm it off in the name of the mythical Manu and to suppress his identity it is difficult to say. One motive may have been to invest the work with a halo of antiquity and authoritativeness. Bühler following Max Müller says ( SBE vol. 25 p. XVIII ) that the Manusmṛti is based on or is a recast of an ancient dharmasūtra, viz. that of the Mānavacarāṇa. The question whether the Mānavadharmasūtra existed has been discussed above (sec. 13, pp. 79-85). Bühler himself candidly admits ( SBE vol. 25, p. XXIII ) that the recovery of the writings of the Mānavas has not only not furnished any facts in support of the alleged relation between the Mānavadharmasūtra and the

269 नारदश्च स्मरति । शतसाहस्रो ग्रन्थः प्रजापतिना कृतः स मन्वादिभिः क्रमेण संक्षिप्त इति । मेधातिथि on मनु I. 58.

270 भार्गवीया नारदीया च बाह्वस्पाकृतिरस्यपि । स्वायम्भुवस्य शास्त्रस्य चतस्रः संहिता मताः ॥ चतुर्वर्ग ०. दानसङ्घ P. 528, संस्कारमयूक्त P. 2.

271 येषु पापेषु दिव्यानि प्रतिशुद्धानि यन्तः । कारयेत्सज्जनैस्तानि नामिशस्तं त्यजेन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क.



Manusmṛti, but on the contrary has raised difficulties as the doctrines of the Mānavagṛhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer) differ very considerably from those of the Manusmṛti. To take only a few examples, Mānava Gr. S. II. 12. 1-2 are opposed to Manu 3. 1; Mānava Gr. S. I. 4. 7 to Manu 4. 95; Mānava Gr. S. I. 20. 1 to Manu 2. 34; Mānava Gr. S. I. 21. 1 to Manu 2. 35; Mānava Gr. S. I. 22. 1 to Manu 2. 36; Mānava Gr. S. II. 12. 1-2 to Manu 3. 84-86. Besides there is nothing in our Manu corresponding to the Vinayakaśānti in the Mānavagṛhya (II. 14) nor to the tests for selecting a bride prescribed in Mānava Gr. S. I. 7. 9, which corresponds to Āśvalāyana Gr. S. I. 5. 5-6. Dr. Caland points out (R. und S. p. 17) that though single verses of the Manusmṛti tally with the Śrāddhakalpa of the Mānava School, yet the descriptions of funeral rites widely differ in the two works. There are no doubt some parallels as pointed out by Bradke (in ZDMG, vol. 36, pp. 417-477). There is one circumstance about the authorship of the Manusmṛti that deserves to be noted. The Mahābhārata seems to distinguish between Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetasu Manu. The former is said to be the promulgator of dharmaśāstra and the latter of arthaśāstra (or politics). For example Śānti 21. 12 speaks of Svāyambhuva Manu and Śānti 57-43 and 58-2 speak of Prācetasu as an author on *rājaśāstra* or *rajadharma*. In some places Manu alone without any epithet is associated with *rajadharma* or *arthavidyā*. It is not unlikely that originally there were two distinct works, one on dharma and the other on arthaśāstra attributed to Manu. When the Kauṭīliya speaks of the Mānavas, he probably refers to the work on politics attributed to Prācetasu Manu. It is extremely doubtful whether Rājasekhara, when he mentions the several views on the number of vidyās (including that of the Mānavas that they were three), had the Arthaśāstra of the Mānavas before him or only copied a passage from Kauṭīliya (vide Kāvya-mīmāṃsā p. 4). It is not unlikely that the work on *dharma* attributed to Manu may have contained general directions on the duties of kings. It is therefore (i. e. because there were two different works on dharma and arthaśāstra attributed to Manu) that the views ascribed to the Mānavas by the Kauṭīliya are not found word for word in the extant Manusmṛti. One may

272 अश्रोषीस्त्वं राजधर्मान्यथा वे मनुरब्रवीत् । वनपर्व 35. 21; वेदं पठन्ते वेदाहमर्थविद्यां च मानवीम् ॥ द्रोणपर्व 7. 1.



hazard the conjecture that the author of the Manusmṛti, whoever he might have been, combined in his work the information contained in the two works on *dharma* and *arthaśāstra* and supplanted both the earlier works and that this result had not been either accomplished at the time when the Kauṭīliya was composed or was then quite recent. In the extant Manusmṛti, the work is ascribed to Svāyambhuva Manu and then six other Manus of whom Prācetasas is not one are enumerated (I. 62).

The extant Manusmṛti is divided into twelve *adhyāyas* and contains 2694 ślokas. Dr. Jolly's edition (published in 1895) prepared after collating numerous mss. and printed editions contains only one śloka more. The Manusmṛti is written in a simple and flowing style. It generally agrees with Pāṇini's system, though it contains some deviations from it as in the verse 'śākṣiṇaḥ santi metyuktā' (8. 57). The foregoing pages have sufficiently shown how it agrees closely with the doctrines contained in the Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba. We have also seen how numerous verses are common to the dharmasūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu and the Manusmṛti. The Kauṭīliya also exhibits remarkable agreement with the Manusmṛti in phraseology and doctrines.<sup>273</sup> What conclusions are to be drawn from this will be discussed later on. Some verses are repeated, e. g. V. 164-165 are the same as IX. 30 and 29. The contents of the Manusmṛti may be briefly summarised as follows: (I) Sages approach Manu for instruction in the *dharma*s of the *varṇas*; Manu describes the creation of the world from the self-existent God more or less in the Sāṅkhya manner; the creation of Virāj, of Manu from Virāj, of ten sages from Manu; creation of various beings, men, beasts, birds etc.; Brahmā imparts *dharmaśāstra* to Manu, who teaches the sages; Manu bids Bhṛgu to instruct the sages in *dharma*; six other Manus sprang from Svāyambhuva Manu; units of time from *nimeṣa* to year, the four *yugas* and

273 Compare अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी च । कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 101 अलब्धमिच्छेद्दण्डेन लब्धं रक्षेद्वेक्षया । रक्षितं वर्षयेद्द्यूध्या वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥ ; 'तस्मात्लोकयात्रार्था नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्' कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 162 नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्, 'असंभाष्ये देशे साक्षि-भिर्मित्थः संभाषणे' कौटिल्य (III. 1) with मनु 8. 55 'असंभाष्ये साक्षिमिथ्य देशे संभाषते मिथः', 'साहसमन्वयवत्प्रसभकर्म' कौटिल्य (III. 17) with मनु 8. 332 स्यात्साहसं त्वन्वयवत् प्रसभं कर्म यत् कृतम्.



their twilights ; one thousand *yugas* equal a day of Brahmā ; extent of *Manvantara*, *pralaya* ; successive decline of *dharma* in the four *yugas* ; different dharmas and goals in the four *yugas* ; the special privileges and duties of the four *varṇas* ; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas and of the *śāstra* of Manu ; *ācāra* is the highest *dharma* ; table of contents of the whole *śāstra* ; ( II ) definition of *dharma*, sources of *dharma* are Veda, *smṛiti*, *ācāra* of the good, one's own satisfaction ; who has *adbhikāra* for this *śāstra* ; limits of Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta ; why *saṁskāras* are necessary ; such *saṁskāras* as *jātakarma*, *nāmadheya*, *chūḍākarma*, *upanayana* ; the proper time of *upanayana* for the *varṇas*, the proper girdle, sacred thread, staff and skin for the Brahmacārī of the three *varṇas* ; duties of the Brahmacārī and his code of conduct ; ( III ) Brahmacharya for 36, 18, 9 years ; *samāvartana* ; marriage ; marriageable girl ; brāhmaṇa could marry a girl of any of the four *varṇas* ; eight forms of marriage defined ; which form suited to which caste ; duties of husband and wife ; eulogy of women ; the five daily *yajñās* ; praise of the status of householder ; honouring guests ; *madhuparka* ; *śrāddhas* ; who should not be invited at *śrāddhas* ; ( IV ) mode of life and means of subsistence for a house-holder, the code of conduct for a *snātaka* ; occasions for cessation from study ; rules about prohibited and permissible food and drink ; ( V ) what vegetables and meat are allowed ; period of impurity on death and birth ; definition of *sapinda* and *samānodaka* ; purification from contact with various substances in various ways ; duties of wife and widow ; ( VI ) when one should become a forest hermit ; his mode of life ; *parivrājaka* and his duties ; eulogy of *grhastha* ; ( VII ) *rājadharmas*, eulogy of *daṇḍa* ( the power to punish ) ; the four *vidyās* for a king ; the ten vices of kings due to *kāma* and eight due to *krodha* ; constitution of council of ministers ; qualities of a *dāta* ; forts and capital ; *purohita* and superintendents of various departments ; code of war ; the four expedients, *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, and *daṇḍa* ; hierarchy of officers from the village headman upwards ; rules about taxation ; the constitution of a circle of twelve kings ; the six *guṇas*, peace, a state of war, march against an enemy, *āsana*, taking shelter and *dvaiddha* ; duties of victor ; ( VIII ) king's duty to look to the administration of justice ; the 18 titles of law ; the king and judge ; other persons as judges ; constitution of *sabha*, king's duty to look after minors, widows, helpless people ; treasure trove ; king's duty to restore stolen wealth ; creditor's means of recovering his debt ; grounds on which the claimant



may fail in his suit ; qualifications of witnesses ; who were not proper persons as witnesses ; oaths ; fines for false witnesses ; methods of corporal punishment ; Brāhmaṇa to be free from corporal punishment ; weights and measures ; lowest, middling and highest fines ; rates of interest ; pledges ; adverse possession does not affect a pledge, boundary, minor's estate, deposit, king's estate etc. ; rule of *damdupat* ; sureties ; what debts of the father the son was not liable to pay ; fraud and force vitiated all transactions ; sale by one not the owner ; title and possession ; partnership ; resumption of gift ; non-payment of wages ; violation of conventions ; rescission of sale ; dispute between owner and herdsman ; pastures round villages ; boundary disputes ; abuse, libel and slander ; assault and battery and mischief ; whipping only on the back ; theft ; *sābasa* i. e. offences in which force and hurt are an element, such as robbery, homicide etc. ; right of private defence ; when even a Brāhmaṇa may be killed ; adultery and rape ; no sentence of death, but of transportation for a Brāhmaṇa ; parents, wife, children must not be forsaken ; tolls and monopolies ; seven kinds of *dāśas* ; (IX) legal duties of husband and wife, censure of women ; eulogy of chastity ; to whom does the child belong, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten ; *niyoga* described and condemned ; supercession of the first wife when allowed ; age of marriage ; partition, its time, eldest son's special share ; *putrikā* ; daughter's son ; adopted son ; rights of Brāhmaṇa's son from a *śūdra* wife ; twelve kinds of sonship ; to whom *piṇḍas* are offered ; nearest *sapiṇḍa* succeeds ; *sakulya*, teacher and pupils as heirs ; king ultimate heir except as to Brāhmaṇa's wealth ; varieties of *strīdhana* ; succession to *strīdhana* ; grounds of exclusion from inheritance ; property not liable to partition ; gains of learning ; reunion ; mother and grandmother as heirs ; impartible property ; gambling and prize fighting must be suppressed by the king ; the five great sins ; *prāyaścittas* for them ; open and secret thieves ; jails ; the seven *aṅgas* of a kingdom ; duties of Vaiśya and Śūdra ; (X) Brāhmaṇa alone to teach ; mixed castes ; *mlecchas*, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas ; rules of conduct common to all ; privileges and duties of the four *varṇas* ; modes of subsistence for a Brāhmaṇa in adversity ; what articles should not be sold by Brāhmaṇa ; seven proper modes of acquisition and the means of livelihood ; (XI) eulogy of gifts ; different views about *prāyaścitta* ; various seen results, diseases and bodily defects due to sins in former lives ; five mortal sins and *prāyaścittas* for them ; *upapātakas* and *prāyaścittas*



for them ; *prāyaścittas* like *Santapana*, *Parāka*, *Cāndrāyana* ; holy *mantras* for removing sin ; (XII) disquisition on *karma* ; *kṣetrājña*, *bhūtātma*, *jiva* ; tortures of hell ; the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *taṃas* ; what brings about *nirāśraya* ; knowledge of the self is the highest means of bliss ; *pratyakṣa* and *nirakṣa karma* ; the latter is *karma* done without an eye to reward ; eulogy of *Vedas* ; place of *tarka* ; *śiṣṭas* and *pariṣad* ; reward of studying the *Mānava Śāstra*.

The extent of the literature known to Manu was considerable. He mentions the three *Vedas* and the *Atharvaveda* is spoken of as the *Atharvāṅgīrasi Śruti* (XI. 33). He refers to *Āraṇyaka* (IV. 123). The *Vedāṅgas* are said to be six (III. 185) and they are often referred to without stating the number (II. 141, IV. 98). He speaks of *dharmaśāstra* (II. 10) and also knew many *dharmaśāstras* (III. 232). By *dharmapāṭhaka* (XII. 111) he probably means one who has studied *dharmaśāstras*. He mentions several authors on *dharmaśāstra*, viz. *Atri*, the son of *Utathya* (i. e. *Gautama* according to commentators), *Bṛigu* and *Śaunaka* (all these in III. 16), *Vasiṣṭha* (on the rate of interest in VIII. 140 which agrees with *Vasiṣṭhadharmaśūtra* II. 50), *Vaikhāṇasa* (in VI. 21). He mentions *Ākhyānas*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas* and *Khilas* (III. 232). He speaks of *brahma* as described in the *Vedānta* (in VI. 83 and 94) and is probably thinking of the *Upaniṣads*. That he knew some generally accepted works opposed to the teaching of the *Vedas* is quite clear from his reference to '*Vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayah*' (XII. 95). He is probably referring to the writing of the *Bauddhas*, *Jainas* and others. He speaks of heretics and their guilds (IV. 30 and 61). He refers to atheism and calumny of the *Vedas* (IV. 163) and of various tongues spoken among men (IV. 332). He frequently refers to the views of others in the words "*kecit*", "*apare*", "*anye*" (as in III. 261, X. 70, IX. 32).

Numerous interesting and difficult problems are connected with the *Manusmṛiti*. Bühler in his elaborate introduction (S B E vol. 25) exhaustively deals with these problems. It is not possible to go at great length into those questions here. A separate volume would be required to deal with the problems raised by Bühler and to examine the arguments of Bühler, Hopkins and others who have written on them. Only a brief discussion of some of these problems can be attempted.



Bühler takes considerable pains to refute the claims of Manu to be regarded as the first legislator (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XXIII-XXX). But no serious refutation of the claim is really needed. The very extent of the literature known to the Manusmṛti and the mention of several writers on dharmasāstra by name are sufficient to negative that claim.

Bühler devotes a great deal of space to the consideration of the question as to what circumstances led to the substitution of a universally binding Mānava-dharmasāstra for the manuals of the Vedic schools (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XLVI-LVI) and as to why the special law schools selected just the Mānavadharmasūtra among the large number of similar works for the basis of their studies (ibid. pp. LVII-LXV). Bühler then considers the question how the Mānavadharmasūtra was converted into the present Manusmṛti. Bühler concedes that the last is a problem of great difficulty and admits of an approximate solution only. The discussion of all these questions by Bühler is extremely thought-provoking and brilliant in many places, though it must be said with great respect that the arguments are often *à priori* and savour more or less of special pleading. As I question the very foundation of Bühler's edifice (viz. the actual existence of a Mānava-dharmasūtra), it would be futile for me to enter into a discussion of the problems referred to above.

I shall now address myself to the discussion of the age of the Manusmṛti from external and internal evidence. That question is bound up with other problems, viz. whether there are earlier and later strata in the extant Manusmṛti, whether the Manusmṛti was recast several times or once only, what relations exists between the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata.

First the external evidence may be taken up. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi is the earliest extant commentary on the Manusmṛti and was composed about 900 A. D. as will be shown later on (sec. 36). The text commented upon by Medhātithi was the same (barring a few various readings) as the one we now possess. Therefore long before 900 A. D. the Manusmṛti was the same as now. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yāj. quotes over two hundred verses of the Manusmṛti either wholly or in part from all the twelve chapters beginning with the very first verse. The text that Viśvarūpa had before him was the same as the present Manusmṛti and the verses



were arranged in the same order as at present. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses ( Manu XI. 108-115 ) from Manu ( on Yāj. III. 262 ). Śaṅkarācārya in his Vedāntasūtra-bhāṣya quotes the Manusmṛti very frequently. For example, he quotes Manu I. 5 and 21 ( on V. S. I. 3. 28 ), I. 27 ( on V. S. IV. 2. 6 ), II. 87 ( on V. S. III. 4. 38 ), X. 4 and 126 ( on V. S. I. 3. 36 ), XII. 91 and 105-6 ( on V. S. II. 1 and 11 ). In his bhāṣya on the Br. U. he quotes Manu dozens of times and calls the Manusmṛti<sup>274</sup> 'Manavam' ( on Br. U. I. 4. 17 ). He looks upon the Manusmṛti as one of the authorities on which the author of the Vedāntasūtra relies.<sup>275</sup> The Tantravārtika of Kumārila stands in a special relation to the Manusmṛti. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 98-100. He places Manu at the head of all smṛtis, even higher than the dharmasūtra of Gautama. He cites numerous quotations from the first chapter of the Manusmṛti to the last. He looks upon all parts of the extant Manusmṛti as equally authoritative and regards the Manusmṛti as the highest authority on matters of *dharma*. The Mṛcchakatika<sup>276</sup> ( 9. 39 ) refers to the ordinance of Manu that a Brāhmana sinner was not to be sentenced to death, but was to be banished. An inscription of the Valabhi king Dharasena dated in the year 252 of the Valabhi era ( i. e. 571 A. D. ) speaks of a king as one who obeyed the rules composed by Manu<sup>277</sup> ( I. A. vol. 8. p. 303 = Gupta Inscriptions p. 165 ). Vide also I. A. vol. IV. p. 105 where the same words occur in an inscription from Valabhi dated 216 of the Valabhi era ( i. e. 535 A. D. ). Śabarasvāmin, the bhāṣyakāra of Jaimini's sūtras, who cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may be a few centuries earlier still, says " Manu and others have given

274 मानवे च सर्वा प्रवृत्तिः कामहेतुव्ययेति. Vide मनु. II. 4.

275 On the sūtra स्मरन्ति च (वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1. 14 ) Śaṅkara adds 'मनुष्यासम्भृतयः शिष्याः'.

276 अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुब्रवीत् । राष्ट्रादस्मात् निर्वार्यो विभवेरक्षतेः सह ॥  
Compare मनु 8. 380 न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सर्वपापेष्वपि स्थितम् । राष्ट्रेनं यदिः  
कुर्यात्समप्रधनमक्षतम् ॥. The words राष्ट्र and अक्षत occurring in both may particularly be noted.

277 मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानकर्मा.



instruction<sup>278</sup> " and quotes a verse as a smṛti passage which is practically the same as Manu IX. 416 and similar to Udyoga-parva<sup>279</sup> 33. 64. Aparārka and Kullūka point out how the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa expounds passages of the Manusmṛti (vide Kullūka on Manu XI. 72, 73, 100 and Aparārka pp. 1071, 1076).<sup>280</sup> It will be shown below that Brhaspati must have composed his work before 500 A. D. Brhaspati says that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position because it correctly represents the sense of the Veda and that a smṛti which is in conflict with Manu is not esteemed.<sup>281</sup> Brhaspati in numerous places pointedly refers to the present text of the Manusmṛti. One such quotation about *niyoga* has been cited above (note 172). Brhaspati says "Manu has spoken of quantities (units of weights) beginning from the mote in the sun-beam to the *kāṣāpapa*."<sup>282</sup> This is obviously a reference to Manu 8. 132-136. Brhaspati says "Manu enumerated thirteen sons and just as in the absence of clarified butter, oil is a substitute, so in the absence of an *aurasa* son or a *putrika*, the eleven kinds of son are a substitute."<sup>283</sup> This has in view Manu 9. 158-160, 180, 127-130, where Manu speaks of the twelve sons, out of whom eleven are substitutes and

278 उपदिष्टवन्तश्च मन्वादयः on पूर्वमीमांसा I. 1. 2 (vol. I. p. 4).

279 एवं च स्मरति । भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्वत् ॥. Manu reads भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः, while उद्योगः reads त्रय एवाधना राजन्भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः .

280 On मनु XI. 73 कुल्लूक says 'मनुश्लोकमेव लिखित्वा यथा व्याख्याने (तं ?) भविष्यपुराणे', on मनु XI. 100 'अत एव मन्वर्थव्याख्यानपरे भविष्यपुराणे'.

281 वेदार्थोपनिबद्धत्वात्प्रधान्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते ॥ (quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 21 and by कुल्लूक on मनु I. 1. who adds one more verse from बृहस्पति 'तावच्छास्त्राणि शोभन्ते तर्कव्याकरणानि च । धर्मार्थ-मोक्षोपदेश मनुर्वापन्न दृश्यते ॥').

282 संख्या रश्मिरजोभूला मनुना समुदाहृता । कार्पापणान्ता सा दिव्ये निधांज्या विनये तथा ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 99 and by the स्मृतिच० (vy. p. 211).

283 पुत्राक्षयोद्देशं प्रोक्तं मनुना येन पूर्वशः । संतानकारणं तेषामोरसः पुत्रिका यथा ॥ आज्यं विना यथा तैलं सद्भिः प्रतिनिधिः स्मृतम् । तथेकादश पुत्रास्तु पुत्रिकौरसयोर्विना ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 128-132 and the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 39).



advocates that a sonless man should appoint a daughter (*putrikā*, who then is the 13th kind of son). In another place Brhaspati declares "Manu forbade gambling as it destroys truth, purity and wealth; but others allowed it provided a share was given to the king (in the gains of gambling<sup>284</sup>)." This very aptly describes the attitude of Manu (9. 224) and of Yāj. (II. 201-203). Brhaspati says "If a man kills a cow with a weapon &c., he should perform the penance laid down by Manu, but if he kills a cow by forcible restraint, then he should perform the penance laid down by Āṅgīras or Āpastamba." The reference is to Manu XI. 108-115, Āpastamba Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 and Āṅgīrasa verse 27 (Jivananda, part I p. 556). In one place Brhaspati seems to criticise Manu (9. 219) when he says "those who declared clothes and other things to be impartible have not considered the position that the wealth of the rich may consist of clothes and ornaments.<sup>285</sup>" In another place Brhaspati says "Bṛghu spoke of sale without ownership after deposit; listen to it attentively, I shall speak of it with more details.<sup>286</sup>" This keeps in view Manu 8. 1 and clearly shows that Brhaspati was well aware of Bṛghu's connection with the extant Manusmṛti. Āṅgīras as quoted in the Śrūticandrikā (I. p. 7) speaks of the dharmaśāstra of Manu. In the Vajrasūci of Āśvaghoṣa (ed. by Weber) several verses are quoted as from the 'Mānavadharmā' which occur in the extant Manusmṛti,<sup>287</sup> though it must be admitted that there are others that

284 द्यूतं निषिद्धं मनुना सख्य- (त्य ?) शौचधनापहम् । तत्पवर्तितमन्यैस्तु राजभागसम-  
न्वितम् । सभिकाधिष्ठितं कार्यं तत्स्मरणानुहेतुना । It is striking that यज्ञ uses the  
word तत्स्मरणानुकारणात् in II. 203.

285 वस्त्राद्योऽविभाज्या येरुहं तेन विचारितम् । धनं भवेत्समृद्धानां वस्त्रालङ्कारसंश्रितम् ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क on यज्ञ. II. 119 and by the व्यवहारमयूख.

286 निक्षेपानन्तरं प्रोक्तो भूगुणास्वानिविक्रयः । श्रूयतां ते प्रयत्नेन सविशेषं ब्रवीम्यहम् ॥  
विवादरत्नाकर p. 100. The words of मनु are तदामायगुणादानं निक्षेपोऽस्वानिविक्रयः.

287 e. g. उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मं—सयः पतन्ति मांसेन लाक्षया लवणेन वा । व्यहाच्छृङ्गश्च  
भवति बाह्व्याः क्षीरविक्रयात् ॥ (this is मनु X. 92); उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मं  
'वृषलीफेनपीतस्य निःश्वसोपहतस्य च । तत्रैव च प्रसूतस्य निष्कृतिर्नोपलभ्यते ॥'  
(this is मनु III. 19); उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मं 'अधीत्य चतुरो वेदान् साञ्जोपाङ्गेन  
तत्त्वतः । शूद्रात्पतिप्रहयाही ब्राह्मणो जायते सरः ॥ सरो द्वादश जन्मानि पात्र-  
जन्मानि सूकरः । श्वानः सप्ततिजन्मानि इत्येवं मनुस्मृति ॥' (this cannot be  
traced in the extant Manusmṛti); इह हि मानवधर्मैर्निहितम् । अरण्यगर्भ-



do not occur. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also there are verses cited as from *Manu* which occur in the extant *Manusmṛiti*; vide *Kiṣkindhā* 18.30-32 (Gujarati Press, 1915-1920) where two verses are quoted as 'sung by Mann' which correspond to *Manusmṛiti* VIII. 318 and 316 respectively.

The foregoing discussion of the external evidence shows that writers from the 2nd century onwards (if not earlier) looked upon the extant *Manusmṛiti* as the most authoritative *smṛiti*. This position it could not have attained unless several centuries intervened between it and these writers. Therefore it must be presumed that the *Manusmṛiti* had attained its present form at least before the 2nd century A. D. Even the *Mahābhāṣya* contains a verse which is *Manu* II. 120.<sup>288</sup> But as the verse occurs also in the *Anuśāsana* (104. 64-65) no chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom. The *Pratimānātaka* (after V. 8) speaks of 'mānaviṃśadharmaśāstra' and 'Prācetaso śrāddhakalpa,' but as it is in controversy whether that work can be ascribed to the ancient *Bhāsa*, this reference will serve no useful purpose.

The next question is whether the *Manusmṛiti* contains earlier and later strata. There can be no doubt on this point. On numerous points the *Manusmṛiti* contains conflicting doctrines. In *Manu* III. 12-13 a *Brāhmaṇa* is allowed to have a *śūdra* woman as wife, while in III. 14-19 it is emphatically asserted that a *śūdra* woman cannot be the wife of a *Brāhmaṇa* and heavy disabilities are prescribed for him who breaks the injunction. In III. 23-26 there are contradictory statements about the appropriate forms of marriage for the several castes. In one breath *Manu* seems to permit *niyoga* (9. 59-63) and immediately afterwards he strongly reprobates it (9. 64-69). The lengthy discussion on flesh-eating in *Manu* V. 27-56 discloses different mentalities. At several places the work seems even to recommend flesh-eating in sacrifice, *śrāddhas* and *madhuparka* (V. 31-32, 35, 39, 41), while elsewhere it recommends total abstinence from meat on all occasions whatever (V. 48-50). In

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संभूतः कठो नाम महामुनिः । तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम् ॥ This is followed by several verses citing instances of व्यास, वसिष्ठ, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, विश्वामित्र, नारद and others who though born of women of low class became sages. These verses also are not found in the extant *मनुस्मृति*.

<sup>288</sup> ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूतः स्थविर आयति । प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रातिपद्यते ॥ *महाभाष्य* vol. III, p. 58. This verse occurs also in the *उद्योगपर्व* (38. 1).



one śloka (Manu II. 145) the father is said to be equal to a hundred ācāryas, while in the next verse the ācārya is said to be superior to the father. In V. 1 Bhṛgu is said to have sprung from fire, while in I. 35 he is said to be one of the ten sons of Manu Svāyambhuva. Vide also IX. 32-56.

Bühler devotes considerable space to this question (SBE vol. 25. pp. LXVI-LXXIII). He arrives at the conclusion that the cosmological and philosophical portions in the first and 12th books, the philosophical disquisition in II. 89-100, the classifications of *pīlaraḥ* in III. 193-201, the means of subsistence for Brāhmaṇa in IV. 1-24, verses 1-4 of the fifth book, the rules about mixed castes (X. 1-74) and the duties of castes that are repeated in X. 101-131 were put in when the work was versified from the Mānavadharmasūtra. Though one may not agree with all the details of Bühler's examination and with his theory about the versification of the Mānavadharmasūtra, it may be admitted that most of the passages pointed out by him have rather the flavour of comparative modernism about them. My own position is that the original Manusmṛti in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in a line with the change in the general attitude of people on several points such as those of flesh-eating, *niyoga* &c. But all these additions must have been made long before the 3rd A. D., as the quotations from Brhaspati and others show.

Another problem is whether the Manusmṛti has undergone several recasts. This does not seem likely and the evidence adduced in support of the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts is quite inadequate for the purpose. The occurrence of several conflicting passages can as well be explained on the theory of a single recast and it has also to be borne in mind, as Bühler points out, that Sanskrit writers down to the most recent times are in the habit of placing side by side conflicting opinions without actually preferring a particular view to others. The tradition of the Nārada-smṛti that the śāstra of Manu was successively abridged by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava is, as has been observed above, not worth much, since it is merely intended to glorify Nārada's work. The other traditions given above either ignore Nārada altogether or assign him a secondary position. The present Manusmṛti is put into the mouth of Bhṛgu. Nārada's smṛti is clearly based upon Manu, though the former diverges from the latter on many points. Brhaspati



generally takes Manu as his text and amplifies the dicta of the Manusmṛti (as the verses quoted above in notes 281-86 show) and so his work may by analogy be regarded as a Vārtika on Manu, as Dr. Jolly puts it. Aṅgīras also looks upon Manusmṛti as most authoritative. It is therefore that the Pauranic account (note 270 above) regards Bhṛgu and other works as the redactions of the original Manusmṛti. The quotations cited from Vṛddha-Manu and Brāhmaṇ-Manu do not establish that the original Manusmṛti underwent many recasts. Quotations cited under these names are later than the Manusmṛti. Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 69) quotes the views of Vṛddha-Manu on *niyoga*, who allows it only to śūdras. The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Manu about the widow of a sonless man being entitled to all her husband's wealth, while Manu is silent on that point.<sup>289</sup> The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Brāhmaṇ-Manu also (on Yaj. III. 20). Mādhava quotes a verse from Brāhmaṇ-Manu about *sapinda* and *samānodaka* relationship which are expansions of Manu<sup>290</sup> (V. 60). The fact that many quotations ascribed to Manu in several works are not found in the extant Manusmṛti is explicable in several ways and not only by the theory of several recasts. For one thing the authors quoting from memory may be found tripping. For example, in an inscription of the Badami Cālukyas of the 7th century two verses that occur in most grants of lands are ascribed to Manu, but are not found in the extant Manusmṛti.<sup>291</sup> No one can for a moment doubt that the extant Manusmṛti was an authoritative work in the 7th century. Therefore there is hardly any reliable evidence to support the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts.

Turning now to the internal evidence, the extant Manusmṛti seems to be much older than Yājñavalkya, since the rules of judicial procedure are incomplete and awkward in Manu as compared with Yaj., since there is no reference to documents as evidence in Manu,

<sup>289</sup> अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती ब्रूते स्थिता । पत्न्येव द्यात्तत्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमंशं लभेत च ॥  
मिता on याज्ञ. II. 135.

<sup>290</sup> तदुक्तं बृहन्मनुना—सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते । समानोदकभावस्तु निवर्तेता-  
च्चतुर्दशात् । जन्मनामस्मृतेरके तत्परं गोत्रमुच्यते ॥ पराशरमाधवीय vol. III,  
part 2, p. 528.

<sup>291</sup> मनुगीतं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति—बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । and स्वदत्ता  
परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् । &c. I. A. vol. VIII, p. 97.



as ordeals are not treated of in Manu, as legal definitions are almost absent in Manu, while frequent in Yāj. and as Manu is silent about the widow's rights, while Yāj. gives her the first place among the heirs of a sonless man. So the Manusmṛti will have to be placed some centuries earlier than the third century A. D., the latest date to which the Yājñavalkya smṛti can be assigned with any show of reason. In X. 44 Manu mentions the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cinas<sup>292</sup> and in X. 48 Medas and Āndhras. This shows that the extant Manusmṛti could not be much earlier than the 3rd century B. C. The Yona, Kāmboja and Gāndhāra people are mentioned in the 5th rock edict of Aśoka. Manu forbids Brāhmanas to dwell in the kingdom of a Śūdra ( IV. 61 ) and condemns the appointment of a śūdra as a judge ( VIII. 20-21 ). The former is possibly a reference to the Mauryas, though one cannot be certain of it. Mr. Jayasval ( Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 15, p. CCC ) goes too far in supposing that in the word ' senāpatya ' occurring in Manu ( XII. 100 ) there is a reference to Senāpati Puṣyamitra. The extant Manusmṛti in its arrangement and doctrines is much in advance of the ancient dharmasūtras, such as those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. Taking all these things into consideration Bühler ( S B E vol. 25 p. CXVII ) was certainly right in saying that the extant Manusmṛti was composed between the second century B. C and 2nd century A. D. But the question of the date when the original Manusmṛti to which additions were made between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. was composed presents very great difficulties. That question is largely bound up with the relation of the Mahābhārata to the Manusmṛti.

This question is an extremely intricate one. The late V. N. Mandlik ( Intro. to the Vyavahāramayūkha XLVII ) held that the Manusmṛti borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Bühler after an elaborate examination of the question ( S B E vol 25, pp. LXXIV-XCVIII ) came to the conclusion that it was indisputable that the 12th and 13th *parvas* of the Mahābhārata knew a Manavadharmaśāstra which was closely connected with but not identical with the present Manusmṛti. Bühler expresses himself very cautiously and it seems to me that the great scholar was unduly prepossessed

<sup>292</sup> योण्डकाश्चोड्द्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदाः पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता द्रवाः



in favour of the Mahābhārata as against the Manusmṛti. Bühler somewhat contradicts himself when he says that the author of the epic only knew the dharmasūtras ( S B E vol. 25, p. XCVIII ). Hopkins ( Great Epic of India p. 21-22 ) seems inclined to hold that the 13th book which alone, according to him, recognises the śāstra declared by Manu, knew the present Manusmṛti, though the earlier books cannot be held to have known a śāstra of Manu even when they employ such expressions as " Manu said. " He thinks that there was a floating mass of verses containing philosophical and other lore attributed to the mythical Manu on which the earlier books of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti both drew and that the matter that is common to both works was not borrowed from any systematic treatise. Bühler accepts this view with the slight modification that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu ( S B E vol. 25 p. XC ). Before giving my individual views on this vexed question as against the array of such eminent scholars as Bühler and Hopkins some facts must be clearly set forth. The Mahābhārata is nowhere mentioned by name in the Manusmṛti though the word " itihāsa " ( in the plural ) occurs in Manu ( III. 232 ). The Manusmṛti mentions many historical and legendary personages, about most of whom the Mahābhārata contains similar stories. The following are the persons so mentioned in the Manusmṛti. Āṅgīrasa ( in II. 151-152, addressing his elders as ' putrakāh ' ), Agastya ( V 22, in connection with sacrificing animals ), Vena, Nahuṣa, Sudās Paijavana and Nimi ( all in VII. 41, coming to grief through insolence ), Prthu, Manu, Kubera and the son of Gādhi ( VII. 42, benefiting by their good conduct ), Vasiṣṭha ( in VIII. 110, taking an oath before king Paijavana ), Vatsa ( in VIII. 116, undergoing fire ordeal ), Akṣama and Śaraṅgi ( in IX. 23, though of low birth respectively were united to Vasiṣṭha and Mandapāla ), Dakṣa ( in IX. 128-129, gave his daughters to Dharma, Kāśyapa and Soma ), Ajigaria ( in X, 105, who was ready to sacrifice his own son ), Vamadeva ( in X, 106, desired dog's flesh to save his life ), Bharadvāja ( in X. 107, who accepted the gift of many cows ), Viśvāmitra ( in X. 108, who took from a cāṇḍāla's hand a dog's leg ). Prthu is also mentioned ( in IX. 44 ) as the husband of the earth and in IX. 314 Brāhmaṇas are credited with having made fire all-devourer, the ocean undrinkable and the waning ( pthical ) moon to wax. Most of the names mentioned here go far back into Vedic antiquities.



For example, Vasiṣṭha's oath occurs in R̥gveda (VII. 104. 15<sup>293</sup>) and the Bṛhaddevatā (VI. 32-34), Aṅgīrta figures in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 16) and Āṅgīrasa's story occurs in the Tāndya-mahā-brāhmaṇa (13. 3. 21). Besides the Manusmṛti does not say that the stories are taken from the great epic. The Mahābhārata also was not the first to originate these stories but is only a storehouse and encyclopaedia of the numerous popular traditions that were current in ancient India. When our Manu (9. 227) says that gambling was seen to have produced in former ages deep-rooted enmities, it is unnecessary to suppose that there is a reference to the Mahābhārata, for from Vedic times the evil effects of gambling were known (vide R̥gveda X. 34) and even the Mahābhārata contains the same verse (Udyoga 37. 19), though this fact was not noticed by Bühler. On the other hand there are numerous passages in the Mahābhārata scattered over almost all the *parvans*, where occur such expressions as, 'Manu-abravīd,' 'the rājadharmas of Manu,' 'the śāstra of Manu' etc. Some of these passages agree with the extant Manusmṛti, while some do not. Besides there are hundreds of verses in the Mahābhārata that are identical with the verses of the Manusmṛti, though they are not expressly attributed to Manu. Dr. Bühler says that in the Vana, Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* alone he could identify either wholly or partly 260 verses with those of our Manu. What then is the conclusion? *Prima facie* it should be, on account of all these abovementioned facts, against the Mahābhārata and in favour of the Manusmṛti being the earlier of the two. Hopkins at all events holds that the Anuśāsana-*parva* knew a Manusmṛti essentially the same as we have now. Bühler expresses himself more cautiously and says that the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* knew a Mānava-dharmaśāstra closely connected with the extant one, though not identical. Both are agreed that the earlier books when they speak of Manu are either referring to the Mānava-dharmaśūtra or to the floating mass of popular verses, but not to our Manu.

We must now closely examine the data. The Anuśāsana-*parva* distinctly speaks of 'a śāstra declared by Manu.'<sup>294</sup> In the Śānti-*parva*

<sup>293</sup> अया मुरीय यदि' यातुधानो अस्मि &c.

<sup>294</sup> मनुनाभिहितं शास्त्रं यच्छासि कुरुनन्दन । अनु. 47. 35.



are quoted two ślokas 'sung by Manu in his own dharmas,' one of which is identical with Manu<sup>295</sup> (9. 321). In another place the Śāntiparva speaks of the 'rājadharmas of Prācetasā Manu' and quotes two verses therefrom.<sup>296</sup> In the Droṇaparva (7. 1) 'Mānavī artha-vidyā' is referred to (vide note 272 above) and in Vanaparva the rājadharmas as proclaimed by Manu are referred to (vide note 272 above). In another places, the words 'Manu Svāyambhuva said' occur (e. g. Śānti 21. 12, Anuśāsana 114. 12, Vanaparva 180. 34-35, Ādiparva 73. 9, 120. 32-36, Udyoga 37. 1-6). In most cases the words 'Manu said occur' without the appellation 'Svāyambhuva' or 'Prācetasā' (e. g. Śānti 78. 31, 88. 14-16, 121. 10-12, 152. 14, 152. 30, 266. 5; Anuśāsana 44. 18 and 23, 65. 1 and 3, 67. 19, 68. 31, 88. 4, 115. 52-53; Vanaparva 32. 39, Udyogaparva 40. 9-10, Ādiparva 41. 31, 74. 39). The words 'Manor-anuśāsanam' occur in a few cases as in Anuśāsana 61. 34-35. Hopkins says that the words 'the śāstra of Manu' occur only in the Anuśāsana-parva and so only that *parvan* knew the Manusmṛti, while in the other *parvans* we have the expression 'Manu said,' and therefore these other books did not know the Manusmṛti but are only referring to floating verses attributed to the mythical Manu. This, however, is not a reasonable conclusion. The words 'śāstra of Manu' occur only once even in the Anuśāsana, while in about ten places in the same *parvan* we come across only the words 'Manu said'. If the words 'Manu said' in the Anuśāsana indicate in the Anuśāsana a reference to the extant Manusmṛti, there is no cogent reason why the same words in other *parvans* should not be regarded as referring to the Manusmṛti. Besides in the Śāntiparva also we meet with the words 'Dharmas or rājadharmas of Manu' and in Ādiparva the word 'dharma-darśane' (120. 32). That is obviously a reference to some work of Manu. Hopkins further says (Great Epic of India, p. 21) that all the

<sup>295</sup> मनुना चैव राजेन्द्र गीतोऽश्लोको महात्मना । धर्मेषु स्वेषु कौरव्य इदि तौ कर्तुमर्हसि ॥  
अदभ्यामिर्महत्तः क्षत्रमश्नो लोहमुत्थितम् । तेषां सर्वत्रगं तेजः स्वास्तु योनिषु  
शाम्यति ॥ अयो हन्ति यदाश्मानमग्निना वारि इत्यते । मक्ष च क्षत्रियो द्वेष्टि तदा  
सीदन्ति ते व्रयः ॥ शान्ति. ० 56. 23-25.

<sup>296</sup> प्राचेतसेन मनुना श्लोको चेमावुदाहृतौ । राजधर्मेषु राजेन्द्र ताविहिकमनाः शृणु ।  
पदेताम्युषो जहाद्विजां नावामिवामसि । अपवकारमाचार्यमनधीयानमृत्विजम् ॥  
अरक्षितारं राजानं भार्या चापियवादिनीम् । यामकामं च गोपालं वनकामं च नापितम् ॥  
शान्ति. 57. 43-45.



express citations of Manu in the Anuśāsana, except one, agree very closely with our Manu, while in the other *parvans* the citations agree only up to one-third or one-half. In the first place I demur to the latter statement. The agreements of the citations in the other books are as close and almost as frequent as in the Anuśāsana, e. g. excepting Śānti 21. 12 and 57. 43-45 all citations of Manu therein, referred to above, agree closely with Manu 7. 89, 9. 225-26, 9. 17-19 and 27, 6. 33 and 81, 11. 259-60, 5. 43 and 45 and 48-49. The same is the case with the few citations of Manu in the Vanaparva. Bühler says that the Mahābhārata knew only of the dharmasūtras. But there is positively not one express citation attributed by name to the well-known writers of dharmasūtras, such as Gṛhama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha or Śaṅkha-Likhita. That the Mahābhārata knew several dharmasāstras is clear from over a dozen references to dharmasāstras, often in the plural (e. g. Śānti 167. 4, 298. 40, 341. 74; Anuśāsana 19. 89, 45. 17-20, Vanaparva 207. 83, 293. 35, 313. 105; Ādiparva 3. 32 and 77 etc.). The only place where a sūtrakāra is cited on matters of *dharma* is Anu. 19. 6; but no name is mentioned.<sup>297</sup> Hastisūtra, Āśvasūtra are mentioned in Sabhā 5. 20, but no dharmasūtra or Nītisūtra occurs any where. On the other hand Bühler is not prepared to admit that the views expressly attributed to Manu in the Mahābhārata are taken from a treatise and refers them to a floating mass of verses the authorship of which was unknown and was fathered upon the mythical Manu. Distrust of ancient Indian authors could go no further. Bühler's assumptions are, to say the least, gratuitous and are prompted by his unwillingness to assign an early date to a versified smṛti of Manu. Not only are there identical verses in Manu and the Mahābhārata, but some verses of the latter (e. g. Udyoga 35. 31 and Śānti 111. 66) occur in the Nārada-smṛti (pp. 103 and 26 respectively). In my humble opinion the following seems to be the relation of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. I must state frankly that it is a mere theory, a conjecture which may be taken for what it is worth. Long before the 4th century B. C., there was a work on Dharmasāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu. This work was most probably in verse. There was also another work on Rājadharmā attributed to Prācetasā Manu, which also was prior to the

<sup>297</sup> अनृतः स्त्रियं इत्येवं सूत्रकारो व्यवस्थितिः । अनु. 19. 6; compare मनु 9. 18

निरिन्द्रिया समन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोनृतमिति स्थितिः ।



4th century B. C. It is not unlikely that instead of there being two works there was one comprehensive work embodying rules on *dharma* as well as politics. There is one circumstance that points in this direction. The Mahābhārata quotes a saying (vacana) of Prācetasā which is almost the same as our Manu<sup>298</sup> (3. 54). It is to these works (or work) that Yaska, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Kautilya refer whenever they cite the opinions of Manu or the Mānavas. The Mahābhārata also (particularly in the earlier portions) probably refers to the same. This work was the original kernel of the present Manusmṛti. Then between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. the Manusmṛti was finally recast, probably by Bhṛgu. That work must have compressed the older works in some cases and expanded it in others. This hypothesis would explain why some of the verses and views quoted as Manu's occur in the extant Manusmṛti and why some do not.<sup>299</sup> In my opinion the extant Mahābhārata is later than the extant Manusmṛti. When Nārada mentions the tradition that Sumati Bhārgava compressed the vast work of Manu into 4000 verses, he is somewhat obscurely hinting at the truth. The extant Manusmṛti contains only about 2700 verses. Nārada probably arrives at the larger figure by including the verses attributed to Vṛddha-Manu and Bṛhan-Manu. The influence of the Manusmṛti spread even beyond the confines of India. In A. Bergaigne's 'Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge' (p. 423) we have an inscription in which occur verses,<sup>299a</sup> one of which is identical with Manu (II. 136) and the other is a summary of Manu (III. 77-80).

298 प्राचेतसस्य वचनं कीर्तयन्ति पुराचिद् । यस्याः किञ्चिन्नाददत्ते ज्ञातयो न स विप्रयः ।

अर्हणं तत्कुमारीणामानृशंस्यतमं हि तत् ॥ अनुशासन. 46. 1-2.

299 It is to be noted that so early a writer as शान्तरक्षित in his तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3584, G. O. S.) expressly attributes the verse (पुराणं मानवो धर्मः सङ्गो वेदव्यक्तिसितम् । आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हनुभिः) to मनु which was not commented upon by मेधातिथि and later commentators. शान्तरक्षित flourished about 750 A. D. i. e. a century earlier than मेधातिथि.

299a आचार्यवद् गृहस्थोऽपि माननयो बहुधृतः । अभ्यागतगुणानां च परा विद्येति मानवम् ॥ वित्तं बन्धुर्वयः कर्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी । एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो ययदुत्तरम् ॥ The latter is मनु II. 136 and the former summarises मनु III. 77-80.



The Burmese are governed in modern times by the *dhammathati* which are based on Manu. Vide Dr. Forchhammer's essay on the sources and development of Burmese Law (1885, Rangoon). Dr. E. C. G. Jonker (Leyden 1885) wrote a dissertation on an old Javanese lawbook compared with Indian sources of law like the Manusmṛiti (which is still used as a lawbook in the island of Bali).

Manu had numerous commentators. As to Medhātithi, Govindarāja and Kullūka, vide below sections 63, 76, 88. Besides these Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmacandra also wrote commentaries on Manu. Mr. Mandlik published all these commentaries. Dr. Jolly published (in 1885 for Bengal Asiatic Society) extracts from all these commentaries (except Kullūka's and Rāmacandra's) and from an anonymous Kashmirian commentary on the first three chapters. Asahāya seems to have written a commentary on Manu (vide below section 58). The Vivādaratnākara quotes a commentary on Manu by Udayakara (pp. 455, 560, 583, 590). The same work seems to suggest that Bhāguri wrote a commentary on Manu.<sup>300</sup> For the predecessors of Medhātithi vide sec. 63. Kullūka on Manu 8. 184 tells us that Bhojadeva arranged the four verses of Manu 8. 181-184 in a particular manner and therefore suggests that Bhojadeva probably commented on Manu. He also names a commentator Dharaṇidhara on Manu 2. 83 and says that he was later than Medhātithi. He is also referred to elsewhere by Kullūka (on Manu 4. 50).

The commentator Nārāyaṇa is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. as his commentary is cited by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturvīṃśatimata (vide p. 61 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1907). A ms. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary was written in 1497 A. D. and he appears to have been quoted by Rāyamukuta in 1431 A. D. (Jolly in R. und. S. p. 31). He is later than Govindarāja and flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. Rāghavānanda mentions by name Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa, and Kullūka and so is later than about 1400 A. D. When Nandana flourished it is difficult to say. But he is a late writer. There are several other commentators

300 On मनु 8. 198 the विवादरत्नाकर (p. 104) remarks कल्पतरुकारस्तु अपसरत्यनेन स्वामिनः सकाशाद्गुणमिति प्रतिपद्वादिर्धनयोगायः अपसरः स न विद्यते यस्य तथा । एतच्च भारुमिधानिधिपुत्तिकाराणामनुमतमित्याह ।



mentioned in the catalogues of mss. who may be passed over for want of space.

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69), the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, the Parāśaramādhaviya and other works quote dozens of verses from Vṛddha-Manu on *āhnikā*, *vyavahāra*, and *prayaścitta*. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 20) and other works cite a few verses from Bṛhan-Manu. No independent works going under these names have yet been unearthed. Those works, if they ever existed independently, appear to have been later than our Manu. For example, our Manu is silent about the widow's right to inherit to her husband, but Vṛddha-Manu recognises the right of a chaste widow to take the entire wealth of her husband (Mit. on Yāj. II. 136); similarly Bṛhan-Manu (according to the Mit.) seems to refer to Manu's view about the meaning of 'samānodaka' (Manu 5. 60) and modifies it. It is not unlikely that those verses which were not recognised as Manu's by ancient commentators like Medhātithi and were yet found in the mss. of the Manusmṛti were regarded as Vṛddha- or Bṛhan-Manu.

### 32. The Two Epics

The two epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, contain in numerous places passages bearing on dharmaśāstra and are relied upon as authoritative Smṛtis in later works. The Mahābhārata is styled a dharmaśāstra in the Ādiparva (2. 83).

The Rāmāyaṇa is pre-eminently a kāvya; yet on account of its noble ideals it was almost as popular as the Mahābhārata and is relied upon as a source of *dharma* in the *nibandhas* though much less frequently than the other great epic. The Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (canto 100) and the Āraṇya-kāṇḍa (33) contain disquisitions on politics and state administration. The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 57) quotes the well-known verse of the Rāmāyaṇa (Sundara 59. 31) about cessation of study on the first day of a month.<sup>301</sup> The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 193 and III. p. 416) quotes two verses on *tarpaṇa* and *brāddha* from the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>302</sup> The Hāratalā (pp. 64 and 152) quotes

301 सा प्रकृत्येव तन्वक्त्री तद्वियोगाच्च कर्शिता । प्रतिपत्याटशीलस्य वियेव तनुतां गता ॥

302 पादशीचमनभ्यङ्गं तिलहीनं च तपेणम् । सर्वं तत्र जले तुभ्यं यच्च आद्रुमदक्षिणम् ॥  
इन्द्रदेवदरोर्वीरे रामस्तर्पयते पितृन् । यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ॥

The second verse is almost the same as Ayodhyā 103. 30 and Ayodhyā 104. 15 calls it लौकिकी श्रुति.



verses from the Rāmāyaṇa. Aparārka on Yaj. III. 8-10 quotes four verses from the Rāmāyaṇa on sorrow for the dead.

For considerations of space it is impossible to enter into any discussion as to the age of these two epics, as to the earlier and later strata in them and other allied questions. These questions are passed over here as more appropriate to separate treatises on the epics. The following works will give some idea of the problems connected with these two great heirlooms of Indian antiquity:—*Das Mahābhārata seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form*, by Oldenberg (Göttingen, 1922); *Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch*, by Dahlmann (Berlin 1895); *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata* by Holtzmann (Kiel, 1892-94); *Mahābhārata, a criticism* by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1903); *das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt*, by Dr. Jacobi (Bonn 1893); *The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa* by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1906, Bombay).

In these pages the Bombay oblong edition of the Mahābhārata with the com. of Nilakantha has been used.

In the following table an attempt is made, though not exhaustive, to indicate where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata.

<i>Abhiṣeka</i> (coronation)—Śānti 40.	<i>Dayabhāga</i> —Anu. 45 and 47.
<i>Araṇjaka</i> (evils of anarchy)—Śānti 67.	<i>Putras</i> (of several kinds)—Anu. 48-49.
<i>Ahimsā</i> —Śānti 264 and 266.	<i>Prayaścitta</i> —Śānti 34-35, 165 (33ff).
<i>Āśrama-dharmas</i> —Śānti 61, 243-246.	Brāhmaṇa's means of subsistence—Śānti 76-78.
<i>Ācāra</i> —Anuśāsana 104.	<i>Bhakṣyabhakṣya</i> —Śānti 36, 78.
<i>Āśvamedhika</i> 45.	<i>Rājāniti</i> —Sabhā 5, Vana 150, Udyoga 33-34, Śānti 59-130 and 298, Āśramavāsika 5-7.
<i>Āpad-dharma</i> —Śānti 131 ff.	<i>Varṇadharma</i> —Śānti 60 and 297, mixed castes—Śānti 65, 297 and Anu. 48-49.
<i>Upavāsa</i> —Ann. 106-107.	<i>Vivaha</i> —Anu. 44-46.
<i>Gostuti</i> —Anu. 51 and 73.	<i>Śraddha</i> —Śrīparva 26-27, Anu. 87-95.
<i>Tirthas</i> —Vanaparva 82 ff, Anuśāsana 25-26, Śālya. 35-54.	
<i>Dandastuti</i> —Śānti 15, 121, 268, 295.	
<i>Dana</i> —Vanaparva 186, Śānti 235, Anu. 57-99.	



The following table will give some idea of the topics of dharmaśāstra that are dwelt upon in the Rāmāyaṇa, though briefly. The Gujarati Press Edition (1915-20) is referred to—

<i>Abhiṣeka</i> —Ayodhyā 15, Yuddha 128.	,, 40 (10-14) ,, 41 (1-6)
<i>Arājaka</i> —Ayodhyā 67.	Yuddha 17-18 and
<i>Patakas</i> —Kīṣkindhā 17 (36-37), 18 (22-23) &c.	,, 63.
<i>Rajadharma</i> —Bāla 7, Ayodhyā 100, Aranya 6 (11-14) ,, 9 (2-9) ,, 33	<i>Śraddha</i> —Ayodhyā 77 ,, 103 ,, 111 (104-120) <i>Satyaprasaṁsa</i> —Ayodhyā 109. <i>Stridharma</i> —Ayodhyā 24, 26-27, 29, 39, 117-18.

### 33. The Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas as a class of literature existed from very ancient times. Tai. Ār. (II. 10) speaks of "Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Nārāsaṁsi gāthās."<sup>303</sup> In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII. 1. 2 and 4) "itihāsa-purāṇa" is spoken of as the fifth Veda and the Bṛha-dāraṇyaka (IV. 1. 2) speaks of "Itihāsa and Purāṇa." The Gau-tama Dh. S. (8. 6 and 11. 19) refers to "itihāsa" and "Purāṇa." It is not unlikely that there was originally a single work called Purāṇa. The words of the Matsya that in former ages there was a single Purāṇa probably embody a tradition that has a substratum<sup>304</sup> of truth. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (vol. I. page 9) speaks of Purāṇa in the singular. The Āp. Dh. S. quotes the views of a Purāṇa, twice cites two verses from a Purāṇa, and summarizes the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa.<sup>305</sup> The quotations show that the Purāṇa or

<sup>303</sup> ब्राह्मणान्तीतिहासान् पुराणानि कल्पाग्नाथा नाराजंसीः &c.

<sup>304</sup> पुराणमेकमेवासीत् तदा कल्पान्तरेन च । मत्स्यपुराण chap. 53 (Ānandaśāstrīna ed.).

<sup>305</sup> यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्थुरेव मन्थुं स्पृशति न तस्मिन् दोष इति पुराणे । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7 ; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । उद्यतामाहूतां भिक्षां पुर-स्तदपवेदिताम् । भोज्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥ न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दश वर्षाणि पञ्च च । न च हव्यं वहत्यग्निर्वस्तामभ्यधिमम्यन्ते ॥ इति । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 13 ; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । अष्टाशतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीपिरर्षयः । दक्षिणेनार्धम्यः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भोजिरे ॥ अष्टाशी... प्रजां नेपिरर्षयः । उत्तरे-णार्धम्यः पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पते ॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 23. 3 ; पुनः सर्वे बीजार्था भवन्तीति भविष्यपुराणे । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 24. 6.



Purāṇas contained verses and were composed in a somewhat archaic language. The extant Purāṇas are recasts made of the ancient Purāṇas during the first centuries of the Christian era, when there was a revival and restatement of the ancient Brahmanical religion, philosophy and literature after the onslaughts of Buddhism and Jainism had abated in their strength and fury. The Mahābhārata (Vana. 191. 16) speaks of the Purāṇa promulgated by Vāyu (i. e. the Vāyupurāṇa). Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita refers to the recitation of the Vāyupurāṇa. Kumārilabhāṭṭa in his Tantravārtika (vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1925, p. 122) refers to the subjects dealt with by many of the extant purāṇas and quotes passages that occur in the Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇas. Thus it is clear that at any rate some of the extant purāṇas, if not all, are much earlier than the 6th century A. D.

The orthodox number of the principal purāṇas is 18 and there are 18 Upapurāṇas also. There is considerable divergence about the names of the 18 principal purāṇas. For example, the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 53) enumerates them as follows :—Brāhma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nāradiya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3. 6) on the other hand omits Vāyu from the above list and adds Śaiva. The Sarasvatīvilāsa ( p. 14 ) follows the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. Vide Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 13. 4-8 and commentary thereon for the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

Among comparatively early commentators and writers of digests, it is Aparārka, Ballālasena and Hemādri that quote most profusely from the purāṇas as sources of dharma. We saw above (p. 146) that Kullūka describes passages of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as glosses on Manu. The Matsya-purāṇa is pre-eminently a work containing much dharmasāstra material. For example, chapters 16-22 deal with śrāddha, chapters 55-57 and 59-82 with vratas, chap. 54, 83, 278 with gifts, chap. 93 with śāntis, chap. 102 with tirthas. Similarly in chapters 216-243 the Matsya speaks of rājadharmas. The Viṣṇupurāṇa ( in III, chap. 8-16) contains a good deal of information on the duties of the varṇas and āśramas, nitya and naimittika acts, good manners for a householder, the five great yajñas, jātakarma and other saṁskāras, impurity on death, śrāddha &c. Viṣṇudharmottara (Venkateśvara Press) in the 2nd khaṇḍa contains several chapters dealing with matters of



dharma, e. g. chap. 21 gives the qualifications of state officers, chap. 65-72 speak of rājadharmā, expedients of policy, punishments, 73-74 deal with prāyaścittas, 75 with impurity on death and birth, 79 with purification of dravyas, 80-81 with the four varṇas and mixed castes, 60 with various purely legal matters. The Agnipurāṇa also in chapters 220-225, 227, 233-242 contains a disquisition on rājadharmā. Almost the whole of the vyavahāra section in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti occurs in chapters 253-258 of the Agnipurāṇa (Ānandaśrama edition) and many verses in chap. 253 are identical with verses of the Nārada-smṛti. The Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93-106) contains about 400 verses that are taken from the first and third sections of Yājñavalkya though not in the same order.

The chronology of the purāṇas is, like that of the epics, a subject full of perplexing problems and is hence passed over here.

The annexed table will give an idea as to what topics of dharmaśāstra are dealt with in the principal purāṇas.

The constitution of the original text of the purāṇas is a Herculean task which has not yet been attempted. Not only is there difference of opinion among the purāṇas about the names of the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas, but there is divergence as regards the extent of the several purāṇas. For example, the commentator Viṣṇucitta of the Viṣṇupurāṇa says (on III. 6. 20-22) that the extent of the Viṣṇupurāṇa is variously given at 8000, 9000, 10000, 22000, 24000, but that he comments on a text of 6000 ślokas only. The Agnipurāṇa (272. 10-11) says that it contains 12000 ślokas, while the Bhāgavata (XII. 13), the Brahmavaivarta, the Padma (ādi. 62) say that it contains 15400 ślokas and the Skanda (V. 3) and the Matsya 53 give the extent of the Agni as 16000. The Kūrma, according to the Bhāgavata contains 17000, according to the Matsya 18000 and only 8000 according to the Agni (272. 19). Though there is a remarkable continuity in India as to religious thoughts and practices, yet the popular religion of modern Hindus is pre-eminently purāṇic. The purāṇas contain thousands of ślokas on dharmaśāstra matters, they are a rich mine awaiting exploration by careful students of social and religious questions and shed a flood of light on the development of religious beliefs and practices in medieval and modern India. Therefore the re-constitution of the text of the purāṇas is a problem that will have to be tackled in the near future. Besides the several Mahā-



purāṇas, eighteen Upapurāṇas also are enumerated in some of the Purāṇas. Vide Garuḍa (223, 17 ff), Skanda (V. 3. chap. 1. 45-62 and VII. 1. chap. 2), Padma (Pātala-khaṇḍa chap. 111. 95-98) and Matsya (53. 59 ff) for Upapurāṇas.<sup>305a</sup> Besides the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas, there are other works of the purāṇa class such as Gaṇeśa, Maudgala, Devi, Kalki &c. The Padmapurāṇa (Uttarakhaṇḍa chap. 263) divides the 18 purāṇas into three groups, *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*, and says that the Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varāha are *sāttvika*. The Matsya (53) also speaks of this division. The Liṅgapurāṇa (39. 63-66) speaks of the twenty expounders of dharma just as Yājñavalkya does and quotes the two verses in the form in which the Mit. presents them (and not Viśvarūpa), while the Padma (Uttarakhaṇḍa 263. 86-89) divides the eighteen smṛtis into three groups of *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*.<sup>305b</sup> It would be quite clear to any reader of the purāṇas and the smṛtis that most of the former in their extant form are later than the smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada &c.

The following table will give some idea as to how the eighteen principal purāṇas are rich in dharmaśāstra material. Besides the eighteen principal purāṇas, the Kālika-purāṇa (Venkatesvara press ed.) and the Saura-purāṇa (Ānandaśrama ed.) have been drawn upon. The Ānandaśrama edition of the Agni and Padma, the Nirṇayasāgara edition (1905) of the Bhāgavata, the Poona edition (1870 Jagaddhīnēcchu Press) of the Matsya have been referred to here and the Venkatesvara editions of all the other purāṇas.

305a अन्यानुपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि न । आद्यं सनत्कुमारोक्तं नारसिंहमथापरम् ॥  
तृतीयं स्कान्द- ( नान्द ? ) मुद्गलं कुमारं तु भार्गवतम् । चतुर्थं शिवधर्मस्य स्यान्न-  
न्दिश्वरभाषितम् ॥ दुर्वाससोक्तमाश्वयं नारदाकमतः परम् । कापिलं वामनं चैव  
तथैवांशनसंरितम् ॥ ब्रह्मण्डं वारुणं चाथ कालिकाव्ययमेव च । माहेश्वरं तथा साम्बं  
सारं सर्वार्थसंचयनम् । पराशरोक्तमप्यं मारीचं भार्गवाह्वयम् ॥ गरुड. 223. 17-20.

305b वासिष्ठं चैवं हारीतं व्यासं पाराशरं तथा । भारद्वाजं काश्यपं च सान्निवका मुक्तिदाः  
शुभाः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यं तथैत्रियं तैत्तिरीं दाक्षमेव च । कात्यायनं वैष्णवं च राजसाः  
स्वर्गदाः शुभाः ॥ गोतमं बाह्यस्पत्यं च सांयनं च यमं स्मृतम् । शाङ्गं चौशनसं देवि  
तामसा निरयमदाः ॥



*Ācāra*—Brahma 113; Garuḍa 50; Kālikā 88; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 13; Liṅga (pūrvārdha) 89; Mārkaṇḍeya 31; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 26; Padma (Ādi 52-56, pātālakhanda 9, sṛṣṭikhanda 46); Skanda I (Kaumārīkā 41), III. (dharmāranya 6), IV. I (pūrvārdha 38, 40); Śiva (kailāsaśatīhitā) chap. 18-20 (on ācāra of yati, making of a disciple; yogapatta); Vāyu 16; Viṣṇu III. 11-12.

*Ābhika*—Agni 155; Brahmavivarta (Brahmakhanda) 26; Garuḍa 50 and 213-217; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 18-19; Liṅga 26; Mārkaṇḍeya 27; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 27; Padma (sṛṣṭi 46, uttara 233); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 35 and III. 2 (dharmāranya-khanda) chap. 3.

*Āśauca*—Agni 157-158 (both kinds, on death and birth); Brahma 113 (on birth); Garuḍa (preta-khanda) chap. 5; Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 23); Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89).

*Āśramadharmas*—Agni 160-161; Bhāgavata VII. 12 and 13, XI. 17; Brahma 114; Garuḍa 49; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 14-16 (brahmacārin and grhastha) and 27-28 (vānaprastha and yati); Mārkaṇḍeya 25-26; Nārada (pūrvārdha 27 and 43); Padma (ādikhanda 58-60

for vānaprastha and yati, bhūmikhanda 59 for grhastha, sṛṣṭikhanda 15); Saura 17, 20 (vānaprastha and saṁnyāsin); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 41 (vānaprastha and yati); Viṣṇu III. 9.

*Bhaksyābhaksya*—Brahmavivarta (brahmakhanda 27, 4th khanda, uttarārdha chap. 85); Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 17); Padma (ādikhanda 56).

*Brāhmaṇa*—vide under *varṇa-dharmas*; greatness of -Padma (brahmakhanda chap. 14 and sṛṣṭikhanda chap. 45); duties of -Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 12 and 19); Saura 18; who is a worthy-Padma (sṛṣṭi 15); means of livelihood for -Kūrma (uttarārdha 25), Padma (sṛṣṭi 45).

*Dāna*—vide under *pratiṣṭhā* and *utsarga*.

Agni 209-213 (mahādānas); Bhaviṣya IV. 150 ff; Brahma 109 (specially annadāna); Brahmavivarta (prakṛtikhanda 27); Garuḍa 51; Kūrma, uttarārdha 26 (4 kinds, nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vimāla); Liṅga, uttarārdha 28 (16 mahādānas); Matsya 81-91, 205-206, 274-289 (16 mahādānas); Nārada (pūrvārdha 13 and 31, uttarārdha 41-42); Padma (ādi 57, bhūmikhanda 39-40 and 94, brahmakhanda



24, sṛṣṭi 45 on godāna and 75, uttara 27 on *annadāna*, 28 and 33); Saura 9-10; Śiva (Umāsaṁhitā chap. 11 and 14); Skanda I (Kaumārīka-khaṇḍa 2 for names of famous donors), III. 2 (dharmāraṇya 34), VII. I. 5 and 208; Varāha 99-111.

*Dravyāśuddhi*—Agni 156; Bhāgavata XI. 21; Brahma 113; Liṅga (pūrvārḍha 89); Mārkaṇḍeya 32.

*Gotra and Pravara*—Matsya 194-201; Skanda III. 2 (dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa) 9.

*Kalīśvarūpa*—vide under *Yugadharma*s.

Brahma 122-123; Brahmanḍa (anuśaṅgapāda chap. 31); Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 7); Kūrma 30; Liṅga 40; Nāradiya (pūrvārḍha 41); Skanda I (Kaumārīka-khaṇḍa chap. 40 and 218-248), II (puruṣottamamahātmya chap. 39), VI. 272; Vāyu I. 58.

*Kalivarjya*—Nārada (pūrvārḍha chap. 24).

*Karmavipāka*—Brahma 108; Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 26 and 28 and 4th khaṇḍa uttarārḍha 85); Mārkaṇḍeya 15; Padma (Brahma-khaṇḍa 5, pātālakhaṇḍa 48); Vāmana 12.

*Narakas*—vide under *pātakas*. Agni 203 and 371; Brahma 20

(25 names given), 105 (22 names); Brahmavaivarta, prakṛtikhaṇḍa 29 (for names of 86 narakakuṇḍas) and 33; Padma (uttara, chap. 227 for names of 140); Śiva (umāsaṁhitā chap. 8 for 28 narakas and chap. 16); Skanda I (kaumārīka-khaṇḍa 39), VI. 226-227, Viṣṇu I. 6. and II. 6.

*Niti*—vide under *rājadharmas*. Garuḍa 108-114 (summary of Bṛhaspati-niti) and 115 (summary of Śaunaka).

*Pātakas*—vide under *prāyaścitta*. Agni 168 (mahāpātakas and lesser sins); Brahma 20 and 105-106; Mārkaṇḍeya 12-14; Nārada (pūrvārḍha 15); Śiva (umāsaṁhitā 5 for mahāpātakas and 6 for upapātakas).

*Pratiṣṭhā*—Agni 38-106 (building and consecration of temples, idols of Viṣṇu &c); Garuḍa 45-48, Padma (uttarakhaṇḍa chap. 122 and 127 for Śalagrāma); Matsya 258-270; Śiva I (vidyeśvara-saṁhitā chap. 11).

*Prāyaścitta*—Agni 170-174; Brahmanḍa (upasaṁhārapāda chap. 8); Garuḍa 52 (specially for *mahāpātakas*) and 222; Kūrma, uttarārḍha 30-34; Liṅga 90 (for lapses of *yatis*); Nārada, pūrvārḍha 14 and 30; Padma (brahma-khaṇḍa 18-19); Saura 52; Varāha 68



(for *agamyāgamana*), 131-136  
(for various lapses), 179;  
Vāyu (pūrvārdha 18 for lapses  
of *yati*).

*Rājadharmā*—Agni 220-242; Kā-  
likā 87; Mārkaṇḍeya 24;  
Matsya 216-227, 240

*Saṃskāra*—*vide* under *Vivāha*  
also.

Agni 153-154 and 166;  
Bhaviṣya I (Brāhmaparva  
chap. 3-4 and 7); Nārada,  
pūrvārdha 25-26; Skanda IV.  
I (pūrvārdha 36 and 38);  
Viṣṇu III. 10.

*Śanti*—Agni 149, 164, 167, 259-  
268, 290-91, 320-324; Bha-  
viṣya IV chap. 141 ff; Brah-  
mavaivarta IV (uttarārdha  
chap. 82); Matsya 92-93 and  
228-239

*Śraddhas*—Agni 117 (according  
to Kātyāyana) and 163;  
Brahma 110-113, Brahmāṇḍa  
(upodghātapaṇḍa 9-20);  
Kūrma, uttarārdha 20-22;  
Mārkaṇḍeya 27-30; Liṅga,  
uttarārdha 45 (jīvat-śraddha);  
Matsya 16-22; Nārada,  
pūrvārdha 128; Padma  
(pātālakhanda 101, sṛṣṭi 9-11  
and 47); Śiva (kailāsa-  
sāṃhitā 21-23) (about after-  
death rites of *yati*); Saura  
19; Skanda VI. 215-225 and  
VII. I. chap. 205-207;  
Varāha 13-14 and 187-188;  
Vāyu (uttarārdha chap. 10-  
21); Viṣṇu III. 13-16.

*Strīdharmā* Bhāgavata VII. 11;  
Bhaviṣya I chap. 11-15;  
Brahmavaivarta (brahma-  
khanda 9 about greatness  
of *pati*, 4th khanda,  
uttarārdha 83 (about *pati-  
vratā*); Padma (bhūmikhanda  
41, pātāla 102, sṛṣṭi 47 and 49,  
uttara 234 (duties of wife and  
co-wives); Śiva (rudrasāṃ-  
hitā, Pārvatīkhanda 54);  
Skanda III. 2. (dharmāranya-  
khanda 7).

*Tīrtha*—Agni 109-116; Bhāga-  
vata VII. 14; Brahma 23, 26  
(Kopārka in Orissa), 39  
(Ekāmra), 40-48 (Jagannā-  
tha), 54 (Mahākālā at Ujja-  
yīni); Garuḍa 81-86; Kūrma,  
pūrvārdha 31-35 (Benares),  
36-38 (Prayāga), uttarārdha  
35-44; Liṅga, pūrvārdha 92;  
Matsya 179-183 and 188-193;  
Nārada, uttarārdha 39-40  
(Gāṅgāsnāna), 45-47 (Gayā),  
48-49 (Benares), 50 (Śiva-  
liṅgas), 52-61 (Jagannātha),  
62-81 (numerous tīrthas);  
Padma I. 13-49, Padma,  
bhūmikhanda 90 and 92,  
sṛṣṭīkhanda 14-15 and 18-19,  
60, uttarakhanda 2, 20-25,  
113, 129 (numerous tīrthas  
named), 130-169, 195; Saura  
67; Śiva I. 12 (koṭirudra-  
sāṃhitā 1-2, 8-33); Skanda I.  
(aruṇācala-māhātmya, utta-  
rārdha 2), II (puruṣottama-



māhātmya 1-49); II. Badarikā-māhātmya 1-8; III. 1; III 2. 31; V. 3 (Revākhaṇḍa is full of tirthas in 232 chapters) and also VI and VII; Vāmana 33-42 and 50; Varāha 141-176; Vāyu, uttarārdha 43-50 (Gayā).

*Tithi*—*vide* under *vratas* also. Brahma 120 (ekādaśī); Nārada, pūrvārdha 29 (what tithi should be taken, *paraviddha* or *pūrvaviddha*); Nārada, uttarārdha 2; Padma, brahmakhaṇḍa 13 (janmāṣṭami), 15 (ekādaśī); Saura 31; Vātāha 23-35 (all tithis from 1st to amāvāsya).

*Utsarga*—(works of public utility such as tanks and wells, parks, prapās &c.)—*vide* under *dāna* and *pratiṣṭhā*.

Bhaviṣya II; Nārada, pūrvārdha 13; Padma, sṛṣṭi 54-56, uttara 28; Śiva (Vidyēśvarasamhitā 11).

*Varṇadharma*—Agni 151; Bhāgavata VII. 11. and XI. 17; Brahma 114-115; Garuḍa 49; Mārkaṇḍeya 25; Nārada, pūrvārdha 24, 43, 59, 70; Skanda VI. 242; Viṣṇu III. 8. mixed castes-Brahmavaivarta (Brahmakhaṇḍa 10).

*Vivāha*—*vide* under *samskāra*. Padma, uttara 223 and 232; Skanda IV, pūrvārdha 38.

*Vrata*—Agni 175-200, 204 (upavāsa); Bhaviṣya I. 17 ff, IV (several hundred vratas); Brahma 27 (upavāsa); Brahmavaivarta (4th khaṇḍa, pūrvārdha 8 and 26); Garuḍa 116-137, Liṅga, pūrvārdha 83-84; Nārada, pūrvārdha 17-22, 110-124; Matsya 54-80, 94-100; Padma (bhūmi 87, brahmakhaṇḍa 3-4, 7, 11, 13, 15-16, 21-23, pātālakhaṇḍa 86-96, 108, sṛṣṭi 20-24, 31, 76, 79-82, uttara 26, 31-32, 35-65, 66-71, 78, 85, 97, 125, 170, 240-41, 262; Skanda I. (kedāra 33), II. 4. 1-36, II. 5 and 7, V. I. 60-61, VI. 232-241; Śiva (Kotirudrasamhitā 38-40, Umāsamhitā 51); Varāha 39-65.

*Vyavahāra*—Agni 253-258; Skanda I. (Kāumārikākhaṇḍa) 44 (eight ordeals described).

*Yugadharma*—*vide* also under *Kalivarāṇa*.

Garuḍa 223; Liṅga 39; Matsya 141-143, 164; Nārada, pūrvārdha 41; Skanda VI. 272; Vāyu I. 32 and 58.



## 34. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti

This Smṛti has been published dozens of times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition edited by Śāstri Moghe (1892 A. D.) has been used and the Trivandrum edition when speaking of Viśvarūpa.

The name of Yājñavalkya is one of the most illustrious among Vedic sages. He is credited with having promulgated the White Yajurveda. In the Śāntiparva (chap. 312) we are told that there was a rupture between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya and that by worshipping the Sun the latter received the revelation of the White Yajurveda, the Śatapatha &c. The accounts in the Viṣṇu (3. 5), the Bhāgavata (XII. 6. 61-74) and other purāṇas differ somewhat from the one in the Mahābhārata, but all agree on the fact of the strained relations between Yājñavalkya and his teacher. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in several places alludes to the dialogues of Yājñavalkya and king Janaka of Videha on agnihotra (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 46). Vide Śatapatha (ed. by Weber) XI. 6. 2. At the end of the Śatapatha we are told that Vājasaneyi Yājñavalkya promulgated the bright Yajus formulæ from the Sun.<sup>306</sup> In the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya appears as a great philosopher teaching the recondite doctrines of Brahma and immortality to one of his two wives, the philosophically minded Maitreyī (II. 4 and IV. 5). In the same Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya is represented as carrying away the one thousand cows set apart by Janaka for the most learned Brāhmaṇa (III. 1. 1-2) and Yājñavalkya is said to have imparted to Janaka the knowledge of the destiny of the soul after it is released from the bonds of flesh and worldly affections. Kātyāyana in his Vārtika on Paṇini (IV. 3. 105)<sup>307</sup> speaks of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and very heated controversies have raged round the correct interpretation of the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya thereon (vide Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 360, Goldstücker's Paṇini, p. 132 ff and S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. xxxv-xxxviii). It is to be noted that in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti itself<sup>308</sup> (III. 110) the

<sup>306</sup> आदित्यानीमानि युक्तानि यजुषि वाजसनेयेन याज्ञवल्क्येनाख्यायन्ते । शतपथ XIV. 9. 4. 33.

<sup>307</sup> पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । पा. III. 3. 105.

<sup>308</sup> ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्याद्वाप्तवान् । योगशास्त्रं च मत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सता ॥ याज्ञ. III. 110.



author, whoever he may be, claims the authorship of the Āraṇyaka that he received from the Sun and the Yogaśāstra composed by him. This is simply put in to glorify the Yājñavalkya-smṛti as the work of a great and ancient sage, philosopher and yogin. From the style and the doctrines of the smṛti it is impossible to believe that it was the work of the same hand that gave to the world the Upaniṣad containing the boldest philosophical speculation couched in the simplest yet the most effective language. Even orthodox Indian opinion was not prepared to admit the unity of authorship in the case of the smṛti and the Āraṇyaka. The Mitākṣarā says at the beginning that a certain pupil of Yāj. abridged the dharmaśāstra in the form of a dialogue.<sup>309</sup> It will be shown later on that, though the sage who promulgated the Āraṇyaka and the author of the smṛti cannot be identical, yet the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is much more closely connected with the White Yajurveda and the literature particularly belonging to it than with any other Veda.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti contains (in the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of 1892) 1010 verses, while the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Viśvarūpa contains 1003 verses and Aparārka gives 1006 (Ānandaśrama edition). The difference in the number is mostly due to the fact that Viśvarūpa in the first section on ācāra omits five verses that occur in the Mitākṣarā.<sup>310</sup> As regards one of them (the verse 'rathyākardamatoyāni' I. 197 according to the Mit.) Viśvarūpa notices it and says that some read it after the verse "mukhajā vipruṣā" and that it adds nothing to what precedes. Aparārka explains that verse. In the second section on vyavahāra Viśvarūpa reads verses<sup>311</sup> which do not exist in the Mitākṣarā nor in Aparārka. On the other hand Viśvarūpa seems to doubt the authenticity of the well-known verse on re-union and reads it also

309 याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यः कश्चित्पुत्रश्चेतिरूपे याज्ञवल्क्यप्रणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षेप्य कथयामास ।

310 Viz. the verses आज्ञासंपादिनी (I. 76), रथ्याकर्मनोयानि (I. 197), यावद्दत्तस्य पादौ (I. 207), two half verses तथाच्छादनदानं च (I. 232) and अपहता इति तिलान् (I. 234), दध्यन्त (I. 289).

311 For example, the verse आग्नेन विशुद्धेन भोगो याति प्रमाणताम् । अविशुद्धाग्नौ भोगः प्रमाणं नाधिगच्छति । (Tri. ed. II. 29) and कुलानि जातयः श्रेष्ठो गणान् जनपदानपि । स्वधर्माच्चलितान् राजा विनीय स्थापयेत्पाथि ॥ (Tri. ed. II. 24) do not occur in the Mit. The first is नारद (ऋणादान 85) and also occurs in the अमिपुराण 253. 56-57.



differently<sup>312</sup> (anyodaryasya saṁsr̥ṣṭi). Not only this but in some cases the arrangement of verses is not the same in both Viśvarūpa and the Mit. For example, verses 14-29 of the prāyaścitta section present very different sequences in both. What is verse 29 in the Trivandrum edition is verse 19 in the Mit. Besides the Mit. reads one verse (III. 23 ā dantajanmanah &c.) which is wanting in Viśvarūpa and is also not commented upon by Aparārka. Viśvarūpa adds two half verses,<sup>313</sup> which do not occur in the Mit. and Aparārka. There is further a good deal of variance in the readings adopted by Viśvarūpa and the Mit., though the meaning is not often affected. For example, the two verses enumerating the names of writers on dharma are differently worded in both.<sup>314</sup> But Medhātithi favours the reading of Viśvarūpa.<sup>315</sup> Viśvarūpa reads "asvattam lokavidviṣṭam" (I. 155) and notices a reading "asvantam", while the Mit. reads "asvargyam loka&c.". Both the Mit. and Aparārka read "pitā pitāmaho bhrātā &c." (I. 63), while Viśvarūpa reads "pitā mātāmaho bhrātā", remarks that "mātāmaha" is put in earlier as a guardian for marriage for metrical reasons and then notices "pitā pitāmaho bhrātā" as a various reading. Even in the days of Viśvarūpa there were various readings in Yāj. (Vide com. on I. 1, 2, 51, II. 119, 179 etc.).

The Agnipurāṇa affords an excellent check for the consideration of the text of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. A good-sized monograph will be required to deal exhaustively with the questions raised by the comparison of the vyavahāra portion of the Agnipurāṇa with Yājñavalkya's vyavahāra-kāṇḍa. I shall only briefly examine the materials and state the conclusions at which I have arrived. We know that Viśvarūpa, the first extant commentator of Yāj., flourished about 800-825 A. D. The author of the Mitākṣarā flourished about 250 years later. Interesting results follow by a comparison of the text that these two commentators had before them with the

<sup>312</sup> अत्रापरे पूर्वश्लोकविवरणस्थानियमिमं श्लोकं पठन्ति अन्योदर्यस्य संसृष्टी &c. (II. 143).

<sup>313</sup> The two half verses are ब्राह्मणस्य दशहं तु भवति प्रेतसूतकम् । (19 a) and प्रायानाशकशस्त्राभिर्विपात्यैरिच्छनां स्वयं (24 b) in Tri. ed.

<sup>314</sup> Vide note 258 above.

<sup>315</sup> अतः स्मर्तृपरिगणना मनुर्विष्णुर्यमोज्झिरा इति निर्मूला तथा हि पैडीनासि-वीधायन-मचेतःप्रभृतयः शिष्टैरेवंरूपाः स्मर्यन्ते । न च परिगणनायामन्तर्भाषिताः । मेधा० on मनु II. 6.



**Agnipurāṇa.** I shall select chap. 256 of the Agnipurāṇa for a detailed examination. It contains 36 verses which all occur in Yaj. II. (verses 118-153 of Tri. ed. and verses 114-149 of the Mit. ). It is found that the Agnipurāṇa agrees with the text of 12 verses word for word as contained in Viśvarūpa and 19 verses as contained in the Mit. Viśvarūpa puts three verses between the two verses 'pitṛdravyāvināśena &c' and 'kramādabhyāgataṁ dravyaṁ', while the Mit. brings the two verses together. Agnipurāṇa agrees with Viś. In several cases the readings of the Agnipurāṇa agree with Viśvarūpa's text and not with that of the Mit. For example, Agni. reads 'kāryaṁ patnyaḥ samāṁśikāḥ' with Viś. (119), reads 'bhūryā . . . dravyam-eva vā . . . putrasya cobhayoḥ' with Viś. (124), reads 'pitṛdravyāvināśena' (and not 'vyāvirodhena' as Mit. does) with Viś. (122), reads 'dadyāt-cāpaharec-cāṁśaṁ' with Viś. (142 b), reads 'patitas-tatsutaḥ klībaḥ' with Viś. (144 a), reads 'aprajāyā-matītāyām' with Viś. (148). The Agnipurāṇa however in a far larger number of cases agrees with the readings of the Mit. Agni (256. 8) reads with the Mit. (122) 'vibhakteṣu suto jānaḥ savarnāyāṁ vibhāgabhaḥ', Agni. (256. 10) reads 'mātāpyaṁśaṁ samāṁ harec' with the Mit. (123), while Viś. (127) reads 'mātāpyaṁśaṁ samāpnuyāt.' Viśvarūpa's reading leaves it undecided as to what the share of the mother is to be, while the Mit. makes it definite by stating that it is equal (to that of a son). Agni (256. 12) reads 'catus-tri-dvyeka-bhāgāḥ syuḥ' and 'vidjāstu dvyekabhāginaḥ' with the Mit. (125); Agni. (256. 21) reads '-rdhabhāgikaṁ' with the Mit. (134). Agni. (256. 27) reads 'andho'cikitsyarogādyā' with the Mit. (140), while Viś. (144) reads 'rogī ca.' The reading of the Mit. makes provision by the word 'adya' for other persons like deaf-mutes mentioned in other smṛtis as not entitled to inherit, while Viś. has to put a forced interpretation on 'ca' as including such persons. The Agni (256. 33) reads 'vyayaṁ dadyāt-ca sodayam' with the Mit. (146), while Viś. (150) reads 'dāpyaḥ-ca sodayam'. Agni (256. 36) reads 'vibhāgabhāvanā jñeyā grha-kṣetraḥ-ca yautakāḥ' with the Mit. (149), while Viś. (153) reads 'bhāvanādeyagrha-kṣetrakayautakāḥ'. Here the former reading is easy and gives a complete sentence. With Viś. we have to separate 'bhāvanā' and 'ādeya &c.'. Besides no predicate (like jñeyā or kāryā) is expressly mentioned in the verse if we take the reading of Viś. and the 'ka' in 'kṣetraka' is a redundancy. We find that the tendency of the readings of the Mit. is to smooth down



harsh or involved constructions and that the Agnipurāṇa presents most of the changes in the text found in the Mit. but not found in Viś. In the same direction points the fact that Agni (256. 35) reads 'na dattam stridhanam yasyai' with the Mit. ( 148 ) and not 'yasyā' as Viś. (152) does, as 'yasyai' is grammatically more regular than 'yasyāḥ' with the form 'dattam'. But as against this we may note that both Viś. and Agni read 'aprajāyāmanitāyam', while the Mit. reads 'atitāyāmaprajasi'. The reading 'aprajasi' is correct according to Pāṇini ( V. 4. 122 ) and not 'aprajāyāni'. Therefore the conclusion that follows is that the text of Yāj. preserved in the Agnipurāṇa is intermediate between the text of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā. As Viśvarūpa flourished about 800-825 A. D., the Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current somewhat later i. e. about 900 A. D. In my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' ( pp. III-V ) I established, from the fact that the extant Agnipurāṇa quotes Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha and knew the theory of *dhvani*, that it was composed about 900 A. D. That date is strikingly corroborated by the evidence derived from the chapters on vyavahāra discussed above. It is no doubt true that the Agni presents some readings that are found neither in Viś. nor in the Mit. For example, it reads ( 256. 4 ) 'tābhya rte'rpayet', while both Viś. and Mit. read 'tābhya rte'nvayah'. It is probable that this is an error of the copyists or the reading may be due to the difficulty of understanding the meaning of 'anvayah' there. Agni reads ( 256. 5 ) 'svayam - arjayet' for 'svayam - arjitam' ( of Viś. and Mit. ), and 'jatopi dasyām śūdrasya' ( 256. 20 ) for 'śūdreṇa' ( of Viś. and Mit. ). A detailed examination of the other chapters on vyavahāra will yield the same results. But it cannot be undertaken here. A few examples may however be cited. Viś. ( II. 167 ) reads 'pālo yeṣām ca te mocyā daiva- rājapariplutāḥ', Agni ( 257. 14 ) 'pālo yeṣām tu te mocyā daivarājapariplutāḥ', while Mit. ( 163 ) reads 'pālo yeṣām na te . . . tāḥ'. Similarly Viś. ( II. 179 ) and Agni ( 257. 26 ) read 'svakumbāvirodhena deyam' while the Mit. ( 175 ) reads 'svam kṣumbāvirodhena'. Viś. ( II. 203 ) reads 'galat - sabhikavṛddhistu', while both Agni ( 257. 49 ) and Mit. ( 199 ) read 'glahe śatikavṛddhestu', which certainly is an easier reading. Agni 258. 45 occurs in Mit. ( 255 ), but is wanting in Viśvarūpa. Yāj. II. 228 in Viś. becomes in the Mit. verse 263, Agni. following the order of Viśvarūpa.



The total number of verses on vyavahāra in Agnipurāṇa, chap. 253-258, is 315. Out of this the first 31 are not taken from Yāj. All of them except the first half verse and verse 31 (chap. 253) occur in Nārada. Of the remaining 284 verses, only 4½ (Agni 253. 35, 255. 43a, 255. 49b and 50, 258. 83) do not occur in Yāj. (in both Viś. and Mit.). There are also a few verses that occur in the Agnipurāṇa and in Viśvarūpa, but not in the Mit. and also a few verses that are common to the Mit. and Agni but are not found in Viś. The first three verses of Yāj. II are compressed by the Agnipurāṇa into 1½ verses.

The Garuḍapurāṇa affords, like the Agnipurāṇa, material help towards examining the authoritativeness of the text of the first and third sections of Yāj. The Agnipurāṇa does not expressly say that it drew upon Yāj., but the Garuḍapurāṇa is explicit on the point. In chap. 93. 1. it is expressly said that the *dharma* formerly promulgated by Yājñavalkya is being narrated 'Yājñavalkyena yat (yah?) pūrvam dharmam (dharmah?) proktam (°taḥ?) katham Hare ! tan me kathaya keśighna yathā tattvena Mādhava u'. Chapters 93-106 contain dharmasāstra material more or less taken from the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. There are 376 verses in these chapters. Considerations of space forbid any detailed examination of this material. A few salient facts only are brought out here. Chapters 93-102 deal with the several topics (prakaraṇas) of the first kāṇḍa in the same order, the only exception being the topic of rājadharmā (I. 309-368), which is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa. Chapters 102-106 treat of topics that occur in the third kāṇḍa of Yāj. and contain 121 verses only. In these chapters the order of the prakaraṇas in Yāj. is not observed at all, but Garuḍa speaks of them in the following order, vānaprastha-prakaraṇa, yati, karmavivāka, prāyaścitta, āśauca and āpaddharma (the last two being the first two prakaraṇas in Yāj.). A feature which strikes one as regards the Garuḍapurāṇa (particularly chap. 102-106) is that a few verses only of Yāj. are repeated word for word, that very often the Garuḍapurāṇa gives only a summary by omitting and transposing the words and phrases of the original and that sometimes it adds verses of its own. This may be illustrated by what the Garuḍa says on vānaprastha and yati (chap. 102-103, 12 verses in all). Chap. 102 begins 'vānaprasthāśramam vakṣye tac-chṛṇvantu maharṣayaḥ i putreṣu bhāryām nikṣīpya vanam gacchet sahaiva vā ||'. The latter



half is a paraphrase of Yāj. III. 15a. Then III. 45b-46 (Mit.) = Garuḍa 102. 2-3a (with slight variations), III. 47 = Garuḍa 102-4 b-5a; III. 48 = 3b-4a; III. 49-50 = Garuḍa 5b (‘pakṣe māsetha vā-śñīyād-dantolūkhaliko bhavet, which summarises and retains some words of the original), III. 71 = Garuḍa 102. 6a (cāndtāyapīsvaped-bhumau karma kuryāt phaladinā, which includes a few words of III. 49b also), III. 52 = Garuḍa 6b-7a (the last pāda in Garuḍa is ‘yogābhyāsāt dinam nayet’, while in Yāj. it is ‘śaktyā vāpi tapaś caret’), III. 53 = Garuḍa 102. 7. Chap. 203 contains only five verses. III. 56, 58-59 = Garuḍa 103. 1b-4a (with variants) and then Garuḍa adds 1½ verses which are not found in Yāj. (viz. ‘bhavet-paramaharṣo vā ekadaṇḍi yamāditaḥ || siddha-yogas-tyajan deham-amṛtatvam-ihāpnuyāt | dātātīhipriyo jñānī grhī śrāddhepi mucyate ||’). The mere fact that a prakaraṇa is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa should cast no doubt on the existence of that prakaraṇa in the original Yāj. We do not know on what principles the borrowing took place. Besides we find that such prakaraṇas as Vināyakaśānti and grahaśānti are included in the Garuḍa (chap. 100-101), while rājadharmā-prakaraṇa is omitted. We know that ‘rājadharmā’ figures in the sūtras and Manu, but none of the ancient dharmaśūtras, nor the Manusmṛti speaks of Vināyaka. Hence conclusions must be drawn only from what positively occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and not from the absence of any topic in it. The Garuḍapurāṇa sometimes follows the arrangement and form of the verses presented in Viś., sometimes it agrees with the Mit. and sometimes it is independent. For example, the two verses enumerating the authors of dharmaśāstras (Yāj. 1. 4-5 = Garuḍa 93. 4-5) follow the readings of Viś., but not those of the Mit. In the 3rd kanda, verses 14-19 of the Mit. are differently arranged by Viś., and Viś. omits (as does Aparātka also) one verse found in the Mit. (III. 23) as said above, while the Mit. omits two half verses that are found in Viś. (vide note 313). The verse ‘ā danta &c.’ occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and the two half verses in Viś. omitted by the Mit. are also omitted in Garuḍa. So far the Garuḍapurāṇa agrees with the arrangement preserved in the Mit. But it does not agree entirely with the Mit. The verse ‘ādanta &c.’ is III. 23 in the Mit. and occurs before ‘ahastvadatta°’ but in the Garuḍa it occurs before ‘trirātram daśarātram vā’ (which is III. 18 in the Mit.). Besides verse 22 of the Mit. is read differently in the Garuḍa (daśa dyādaśa varṇa-



nām tathā pañcadaśaiva ca | trimśad dināni ca tathā bhavati preta-sūtakam ). It must therefore be said that the Garuḍapurāṇa represents an intermediate stage of readings between Viś. and the Mit. As the Garuḍapurāṇa was a popular work read by and recited for the benefit of slightly educated or illiterate people, it often introduces changes to suit their understanding. For example, the Mit. ( I. 296 ) reads ( as also Viś. ) 'sūryaḥ somo mahīputraḥ somaputro brhaspatiḥ', while Garuḍa reads ( chap. 101. 2 ) 'sūryaḥ somo maṅgalaś ca budhaś caiva brhaspatiḥ,' thus substituting the well-known words Maṅgala and Budha for mahīputra and somaputra. The verse 'kṛtāgnikāryo bhūijita' ( I. 31 in the Mit. ) is placed by Viś. after 'ekadeśam - upādhyāya,' while the Mit. places it three verses earlier. The Garuḍapurāṇa here agrees with the Mit. In some cases Garuḍa strikes an independent path. For example, in Yāj. I. 11 Viś. reads 'māse'to jātakarma ca,' the Mit. reads 'māsyete jātakarma ca' while Garuḍa ( chap. 93. 11 ) gives the easy reading 'prasave jātakarma ca'. Mit. reads ( Yāj. I. 76 b ) 'tyajan dāpyas-trīyāniśam--adrayo bharaṇam strīyāḥ'; Viś. omits the whole verse, while Garuḍa omits I. 76a ( of Mit. ) and reads the other half as 'śuddhām tyajanstrīyāniśam dadyādabharāṇam strīyāḥ' ( 95. 23b ). Verses I. 91-92 of the Mit. on the offspring of mixed marriages are differently read by Viś. ( I. 90-91 ), while the Garuḍa ( 96. 1b ) has the same half verse as the Mit. I. 91a and the same half verse ( 96. 3a ) as Viś. ( 91b ) and reads the two half verses between them as 'jāto'mbaṣṭhastu śūdrāyāṁ niṣadaḥ parvatopī vā || māhiṣyaḥ kṣatriyājāto vaiśyāyāṁ mlecchasamjñitah'.

The foregoing makes it clear that the text that the Garuḍapurāṇa had before it could not have been older than that commented upon by Viśvarūpa and that it represents a stage intermediate between Viś. and the Mit.

The above gives rise to an important question whether one can detect several strata in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. From the fact that the sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita cites Yājñavalkya among the promulgators of dharmśāstras (vide note 137), while Yāj. himself includes Śaṅkha-Likhita among the propounders of dharma (note 258), it may be plausibly said that Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to an earlier Yājñavalkya-smṛti than the extant one. Beyond this there is no evidence to establish that there was an earlier version of the present smṛti. A comparison of the readings of Viśvarūpa and the Mit.



with those in the Agni and Garuḍa purāṇas has established that the text of the *smṛti* no doubt underwent slight verbal changes between 800 and 1100 A. D. and that a few verses were added and also omitted during these centuries. But the text remained in the main the same from 700 A. D. What the original *smṛti* contained, whether it was in prose or verse or both and whether it dealt with only *ācāra* and *prāyaścitta* sections are questions on which conjectures may be advanced, but there are no substantial materials for arriving at even tolerably certain conclusions.

Yājñavalkya's work is more systematic than that of Manu. He divides the work into three sections and relegates all topics to their proper positions and avoids repetition. He treats of almost all subjects that we find in Manu, but his treatment is always concise and he makes very great and successful efforts at brevity. The result is that for the 2700 verses of Manu, he requires only a little over a thousand. He often compresses two verses of Manu into one, e. g. Manu II. 243, 247-248 are equal to Yāj. I. 49, Manu III, 46-48 and 50 are concisely put in one verse by Yāj. (I. 79); vide also Manu IV. 7-8 and Yāj. I. 128 (contain almost same words also), Manu IV. 84-85 and Yāj. I. 141. In a few cases Manu and Yāj. convey the same meaning in one verse without compression, e. g. Manu III. 70 and Yāj. I. 102, Manu III. 119 and Yāj. I. 110, Manu VII. 171 and Yāj. I. 348, Manu VII. 205 and Yāj. I. 349. The correspondence of Yājñavalkya's words with the text of Manu is in most cases very close, so much so that one cannot help feeling that Yāj. had the Manusmṛti before him and purposely made an attempt to abridge the somewhat loose expressions of Manu. The passages set forth above as examples of compression will also serve as illustrations of this fact. The word *Kāya* (from *Ka*) is used by both in the sense of 'prajāpatya form of marriage' (Manu III. 38 and Yāj. I. 60); vide also Manu II. 109 and Yāj. I. 28, Manu III. 43-44 and Yāj. I. 62, Manu V. 26-27 and Yāj. I. 178-179, Manu VII. 56 and Yāj. I. 312 for further close agreement in phraseology. Yāj. adds some subjects which have either no counterpart in our Manu or which are only noticed in passing by Manu. The Manusmṛti contains nothing corresponding to the *Vināyakaśānti* and *Grahaśānti* of Yāj. (I. 271-308). Yāj. gives a detailed treatment of five kinds of ordeals (II. 95-113), while Manu makes only a cursory reference to the ordeals of fire and water (VIII. 114). Yāj.



contains considerable anatomical and medical matter (III. 75-108), which is wanting in Manu. On the other hand there are some subjects on which Yāj. is silent though they are dealt with in detail by Manu. This is the case with the account of the origin of the world.

The whole of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is written in the classical Anuṣṭubh metre. Though the author's great aim has been to be concise, his verses are hardly ever obscure. The style is flowing and direct. There are not many un-Pāṇinian expressions, though he employs 'pūjya' in I. 293 and 'dūṣya' in II. 296. In the latter case both Viśvarūpa and Aparārka avoid the fault by reading differently. The verse 'kulāni jātayah śreṇyo' is ungrammatical (Tri. ed. II. 34), as 'jāti', and 'śreṇi' must be in the accusative case. According to the Mit. Yājñavalkya addressed his words to Sāmaśravas and other sages (vide com. on I. 1. 178 and 330-333). In this the Mit. is probably drawing upon the Br. Up. (III. 1. 2) where Yāj. asks Sāmaśravas to take away the 1000 cows. The sages interpose (vide III. 118, 129) as in Manu, while the great teacher is passing in review one topic after another. The teacher himself addresses his auditors (as in I. 178 'śruṇudhvam').

It is said that the sages approached Yājñavalkya in Mithilā and requested him to impart to them the dharmas of the varṇas, āśramas and others. The contents of the work may be briefly summarised as follows :—Kāṇḍa I. fourteen *vidyās*; twenty expounders of dharma, sources of dharma; constitution of a *pariṣad*, the *samskāras* from Garbhādhāna to marriage, upanayana, its time and other details, every day duties of brahmacārī, persons fit to be taught, what things and actions a brahmacārī was to avoid, period of studenthood; marriage, qualifications of girl to be married, limits of *sapiṇḍa* relationship, intercaste marriages; the eight forms of marriage and the spiritual benefits therefrom, guardians for marriage, Kṣetrāja son, grounds of supercession of wife, duties of wife; principal and intermediate castes, duties of householder and keeping sacred domestic fire, the five great daily *yajñas*; honouring a guest, madhuparka, grounds of precedence, rule of the road, privileges and duties of the four varṇas, ten principles of conduct common to all, means of subsistence of a householder, and solemn vedic sacrifices; duties of *snātaka*, days of cessation from study; rules



about prohibited and allowed food and drink ; rules about flesh-eating ; purifications of various materials, such as metal or wooden vessels ; gifts, who is fittest to accept them, who should accept gifts, rewards of gifts, gift of cow, rewards of other gifts, highest gift is knowledge ; śrāddha, proper time for it, proper persons to be invited at it, unfit persons, the number of Brāhmaṇas to be invited, procedure of śrāddha, various śrāddhas such as pārvaṇa, vṛddhi, ekoddiṣṭa ; sapindikaraṇa ; what flesh to be offered at śrāddha, reward of offering śrāddhas ; propitiatory ceremonies as regards Vināyaka and the nine grahas ; rājadharmā, king's qualifications, ministers, *purohita*, royal edicts, king's duties of protection, administration of justice, taxation and expenditure, allotment of the day to various duties, constitution of maṇḍala, the four expedients, the six guṇas, fate and human effort, impartiality in punishment ; units of measure and weight, grades of fine ; Kāṇḍa II. members of hall of justice, judge, definition of vyavahārapada, rules of procedure, plaint, reply, taking security, indicia of a false party or witness, conflict of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra ; means of proof, documents, witnesses, possession ; title and possession, gradation of courts, force, fraud, minority and other grounds of invalidity, finding of goods ; treasure trove ; debts, rates of interest, debts of joint family, what debts of father son need not pay ; devolution of debts ; suretyship of three kinds, pledge ; deposit ; witnesses, their qualifications and disqualifications ; administering oaths, punishment for perjury ; documents ; ordeals of balance, water, fire, poison and holy water ; partition, time of it, wife's share on partition, partition after father's death, property not liable to partition, joint ownership of father and son ; twelve kinds of sons ; illegitimate son of śūdra, succession to a sonless man, re-union, exclusion ; husband's power over wife's *strīdhana* ; boundary disputes ; dispute between master and herdsman ; sale without ownership ; invalidity of gift, rescission of sale ; breach of contract of service ; slavery by force ; violation of conventions ; non-payment of wages ; gambling and prize fighting ; abuse, defamation and slander ; assault, hurt etc. ; sāhasa ; partnership ; theft ; adultery ; miscellaneous wrongs ; review of judgment ; Kāṇḍa III. cremation and burial ; offering of water to various deceased persons ; for whom no mourning was to be observed and no water to be offered ; periods of mourning for various persons ; rules for mourners ; impurity on birth ; instances of immediate purification on death or birth ; means of purification, such as time, fire, ritual,



mud etc ; rules of conduct and livelihood in distress ; rules for forest hermit ; rules for a *yati* ; how the individual soul is clothed in a body ; various stages of the foetus, number of bones in the body, the various organs such as liver, spleen etc. ; the number of arteries and veins ; reflection over ātman, use of music in the path of *mokṣa* ; how the originally pure ātman is born among impure surroundings ; how some sinners are born as various kinds of animals or inanimate things ; how *yogin* attains immortality ; three kinds of actions due to *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* ; means of *ātmajñāna* ; the two paths, one to immortality and the other to heaven ; the various diseases from which sinners suffer ; purpose of *prāyaścittas* ; names of 21 hells ; the five mortal sins, and other acts similar to them ; *upapātakas* ; *prāyaścittas* for Brāhmaṇa murder or for killing other persons ; *prāyaścittas* for drinking wine, for other mortal and venial sins and for killing animals of various sorts ; greater or lesser expiation according to time, place, age, ability ; ostracising the non-conformist sinner ; secret expiations ; ten *yamas* and *niyamas* ; *Sāntapana*, *mahāsāntapana*, *taptakṛcchra*, *parāka*, *cāndrāyaṇa* and other expiations ; rewards of reading this smṛti.

Besides the four vedas, Yāj. refers to the Vedāṅgas as six and enumerates fourteen vidyās ( four Vedas, six aṅgas, purāṇa, nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, dharmaśāstra ). He refers to the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra composed by himself. Āraṇyakas in general are spoken of in I. 145 and Śukriya Āraṇyaka in III. 309. The Upaniṣads are mentioned in III. 189, where purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Iṭibāsas, Purāṇa, Vakovākya, and Nārāsaṃsi gāthās are mentioned in I. 45 ( also I. 101 for purāṇa and itihāsa ). He enumerates at the commencement nineteen authors on *dharma* besides himself. But it is remarkable that in the body of the work not one individual author of a *dharma*-śāstra is mentioned by name. He speaks of Ānvikṣiki ( Metaphysics ) and Daṇḍanīti ( I. 311 ). He lays down the dictum that where *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* conflict, the former shall prevail ( II. 21 ). He speaks of smṛtis in general ( II. 5 and I. 154 ). In III. 189 he speaks of sūtras and bhāṣyas. What works are intended it is most difficult to say ; the only extant bhāṣya which can be said with certainty to be older than the extant Yāj. smṛti is that of Patañjali. He refers to other writers on *dharma* in the word ' eke ' ( I. 36 ). The view referred to there occurs in Baud. Dh. S. 1. 2. 4.



Yājñavalkya agrees very closely with the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. What conclusions are to be drawn therefrom has been discussed above (see sec. 10). Similarly there is close correspondence between the Kauṭīliya and Yāj. If there is any borrowing at all, it must follow from the date above assigned to the Kauṭīliya that it is Yāj. who borrows. There are numerous passages in Yāj. that show remarkable agreement with the text of Manu. But there are several points on which Yāj. differs from Manu and shows in general a more advanced state of thought and feeling than the Manusmṛti. The following are the principal points wherein Yāj. differs from Manu. Manu seems to allow a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra girl (III. 13), while Yāj. emphatically states it as his opinion that this is wrong (I. 59); Manu first describes the practice of *niyoga* and then severely condemns it (9. 59-68), while Yāj. does not condemn it (I. 68-69). Manu enumerates eighteen vyavahārapadas; Yāj. does not expressly enumerate them in one place, though he defines vyavahārapada and adds verses of a miscellaneous character (*prakīrṇaka*) in his section on vyavahāra. Manu is silent about the rights of inheritance of the widow of a sonless man and gives only a vaguely expressed order of succession, while Yāj. places the widow at the head of all heirs and enumerates several classes of heirs in a regular order. Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 224-226), while Yāj. brought it under state control and made it a source of revenue to the king (II. 200-203). There are several other matters which Yāj. treats at much greater length and more systematically than Manu, e. g. ordeals (as indicated above), means of proof in courts (Manu altogether ignoring documentary evidence, though he knew documents 8. 51-52), rules of procedure in courts (compare Manu 8. 53-56 with Yāj. II. 5-11 and 16-21), the doctrine of possession and prescription (Yāj. II. 24-29 and Manu 9. 44 and 54). All these points tend to show that the Yājñavalkya smṛti is much later than the extant Manusmṛti.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti seems to have taken the section on Vināyakaśānti from the Mānavagrhya-sūtra (II. 14); verses 281-283 of Yāj. (I) occur in the Mānavagrhya II. 14, but in a different order.<sup>316</sup> The Mānavagrhya takes the Vināyakas to be four, while Yāj. says that there is a single Vināyaka, whose appellations are Mita. &c.

<sup>316</sup> अथातो विनायकान् व्याख्यास्यामः । शालकटकुटश्च कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्चोस्मितश्च (पुत्रश्च मितश्च) देवयजनश्चेति । मानवग्रह्य II. 14. 1-2; विनायकः कर्मविप्रसिद्धयर्थं विनियोजितः ।



The details of information about Vināyaka in Yāj. ( I. 272-276 ) appear to be versified from the prose<sup>17</sup> of the M. Gr. S. The details of worship also and the *mantra* ( Yāj. I. 291 ) are taken from the same work ( *vide* M. Gr. S. II. 14. 30 for the *mantra* ). At one time the section on Vināyakaśānti was thought to be a sure indication of the late date of Yāj. But since the discovery of the Mānavagr̥hya that position had to be given up. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra ( II. 5. 21 ) we have Vināyaka and his several appellations ( in the *tarpaṇa* ). Aparārka on Yāj. I. 275 quotes a long passage from the Baijavāpa gr̥hya which bears a very close correspondence in phraseology to the passage from the M. Gr. S. quoted above and which gives the names of the four Vināyakas as Mita, Saṁmita, Śalakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍa-rājaputra.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti stands in a very intimate relation to the white Yajurveda and the literature that clusters round it. Most of the *mantras* quoted ( in part ) or referred to by Yāj. occur in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Vājasaneyīya-saṁhitā ( e. g. in Yāj. I. 22, 24, 229, 230, 238, 239, 247 ). But there are a few *mantras* that do not occur in the Ṛgveda, but only in the Vājasaneyīya-saṁhitā or other saṁhitās ( e. g. 'yavosi' in Yāj. I. 230, which is Vaj. S. 5. 26, 'ye samānā' in Yāj. I. 254 which is Vaj. S. 19. 45, 'imam deva' and 'udbudhyasva' in Yāj. I. 300 which are Vaj. S. 9. 40 and 15. 54, 'annāt pariśrutah' and 'kāṇḍat' in Yāj. I. 301 which are Vaj. S. 19. 75 and 13. 20 ). Verses ( Yāj. III. 191-197 ) are a paraphrase of certain passages of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, so much so that the very words of the latter are used throughout in the former, as the

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... मितश्च संमितश्चैव तथा सालकटङ्कटौ । कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्च जपत् स्वाहासमन्वितान् ।  
नामभिर्व्यलिप्तमन्त्रैश्च नमस्कारसमन्वितैः ॥ याज्ञ. I. 267. 281-82 ( Tri. ed. ). The Mit.  
seems to have read ; 'कटङ्कटौ । कूष्माण्डो राजपुत्रश्च.'

- 317 एतैरधिगतानामिमानि रूपाणि भवन्ति । लोष्टं मृद्वानि । तृणानि छिनत्ति । अङ्गुल्यु लेहान्  
लिङ्गति । अपः स्वप्नं पश्यति । मुण्डान् पश्यति । जटिलान् पश्यति । काषायवाससः  
पश्यति । उग्रान् सूकरान् गर्दभान् दिवाकीर्त्यादीनर्ग्याभ्राप्रयतान् स्वप्नान् पश्यति ।  
अन्तरिक्षं क्रामति । अध्वानं ब्रजन्मन्यते वृष्टतो मे कश्चिदनुब्रजति । एतैः सलु विनायकै-  
राविष्टा राजपुत्रा लक्षणवन्तो राज्यं न लभन्ते । कन्याः पतिकामा लक्षणवन्त्यो भर्तृन्  
लभन्ते । ... रुषिकराणां रुषिरल्पकला भवति । मानदगृह्य II. 14. 3-21  
( ed. by Knauer )



quotations given below will show.<sup>318</sup> Then again Yāj. very closely agrees with the Paraskara-grhya-sūtra as was pointed out by Dr. Stenzler in his introduction to the edition of Yāj. (1849, Berlin) and in the journal of the German Oriental Society (VII. 527). Viśvarūpa points out that Yāj. I. 142-143 are based upon Paraskara. The *mantra* 'ayam me vajrah' in Yāj. I. 135 (Trivandrum ed.) is given in Paraskara-grhya II. 7. 7. In the following also there is close verbal correspondence<sup>319</sup> between Yāj. and the P. Gr. S; Yāj. III. 1-2 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 1, 5, 8-9 and 12; Yāj. III. 3 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 16 and 19-20; Yāj. III. 4 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 46-47; Yāj. III. 16 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 26-27. Similarly the verses of Yāj. on śrāddha (I. 217-270) offer many points of contact with the śrāddha-kalpa of Kātyāyana edited by Dr. Caland (pp. 127-130 of his work 'Ahnenult &c.'). From these facts Dr. Jolly concludes that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda (R. u. S. p. 21). In another place Dr. Jolly hazards another conjecture based on the close correspondence between Yāj. and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that he probably belonged to the Kāthaka school of the Black Yajurveda (Journal of Indian History, 1924, p. 7). Yāj. also shows great similarity to the Kauṭīliya and borrows the Vināyaka-śānti from

318 स ह्यश्वमेधं जज्ञात्यः सप्तर्षिर्यमं तु । द्रष्टव्यं दध मन्तव्यः श्रोतव्यश्च द्विजानिभिः ॥  
याज्ञ. III. 191 : compare बृहदारण्यक II. 4. 5, and IV. 5. 6 'आत्मा वा अरे  
द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यः &c.' ; य एतमेवं विन्दन्ति च चारण्यकमाश्रिताः । उपासते द्विजाः  
सत्यं श्रद्धया परया युताः ॥ क्रमाद्यैः संभवन्त्यर्चिरहः शुक्लं तथोत्तरम् । अयनं देव-  
लोकं च सवितारं संवेदुतम् ॥ ततस्तान् पुरुषोभ्येभ्य मानसो ब्रह्मलोकिकान् ॥ &c.  
याज्ञ. III. 192-194 : compare बृहदारण्यक VI. 2. 15 ते च एवमेतद्विदुर्यै चोभी  
अरण्यं श्रद्धा सत्यमुपासते तैर्चिरभिरांभयन्ति ... तान् वैद्युतान् पुरुषो मानस एव ब्रह्म-  
लोकान् गमयति.' The next three verses of Yāj. summarise बृहदारण्यक  
VI. 2. 15 using the last words of the latter 'कृताः पतङ्गा यदिदं दन्दशूकम्'.

319 पौषमासस्य रोहिष्यामष्टकायामथापि वा । जलान्ते छन्दसां कुर्यादुत्सर्गं विधिवद् द्विजः ॥  
याज्ञ. I. 142 : compare पारस्कर II. 12. 1-2. (Venkatesvara press ed.)  
'पौषस्य रोहिष्यां मध्यमायां वाष्टकाधाम्भ्यायानुत्सर्जन् । उदकागतं गत्वा &c.'

320 • ४-सप्तमाद् दशमद्वापि ज्ञानयोः युपयन्त्ययः । उप नः शोशुचदधमनेन पितृदिङ्मनुषाः ॥  
याज्ञ. III. 3 : 'सर्वे ज्ञानयोः भ्यवयन्त्या सप्तमात्पुरुषाद्दशमाद्वा । ... सव्यस्यानादि-  
क्यापमोवाप नः शोशुचदधमिनि दक्षिणामुखा निमज्जन्ति ।' पारस्कर III. 10. 16  
and 19-20,



the Mānavagṛhyasūtra. From these facts one may argue at least with as much logic and force as underlies Dr. Jolly's guess-work that Yāj. probably belonged to the Mānava school of the Black Yajurveda or to the school of Kauṭilya. If Yāj. knew his business as a writer on Dharmasūtra, he must have consulted the works of his predecessors and his work is bound to show traces of that fact. One may conclude at the most that the author of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti may have possibly been a student of the White Yajurveda and so the *mantras* of the White Yajurveda and the Gṛhyasūtra of Paraskara were far more familiar to him than the other Vedas, sūtras, smṛtis, and other works. No such conclusions that there was a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda and that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti was based thereon are warranted by the facts so far discovered.

For settling the date of Yāj. we need not consider the evidence after the 9th century. For in the first quarter of that century (as we shall see later on) Viśvarūpa wrote his extensive commentary on Yāj. That he was separated from Yāj. by many centuries follows from several considerations. Not only had numerous various readings arisen in the text of Yāj. when he wrote, but various interpretations of the same words and verses of Yāj. had arisen. For example, he gives several meanings of the words 'putronanyaśritadravyaḥ' (in Yāj. II. 47), 'sānudrah' (II. 41); he gives different interpretations of I. 265, II. 160, II. 173 &c. He refers to the interpretations of his predecessors in several places by the word 'anye' (I. 3, 25, 155, 169; II. 21, 119, 121; III. 201, 209, 246 &c.). In several places he appears to be referring to two other interpretations than his own (vide on III. 250, the words 'kecittu' and 'anye tu' and the same words on III. 261 and 264). That Viśvarūpa had before him actual commentaries on Yāj. and was not merely giving scholastic interpretations started by himself is made very clear in several cases by his actually citing certain portions from those works. On I. 252 Viśvarūpa says 'others take from somewhere the following śloka (then the śloka is quoted), but this śloka is of no help, as its origin is not known'.<sup>321</sup> Similar words occur in the

321 अन्ये तु कुतश्चिद्गमयन्तं श्लोकं पठन्त-यः सविष्टकृतं तेन पृथग्विपण्डेन योजयेत् ।  
विधिस्तस्मै भवति वितृष्टा चोपजायते ॥ इति । अयं स्वपष्टमूलस्यैव किञ्चित्करः ।  
विश्वरूप on या. I. 252.



comment<sup>322</sup> on Yāj. III. 222. On II. 193 he styles some predecessor as 'paṇḍitarmanyā' and on III. 257 he ridicules a predecessor who regards the verse of Manu IV. 222 as an arthavāda by saying that that commentator wanted to show off that he knew the technical term arthavāda.<sup>323</sup> It is not unlikely that Viśvarūpa in this last passage refers to some ancient commentator of Manu such as Asahāya. In the *Prāyaścittamayukha*,<sup>324</sup> Nilakaṇṭha (Benares edition of 1879) says that Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* (III. 4. 43) explained the application of Yāj. III. 226. Unfortunately in the printed editions of Śaṅkara I could not find this. But from the *Bhāmatī* where Yāj. III. 226 is explained, it is clear that the passage must have occurred in the text of Śaṅkara used by the *Bhāmatī*. Dr. Jolly lays great emphasis in assigning a late date to Yāj. on the fact that Kumārila, who cites Manu, Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana frequently, ignores the Yājñavalkya-smṛti altogether. But this silence of the great mīmāṃsaka can only mean that he did not assign the same pre-eminent and venerable position to Yāj. that he assigned to Manu, Gautama and others. Dr. Jolly himself is prepared to place Yāj. three or four centuries earlier than Kumārila. It will be shown hereafter that Nārada and Brhaspati cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may have flourished two or three centuries earlier still. On a comparison of their doctrines with those of Yāj. it will have to be conceded that they represent a far greater advance in juristic principles and exactitude than Yāj. So the latter cannot be placed later than the 3rd century A. D. As Yāj. is shown above to have followed the Manusmṛti and the Kauṭīliya his smṛti cannot be placed earlier than the first century B. C. We shall not be therefore far from the truth if we place his smṛti somewhere between the first century B. C. and the third century of the Christian era. In the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (ed. by B. Nanjio, 1923,

322 अन्ये तु कुतश्चिदागमस्येवं श्लोकं पठन्ति--रागाद् द्वेषात् प्रमादाद्वा स्वतः परत एव वा । यो हन्याद् ब्राह्मणं कश्चित् स सर्वो ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ इति । तत्त्वविज्ञातमूलत्वाद् विचार्यम् । विश्व० on या. III. 222.

323 अन्ये तु भुक्त्वातोऽन्यतमस्यान्नामित्येवमादीन्यर्थवादत्वेन व्याचक्षते । ... न चात्र किञ्चिदर्थवादसारूप्यमस्य स्यात् । अतोर्थवादो नाम वाक्यप्रकारोऽस्ति तमप्यहं जानामीत्येतावानेवाभिप्रायः । इत्युपेक्षणीयम् । विश्व० on या. III. 257.

324 श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु कामतोऽव्यवहार्यस्तु इत्यकारप्रश्लेषेणेदं वाङ्मवत्क्यवचो बहिस्तुभयथा स्मृतोराचाराचेति सूत्रे कृतमाश्रित्यनेहिकब्रह्मचर्यादिपरम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्तम्, p. 7.



Kyoto) gāthas 814-816 are 'Kātyāyanaḥ sūtrakartā yajñavalkastathaiva ca ... Valmīko Masurākṣaśca Kauṭīlya Āśvalāyanaḥ t ...'. From the context it appears that the author of the smṛti is referred to as Yajñavalka.

Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 21) following Dr. Jacobi (Z D M G 30, p. 306) thinks that Yāj. shows an acquaintance with Greek astrology. Dr. Jacobi's position amounts to this that the naming of the week days after the planets was established among the Greeks towards the end of the 2nd century A. D. and as the names of the week days and the arrangement of the planets in correspondence with them was borrowed by the Indians from the Greeks, no Indian work which enunciates the week days or arranges the planets in the well-known sequence (of Sun, Moon, Mars &c.) could have been composed before the third century after the Christ. As is very often the case with Western Sanskrit scholars in matters of Indian chronology, this grand generalisation is based upon very slender data. The premises are mere assumptions without hardly any evidence worth the name to support them. No one knows exactly when the week-days were named and who were the people that first employed the current names of the week-days. It is well-known that as far back as the days of Herodotus the Egyptians had a presiding deity for each day and that in the times of Julius Caesar there were days of Saturn (*vide* I. A. vol. 14, p. 1, General Cunningham's article for the Indian origin of week-days). At least from the third century B. C., as vouched for by the 13th edict of Aśoka, India was in close touch with Syria and Egypt, where Buddhist missionaries had been sent by Aśoka while Antiochus and Ptolemy ruled in the two countries respectively. Therefore, if Indians at all borrowed the week-days and the arrangement of planets from foreigners, there is nothing to prevent us from holding that they borrowed them from the Egyptians. The earliest dated Indian record wherein a week-day is mentioned is the Eraṇ Inscription of 484 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 89) where we have "Suraguror divase." It is to be noticed that Yāj. does not mention the week-days. In I. 296 he mentions the nine *grahas* in order as the Sun, the Moon, Mars (the son of the earth), Mercury (the son of Soma), Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, Ketu. No one can gainsay that at least the Sun, the Moon, Bṛhaspati and Venus were known to the R̥gvedic India. Bṛhaspati in the highest heaven is



spoken of in the R̥gveda<sup>325</sup> and the conjunction of Jupiter and Tīṣya (constellation of Puṣya) is spoken of in the Tai. Brāhmaṇa.<sup>326</sup> We know so very little of the ancient astronomical science in ancient India that one must think twice before dogmatising. Yāj. nowhere mentions the zodiacal signs (rāśis) and probably did not know them. Not only so, in his day the *nakṣatras* were still arranged from Kṛttikā to Bharanī as was the case in the Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. Vide Yāj. I. 268 (Kṛttikādi bharanyantam). We know from Varāhamihira that in the 5th century A. D. the signs of the zodiac and the arrangement of *Nakṣatras* from Aśvini to Revati were established facts in all parts of India. Therefore Yāj. who uses the ancient arrangement of *Nakṣatras* cannot be placed so late as the 4th century A. D. When Yāj. (I. 80) speaks of "susthe indau" we should not, following such commentaries as the Mit., connect the words with the signs of the zodiac or the houses of the horoscope. Viśvarūpa does not speak of *rāśis* in this connection, but of *Nakṣatras* only. From very ancient times certain *Nakṣatras* had come to be regarded as auspicious or suitable for particular acts. The Tai. <sup>327</sup>Br. directs that one should not finish a thing or begin to sacrifice on a *nakṣatra* with an evil name. The same Brāhmaṇa says that ploughing was to be begun on the Maitra asterism (Anurādhā) and consecration of fire on the Āditya *nakṣatra*. Even the R̥gveda speaks of auspicious days<sup>328</sup> and the Tai. Br. speaks of Deva-*nakṣatras* and Puṇyāhas, and says that a daughter should be given away in marriage on the Svāti *nakṣatra* if she was desired to be her husband's favourite.<sup>329</sup> Vide Baudhāyana Gṛhya (I. 1) for the marriage *nakṣatras*; also Āp. Gr. S. II. 15. 12-14, Gobhila Gṛhya 4. 4. 28 and 2. 1. 1. Therefore, when Yāj. speaks of planets being badly placed (I. 307), or of Vyatipāta, Gajacchāya and the passing

325 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो ज्योतिषः परमे ज्योमन् । ऋग्वेद 4. 50. 4.

326 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानस्तिष्यं नक्षत्रमभिसंबभूव । तै. ब्रा. 3. 1. 1. 5.

327 तस्मादश्लीलनामश्चित्रे नावस्थेन्न यजेत यथा पापाहे कुरुते तादृगेव तत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 6.

328 मेत्रेण रूपन्ते ... आदित्येन आदधते । तै. ब्रा. 1. 8. 4. 2.

329 स्तोतारं विप्रः सुदिनस्ये अह्नाम् । ऋग्वेद VII. 88. 4.

330 याम्येव देवमक्षत्राणि तेषु कुरीत यत्कारी स्यात् पुण्याह एव कुरुते । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 9:  
या कामयेत कुस्तिरं पिबा स्वादिति तां निष्टयायां दद्यात् । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 3.



(saṅkrama) of the Sun (I. 218), we have no right to connect this with the *rāśis*. In III. 171 and 172 he speaks of only the conjunction of planets and of the passage (of them) through *tarās* and *nakṣatras*. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5. 23 speaks of the nine *grahas* in the same order as that of Yāj. Therefore there is hardly any evidence to show that Yāj. knew more astrology than was current in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and the Grhyasūtras. Yāj. (in II. 240-241) speaks of the fine to be imposed on those who counterfeited "nāpakas" (coins) and on those examiners of "nāpakas" who falsely declared a good coin to be counterfeited and *vice versa*. Mr. Jayasval (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 17, p. CLIX) says that nāpaka is the gold coin of the Kushans bearing the picture of the Goddess Nanaia and that the Kushans did not rise to importance before 78 A. D. This would place Yāj. after 100 A. D. But it must be remembered that this connection between the Goddess Nanaia and the word "nāpaka" is quite conjectural and that the chronology of the Kushans is far from being settled.

Yāj. speaks of the sight of yellow-robed people as an evil omen (I. 273), which is probably a reference to the Buddhists; though it has to be remembered that he prescribes old yellow (kaṣāya) robes for his seeker after *mokṣa* (III. 157). He speaks of the founding of monasteries of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas (II. 185). The philosophical doctrines contained in the third section (verses 64-205) approach that phase of the Vedānta that was taught by Śaṅkara. *Vide* particularly III. 67, 69, 109, 119, 125, 140. He employs in elucidating the philosophy of ātman the well-known examples of ghaṭākāśa and of the reflection of the Sun in water (III. 144), of the various ornaments made from gold, of the spider spinning webs out of his own body (both in III. 147), of the actor representing various parts (III. 162). All these illustrations frequently occur in Śaṅkara's Śārīrakabhāṣya (e. g. ghaṭākāśa on II. 1. 14, spider on II. 1. 25). All these points, however, are of very little use in arriving at a definite age for the smṛti of Yāj. The foregoing discussion has established that Dr. Jolly's date (viz. 4th century A. D. in R. u. S., p. 21) is much later than the data warrant. There is nothing to prevent us from holding that the extant smṛti was composed during the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier.



Besides the Yājñavalkya-smṛti we have to reckon with three other works connected with the name of Yājñavalkya, viz. Vṛddha Yāj., Yoga-Yāj., and Brhad-Yāj. All these three works are comparatively ancient. Viśvarūpa quotes (vide note 219 above) two verses of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya saying that many writers on dharma have been born and will be born and enumerating ten such writers. The Mit. and Aparārka quote Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya frequently. One quotation cited from Vṛddha-Yāj. by Mādhava refers to the means of proof in case of doubt whether there was a partition.<sup>331</sup> So Vṛddha-Yāj. wrote also on Vyavahāra. Most of the quotations occur in the prāyaścitta section. It is interesting to note that one of these quotations in Aparārka<sup>332</sup> regards the touch of Pārasikas as on the same level with that of Cāṇḍālas, Mlecchas and Bhīllas. The Dāyabhāga<sup>333</sup> says that Jitendriya cited the words of Brhad-Yājñavalkya (viz. "sodaro nānyamātrjaḥ"). The Mit. cites Brhad-Yājñavalkya on prāyaścitta. So this also is a work that must be held to be earlier than 1000 A. D. Yāj. himself is styled Yogīśvara by the Mit. and other works, but Yoga-Yājñavalkya is a different work from the Yāj. smṛti and existed probably prior to the latter work. Yāj. (in III. 110) claims the Yogaśāstra to be his own work. So either Yāj. the author of the smṛti composed such a work or the author of the smṛti in order to glorify it claimed that he was the same as the author of a well-known Yogaśāstra ascribed to a Yājñavalkya. At all events Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed certainly much earlier than 800 A. D. Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya quotes a half verse from Yogi-Yājñavalkya.<sup>334</sup> Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (of the Vikram era) i. e. 841-42 A. D. Aparārka quotes profusely from Yoga-Yājñavalkya. One of the quotations (on III. 198-201) is an Āryā

331 विभागधर्मसन्देहं बन्धुसाहचर्यभिलेखितैः । विभागभावना कार्या न भवेद् दैविकी क्रिया ॥  
पराशरमाधवीय III, part 2, p. 571; compare याज्ञ. II. 149.

332 चण्डालपुङ्गवस्तुलेच्छभिह्वपारसिकादिकम् । मङ्गपातकिनश्चैव स्पर्श स्नायात्सर्वेलेकम् ॥  
on याज्ञ. III. 29-30.

333 संसृष्टमेव वा तोदरमभिधत्ते । अत एव बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं सोदरो नान्यमातृज इति  
जितेन्द्रियेण लिखितम् । दाघभाग p. 298 (ed. of 1829).

334 ननु हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता नान्यः पुरातनः — इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्यैः कथं  
पतञ्जल्येगशास्त्रकर्तृत्वमित्याशङ्क्य &c. The words हिरण्यगर्भो &c. occur in  
the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII. 5.



(on the duration of a *mātrā*<sup>335</sup>). The quotations refer to *prāṇāyāma*, *Gāyatri*, bathing, *tarpaṇa* and *jñāna*. His position is that even a householder becomes *mukta* by performing his duties, by contemplating on *ātman* and by knowledge of the Vedānta, that the highest goal is reached by a combination of *jñāna* and *karma* and that the view that *mokṣa* results from knowledge alone is a sign of indolence.<sup>336</sup> The Parāśaramādhyāya quotes a verse from *Yogi-Yāj.* saying that only the Brāhmaṇas can pass through the four āśramas, the Kṣatriya through three (excluding the last), the Vaiśya through two and the Śūdra only through one (viz. that of householder).<sup>337</sup> Kullūka on *Manu* (3. 1) quotes the view of *Yogi-Yāj.* that Brahmacarya extended to twelve years or five for each of the four Vedas.<sup>338</sup>

In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of *Yogi-Yājñavalkya* (Nos. 91 and 388 of 1899-1915) in twelve chapters and about 495 verses. The colophon at the end of the first chapter in the latter ms. describes it in the style of the *Bhagavadgītā*.<sup>339</sup> *Yājñavalkya* is said to have learnt *Yogaśāstra* from *Brahmā* and expounds it to his wife *Gārgī*. The whole work deals with the eight āṅgas of *yoga*, their divisions and subdivisions. Out of the several quotations cited above from *Yoga-Yāj.* only one was found in this work. It contains a verse (I. 68 *aṣṭau grāsā munḥ prokṭāḥ &c*) which is practically the same as *Baud. Dh. S. II. 7.*

335 अङ्गुलिमोक्षत्रितयं जान्वोः परिमार्जनं वापि । तालत्रयमपि तज्ज्ञा मात्रासंज्ञं प्रशंसन्ति ॥

अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 198-201. This is उपगीति, a variety of आर्या. It occurs in the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञ. VIII. 12, where we read जानूवोः परिमार्जनमथापि । तत्कालत्रयमपि &c.

336 स्वकर्मणामनुष्ठानात्सम्यगात्मनिदर्शनात् । वेदान्तानां परिज्ञानाद् गृहस्थोपि विमुच्यते ॥

quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 57. This occurs in बृहद्योगियाज्ञ. (ms.) XI. 47; परिज्ञानाद्भवेन्मुक्तिरेतदालस्यलक्षणम् । कायकेशभयाच्चैव कर्म नैच्छन्ति पण्डिताः । ज्ञानकर्मसमायोगापरमाप्नोति पूरुषः । पृथग्भावो न सिध्येन उभे तस्मात् समाश्रयेत् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 205; these two are बृहद्योगि. IX. 34 and 28.

337 चत्वारो ब्राह्मणस्योक्ता आश्रमाः श्रुतिचोदिताः । क्षत्रियस्य त्रयः प्रोक्ता द्वावेको वैश्य-  
शूद्रयोः ॥ quoted in परा. मा. vol. I, part 2, p. 153. This is योगयाज्ञवल्क्य I. 30.

338 यदाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः 'प्रतिवेदं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशाब्दानि पञ्च वा'.

339 इति श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यगीतासुपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे याज्ञवल्क्यगार्गीसंवादे प्रथमोऽध्यायः.



22 and another verse (X. 19) which is a quotation from the Bhagavadgītā.<sup>340</sup> There is another ms. (No. 354 of 1875-76) in the same collection called Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti in twelve chapters and about 930 verses. Yājñavalkya in Mithilā is asked by Janaka and the sages and then expounds the following subjects:—how *mantras* are to be studied in connection with metre, deity, sage and viniyoga, about *oṃkāra* or *praṇava*; seven Vyāhrtis; Gāyatrī; nyāsa of Gāyatrī; sandhyopāsana; snāna; Japa; prāṇāyāma; dhyāna; sūryopasthāna; eulogy of *yoga*; eulogy of Vedaśāstra.

From the above it is clear that Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-yogi-Yājñavalkya are entirely different works and that the latter is comparatively an early work, as quotations from it are cited by Vācaspatimiśra (9th century) and Aparārka. The latter work contains numerous quotations from the Bhagavadgītā and the Manu-smṛti and a few from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (the verse about the 14 vidyāsthānas is the same in both). So it must have been composed between 200 and 700 A. D.

There are many commentaries on the Yāj. smṛti. Out of these those of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi are the most famous. For these see sections 60, 70, 79 and 95 below. On account of the paramount importance of the Mit. in modern Hindu Law as administered by British Courts in the whole of India, the smṛti of Yāj. has indirectly become the guiding work for the whole of India and this position it richly deserves by its concise but clear statement of principles, its breadth of vision and its comparative impartiality towards the claims of both sexes and the different varṇas.

### 35. The Parāśara Smṛti

This work has been published several times, but the edition of Jivananda (part II. pp. 1-52) and that in the Bombay Sanskrit Series with the voluminous gloss of the great Mādhava are the best known. In the following pages Jivananda's edition has been used.

The smṛti of Parāśara must have been an ancient one as Yāj. (I. 4) mentions him among the ancient writers on dharma. But it is doubtful whether we possess the ancient smṛti of Parāśara. The extant smṛti is probably a recast of it as it mentions Yāj. in the first



chap. (p. 2). The *Garuḍapurāṇa* in chap. 107 gives a summary in 39 verses of the *Parāśara-smṛti*. In doing so it takes parts of the latter and pieces them together. For example, verses 2-4 in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (chap. 107) are 'śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāro yaḥ kaścīd vedakartṛkaḥ | vedāḥ smṛtāḥ brahmanāḍaṇa dharmā Manvādibhiḥ sadā || dānam kaliyuge dharmāḥ kartāraṁ ca kalau tyajet | pāpa-kṛtyaṁ tu tatraiva śāpam phalati varṣataḥ || ācārāt prāpnuyāt sarvaṁ ṣaṭ karmāṇi dine dine | sandhyā snānam japo homo devatithyādi-pūjanam ||'. These are taken *verbatim* or with slight changes from the *Parāśara-smṛti*; compare na kaścīd vedakartā ca vedasmartā catuṣ-mukhaḥ | śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāra nirpetavyāś ca sarvada | tathaiva dharmāṁ smarati Manuḥ kalpāntarāntare | tapaḥ paraiḥ . . . dānam-ekam kalau yuge || . . . tyajet-deśam kṛtayuge . . . kartāraṁ ca kalau yuge . . . kṛte tu tatkaṣaṇāt śāpaḥ . . . kalau sarvavatsareṇa tu || chap. I. verses 20-21, 23, 25, 27 and vide 39 for verse 4 of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*. This establishes that the *Garuḍa* regarded the *Parāśara-smṛti* authoritative and ancient. There is another problem to be considered. Kauṭilya mentions six times the views of *Parāśara* or the *Parāśaras* on various aspects of politics and state administration. Therefore it appears that there was a work of *Parāśara* on politics, in which it is possible that *vyavahāra* also was dealt with.

The extant *Parāśarasmṛti* is divided into twelve chapters and contains according to the last verse but one 592 verses. It deals only with *ācāra* and *prayaścitta*. Mādhava introduced his disquisition on *vyavahāra*, which forms about a fourth of his extensive gloss, in an indirect way by regarding *vyavahāra* as a part of the duties of *Kṣatriyas* on which the *Parāśarasmṛti* has something to say.<sup>341</sup>

The name *Parāśara* is an ancient one. In the *Tai. Aranyaka* (I. 1. 3. 37) we have a *Vyāsa Parāśarya*. In the *Vaṁśa* that occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* we have a *Parāśarya*. The *Nirukta*

341 क्षत्रियो हि प्रजा रक्षन् शस्त्रपाणिः प्रचण्डवत् । विजित्य परसेन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥ पराशर chap. I. p. 6. (B. 8. Series): 'अत एवाचारकाण्डे व्यवहाराणामन्तर्भावमभिधेत् पराशरः पृथग्व्यवहारकाण्डमकृत्वा क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेदिति सूचनमात्रं व्यवहाराणां कृतवाद् । परा. मा. p. 8.



gives an etymology of Pārāśara.<sup>342</sup> Pāṇini attributes a bhikṣusūtra to Pārāśara.<sup>343</sup>

The introductory verses of the smṛti say that sages went to Vyāsa and requested him to instruct them in the dharmas and conduct beneficial to mankind in the Kali age and that the great Vyāsa took them to his father Pārāśara, son of Śakti, in the Badarikaśrama, who then propounded the dharmas of the four *varṇas*. The first chapter recites the smṛtis then known (19 in all) and lays down that in the four ages of Kṛta, Treta, Dvāpara, and Kali, the dharmas proclaimed by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Pārāśara were respectively to be the guiding ones. The following are briefly the contents of the Pārāśara smṛti :—

I. Introductory verses; Pārāśara imparts to the sages knowledge of dharma; the dharmas of the four *yugas*; differentiation of the four *yugas* from various points of view; six daily duties, viz. sandhyā, bath, *japa*, *homa*, Vedic study, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests, eulogy of honouring guests, the proper means of livelihood for Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra; II. duties of householder; agriculture; the five unconscious acts of injury to animal life; III. purification from impurity due to birth and death; IV. concerning suicide; punishment for wife deserting her husband though poor, foolish or diseased; definition and rules about Kuṇḍa, Golaka, Parivitti, and Parivitta; remarriage of women; rewards for chaste widows; V. expiation for minor things (such as dog-bite); about a Brāhmaṇa who has consecrated fires dying on a journey or committing suicide; VI. Expiation for killing various beasts and birds, for killing Śūdras, artisans, women, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas, sinful Brāhmaṇas; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; VII. purifications of various articles (such as vessels of wood, metal &c); about a woman in her menses; VIII. Expiations for killing cows and oxen unwittingly in various ways; approaching a paṇḍit for expiation, constitution of a paṇḍit; praise of learned Brāhmaṇas; IX. proper thickness of sticks for beating cows and bulls; expiations for using thicker sticks and injuries to them; X. other expiations such as cāndrāyana for intercourse with women with whom intercourse is forbidden; the expiation called Santapana; XI. expiation for partaking food from

342 पराशीर्णस्य वसिष्ठस्य जज्ञे । निरुक् VI. 30.

343 पराशर्यशिलालिम्पा भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । पा. IV. 3. 110.



Caṇḍālas &c.; rules as to whose food may be taken and whose not; purification of wells &c. when animals fall in them; XII. bath prescribed after evil dreams, vomiting, shaving &c.; expiations for drinking wine and nasty things through ignorance; five kinds of bath; when bath at night allowed; what things should always be kept in the house or seen; definition of the unit of ground called *gocarma*; expiations for the deadly sins of *Brahmahatyā*, drinking liquor, theft of gold &c.

Parāśara contains several peculiar views. He speaks of only four sons (*aurasa*, *kṣetrāja*, *datta* and *kṛtrima*) though he does not expressly negative a larger number (chap. 4 p. 14.). He eulogises the practice of *Sati* (last two verses of chap. 4). The well-known verse of Nārada (*Strīpūrṇṣa-yoga* 97) “*naṣṭe mṛte &c.*” is read at the end as “*patir-anyo na vidyate*” (p. 15). There are a few verses in the *Indravajrā* metre (e. g. on pp. 11-12 and 36). The *Parāśara-smṛti* quotes the views of several writers on *dharma*. *Manu* is frequently cited in the words “*Manu-abravīd.*” In the 7th chapter alone those words occur four times.<sup>344</sup> None of them corresponds exactly with any verse of the *Manu-smṛti*. Yet *Manu* V. 133 may be compared with the first two. Besides these, in the 9th chapter *Manu*’s view is quoted that on killing an animal the guilty party should restore a similar one to the owner or its price.<sup>345</sup> In the 10th he says that according to *Manu* uncooked food, milk or oil brought from a *śūdra*’s house and used in cooking in a *Brahmin*’s house could be eaten by a *Brahmana*. This is similar to *Manu* IV. 223.<sup>346</sup> In the 12th chapter *Parāśara* cites the view of *Manu* that a *Brahmana* fed on food (cooked) from *śūdras* would become a *vulture* for twelve births, a *pig* for ten and a *dog* for seven.

344 माजोरमक्षिकाकीटमृदङ्गकृमिदर्शुः । मेध्यामेध्यं स्पृशन्मेधेव नोच्छिद्यन्मनुरबधीत् ॥  
There are two more ending with नोच्छिद्यं ... बधीत्. प्रभासादीनि तीर्थानि

यज्ञाद्याः सरितस्तथा । विप्रस्य दक्षिणे कर्णे सानिध्यं मनुरबधीत् ॥ पराशर chap. 7;  
compare चो. ध. सू. I. 4. 2. for the last.

345 भ्रमापणे प्राणमृतां दद्यात्तन्मतिरूपकम् । तस्यानुरूपं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यबधीन्मनुः ॥  
पराशर 9th chap.

346 शुष्कान्नं गोरसं ज्येष्ठं शुद्धवेश्मन आगतम् । पक्वं विप्रगृहे पूतं भोज्यं तन्मनुरबधीत् ॥  
पराशर 10th chap. ; नायाच्छूद्रस्य पक्वान्नं विद्वानश्राद्धिनो द्विजः । आददीतममे-  
वास्माद्वृत्तावेकरात्रिकम् ॥ मनु. IV. 223.



There is nothing corresponding to this in Manu. In the 9th Manu is spoken of as one who knows all śāstras.<sup>347</sup> The first verse of the 6th chapter says that Manu deals at length with expiation for killing animals.<sup>348</sup> This is probably a reference to Manu XI. 131-141. Numerous verses in the Parāśara-smṛti are word for word the same as those of the Manusmṛti. For example, Manu I. 85-86 occur in the first chapter of Parāśara, Manu V. 160 (about a widow remaining chaste) occurs with slight variations in the 4th; Manu XII. 114-115 (about *pariṣad*) occur in the 8th chap. (p. 29); Manu XI. 212 (about the definition of *Santapana*) is the same as Parāśara (10th chap. p. 40). Several verses are common to Baudhāyana and Parāśara, e. g. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 8, 11, 14 occur in the eighth chapter of Parāśara (pp. 29, 30). The verse "na nārikelair na ca śāṇabālair" occurring in Parāśara (9th chap. p. 35) is quoted as Vasiṣṭha's by Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18). Parāśara is mentioned by name several times (chap. III. 2, p. 8, chap. VI. 1. p. 18 and p. 23, chap. VII. 1. p. 24, chap. X. 12. p. 38). Uśanas is cited on p. 49 (chap. 12), Prajāpati (in IV. 3. p. 13), Śaṅkha (chap. 4 p. 15). Veda, Vedāṅgas, dharmaśāstras and smṛtis are spoken of on p. 23 (6th chap.). In the 11th chap. Parāśara refers to several Vedic *mantras*, most of which occur in the R̥gveda, but two of them, "tejosi śukram" and "devasya ivā" are not found in the R̥gveda, but in the Vaj. S. (22. 1 and 1. 24 respectively). Parāśara appears to have been a practical man. He exhorts his readers to save their bodies first in invasions, journeys, diseases, calamities and then care for dharma. He recommends the non-observance of rules of purity in times of difficulty and adherence to the strict rules of dharma when one is at ease.<sup>349</sup>

The Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Hemādri and other later works quote Parāśara very frequently. Most of these are found in the extant Parāśaras-mṛti. For example, vide pp. 1169, 1177, 1180, 1191 &c. of Aparārka, all of which are traced in Parāśara pp. 42, 43, 42 and 16 respectively. Viśvarūpa quotes Parāśara several times

347 मनुना चैवमेकेन सर्वशास्त्राणि ज्ञाता । पराशर 9th.

348 अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राणिहत्यासु निष्कृतिम् । पराशरेण पूर्वोक्तां मन्वर्थेऽपि च विस्तृताम् ॥

349 देशभङ्गे प्रवासं वा व्याधिषु व्यसनेष्वपि । रक्षेदेव स्वदेहादि पञ्चाङ्गं समाचरेत् ॥ ; आपत्काले तु संप्राप्ते शौचाचारं न चिन्तयेत् । स्वयं समुद्धरेत् पश्चात् स्वस्थो धर्मं समाचरेत् ॥ 7th chap., last three verses.



and these quotations can be verified ; e. g. on Yāj. III. 16 the verse "anātham" ascribed to Parāśara is found in Parāśara chap. III p. 10 ; on Yāj. III. 257 ten verses are cited by Viśvarūpa from Parāśara which occur in Parāśara with considerable variations (chap. VII. pp. 20-21) ; on Yāj. III. 262 the verse "gavām bandhana" is cited from Parāśara, which is the first verse of the 8th chapter. Therefore it is quite clear that in the first half of the 9th century the Parāśarasmṛti that we have now was considered to be authoritative and the work of an ancient sage. It seems to have known a work of Manu, as seen above. Therefore it must be assigned to some period between the first and the 5th century of our era. In the same direction points the fact that the Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) seems to have known the introductory verses of Parāśara and as shown above (p. 191) combines passages of Parāśara in a summary of its teachings.<sup>350</sup> The Viṣṇu-dharmottara which is frequently quoted by Aparārka and other later works cites verses that are borrowed from Parāśara. For example, chap. 75. 1 of the former is the same as a verse of Parāśara.<sup>351</sup>

There is an extensive work called Bṛhat-Parāśara-saṁhitā (published by Jivananda, part II. pp. 53-309). It is divided into 12 chapters and the last verse says that it contains 3300 verses and that Suvrata proclaimed the śāstra imparted by Parāśara. The introductory verses contain the same story as that in the Parāśara-smṛti and many of the verses in the first chapter of the two works (such as those about the 19 writers on dharma &c.) are almost the same in both. The total of verses in the printed work comes to about 3000 and not 3300. It appears that the work is a recast of the Parāśarasmṛti made by Suvrata. The subjects of the twelve chapters are:—I. Introductory, the proper sphere of Āryas ; summary of contents ; II. Disquisition on the 6 daily *karmas*, *sandhyā*, bath, *japa*, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests ; Gāyatrī ; the dharmas of the *Varṇas* ; III. duties and manners of a householder ; agriculture, honour to cows ; IV. forms of marriage ; duties of wives ; Jātakarma and other rites ; gifts ; proper persons to

350 पराशरोच्चिद् व्यासं धर्म वर्णभ्रमादिकम् । कल्पे कल्पे क्षयोत्पत्त्या क्षयन्ते तु प्रजा-  
दयः ॥ गरुडपुराण 107. 1. ( Venkatesvar Press ed. ).

351 अनार्थं ब्राह्मणे प्रेतं ये वहन्ति द्विजातयः । पदे पदे चक्रकलमानुपूर्वाह्नमन्ति ते ॥  
पराशर chap. 3. p. 12.



receive gifts; V. concerning śrāddhas; VI. impurity on birth and death; *prāyaścittas* for various acts; VII. *cāndrāyana* and other penances; VIII. gifts; IX. rites for propitiating Gaṇeśa and the planets, Rudra &c; X *Rājadharmā*; *dharma*s of forest hermit and *yati*; XI. the different varieties of *Brahmacārin*, householder, forest hermit and *yati*; XII. *prāṇayāma* and other *aṅgas* of *yoga*.

This *Bṛhat-Parāśara* contains a considerable number of verses mostly in the *Indravajrā* metre and a few in the *Vasantatilakā* (e. g. p. 134).

The *Bṛhat-Parāśara* appears to be a late work. It is a recast of the *Parāśara-smṛti*. It contains the *Vināyakaśānti* as elaborated by Yājñavalkya, since it speaks of only one *Vināyaka* (9th chap. p. 247) and not of four as in M. Gr. S. On p. 249 it quotes Yāj. I. 285 (about the names of *Vināyaka*) with the readings found in the Mit. It speaks of the *rāsis* (p. 244). It is not quoted by Viśvarūpa, the Mit. or Aparārka. It is mentioned in Bhaṭṭoji's comment on the *Caturvīṃśatimata* (p. 138) and by Nandapaṇḍita in the *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, which quotes a verse (*Bṛhat-Parāśara* p. 153).<sup>352</sup>

A *Vṛddha-Parāśara* is quoted by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 318) immediately after *Parāśara* and as holding a different view. Madhava also quotes a *Vṛddha-Parāśara* (*Parāśara-Madhaviya* vol. I, part I, p. 230). This seems to be a different work from the *Parāśara-smṛti* and the *Bṛhat-Parāśara*. Hemādri (*Caturvarga*, vol. III, part 2, p. 48) and Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on *Caturvīṃśatimata* (p. 138) quote a *Jyotiḥ-Parāśara*.

### 36. The *Nārada-smṛti*

There are two versions of *Nārada* on *Vyavahāra*, a smaller and a larger one. The smaller version was translated by Dr. Jolly in 1876 (Trübner & Co., London). The text of the longer version was published by the same scholar in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1885) and was translated by him in the *Sacred Books of the East Series* (vol. 33). The edition of the text is accompanied up to verse 21 of the 5th title '*abhyupetyāśusrūṣa*' by extracts from the commentary of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, who was encouraged in the task of revision by Keśavabhaṭṭa.

<sup>352</sup> अयुष्यस्य पितृव्यस्य तत्पुत्रो भ्रातृजो भवेत् । स एव तस्य कुर्वति श्राद्धं पिण्डोदक-  
क्रियाम् ॥ दत्तकमीमांसा p. 36.



From verse 22 of the same title the printed text is the same as the smaller version. A verse quoted as Nārada's by Kṣīrasvāmin is not found in the larger version but is found in the smaller version.<sup>33</sup> An ancient Ms. of Nārada from Nepal dated 1407 A. D. contains two additional chapters on theft and ordeals. Dr. Jolly includes the first as an appendix and omits that on ordeals on the ground that it is not authentic. One of the colophons of the Nepalese Ms. describes it as 'iti Mānava-dharmaśāstre Nārada-proktāyaṁ saṁhita-yām &c.' This corroborates what was said above (pp. 149, 156) as to the close connection between Manu and Nārada.

Nārada is not mentioned by Yājñavalkya in the list of ancient writers on dharma, nor does Parāśara mention him. Viśvarūpa however quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya (on Yāj. I. 4-5), where Nārada is the first among ten expounders of dharma enumerated therein (vide note 219).

The printed Nārada contains three introductory chapters on the principles of judicial procedure (Vyavahāra-māṛka) and on the judicial assembly (sabha). Then the following titles of law are dealt with one after another:—rñādāna (recovery of debts), upanidhi (deposit, lending, bailment), saṁbhitāya-samutthāna (partnership), dattāpraḍānika (gifts and resumption thereof), abhyupe-tya-aśuśrūṣā (breach of contract of service), vetanasya-anapā-karma (non-payment of wages), asvāmivikraya (sale without ownership), vikriyāsaṁpradāna (non-delivery after sale), kṛtā-nuśaya (rescission of purchase), samayasyānapākarma (violation of conventions of corporations, guilds &c.), simābandha (settlement of boundaries); stripuṁśayoga (marital relation); dāyabhāga (partition and inheritance); sāhasa (offences in which force is the principal element) such as homicide, robbery, rape &c.; vākpa-ruṣya (defamation and abuse) and danḍapāruṣya (hurt of various kinds); prakīṛṇaka (miscellaneous wrongs). The appendix deals with theft, though a few remarks are made on that topic under the title of 'sāhasa.'

It will be noticed that Nārada follows the Manusmṛti to a considerable extent in the nomenclature and the arrangement of the

33-3 क्षीरस्वामी on the word वृषल in अमरकोश quotes the verse वृषो हि भगवान्धर्म-  
स्तस्य यः कुरुते लवम् । which is मनु 8. 16 and शान्तिपर्व 9. 15.



eighteen titles. Some of the titles are differently named by Nārada, e. g. he speaks of *upanidhi*, while Manu employs the word *nikṣepa*. Nārada seems to have included the *svāmipālavivāda* of Manu in *vetanasya-anapākarma*. He makes one title of *dyūta* and *samāhvaya*. Nārada includes *strīsaṁgrahaṇa* under *sāhasa* and adds three titles, viz. *abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā*, *vikrīyāsampradāna* and *prakīrṇaka*. The *smṛticandrikā* expressly<sup>354</sup> says that it follows the work of Nārada in preference to that of Manu as regards the nomenclature and sequence of the titles of law. Nārada follows Manu in speaking of witnesses in the section on *ṛṇādāna* and in treating of theft after the eighteen titles have been dealt with ( vide Manu IX. 256 ff. ).

The printed Nārada contains 1028 verses (including 61 on theft in the appendix). About seven hundred of these verses occur in various *nibandhas* as quotations. Up to the 21st verse of the section '*abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā*' the commentary of Asahāya furnishes a valuable check for the authenticity of the text. For the remaining portion, there are important data as to its authenticity, sequence and readings. Viśvarūpa, who belongs to the first half of the 9th century, quotes about fifty verses of Nārada (generally by name). The text that he had before him was essentially the same as that of the printed edition, except in a very few cases. Out of the seven verses of Nārada on '*saṁnyāsa-anapākarma*' Viśvarūpa quotes five (on Yāj. II. 190 and 196) and expressly states that Nārada wound up his chapter on that topic with the verse '*doṣavat karaṇam &c.*' as the printed text does. On Yāj. II. 226 Viśvarūpa distinctly says that the verse '*yameva hyativarteran*' &c. is followed immediately by '*malā hyete manuṣyeṣu*'. This is the case with the printed text also ( *dyūtasamāhvaya* verses 13-14). On Yāj. III. 252 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Nārada about the three kinds of wealth, *śukla*, *śābala* and *kṛṣṇa*, which does not occur in that form in Nārada, though the latter contains similar dicta.<sup>355</sup> Viśvarūpa contains no quotation from Nārada on the topics of *ācāra* or *prāyaścitta*. The same is the case with *Medhātithi* and the *Mitākṣarā*. *Medhātithi* somewhat inaccurately summarises the

354 नारदीयेद्विशकमानुसारिणश्च वयमित्यन्यथामिहाभिधानः ।

355 शुक्लं च शबलं चैव कृष्णं च त्रिविधं धनम् । शुक्लं न्यायार्जितं धर्म्यमितरद् व्यावहारिकम् ॥ ; तत्सुनास्त्रिविधं ज्ञेयं शुक्लं शबलमेव च । कृष्णं च तस्य विज्ञेयः प्रमेदाः सप्तधा पृथक् ॥ ( नारद, कणादान 44 ).



the introductory words (in prose) of Nārada (vide note 269 above). Medhātithi frequently quotes Nārada particularly from the sections on ṛṇādāna (vide on Manu 8. 47, 155, 149) and dāyabhāga (on Manu 8, 28, 29, and 207, 209, and 143). On Manu 8, 349 he quotes Nārada on partnership (verse 10), on 8. 216 he quotes Nārada (vetanasya-anapākarma verse 5). In some cases Medhātithi cites Nārada's verses without naming him e. g. on Manu 9. 76 he quotes the well-known verse 'nashṭe mṛte pravrajite &c.' (Nārada on marital relation, verse 97) as 'smṛtyantara'. It was shown above (p. 172) that the vyavahāra section of the Agnipurāṇa dates from about 900 A. D. Chap. 253 of the Agnipurāṇa contains thirty verses of the extant Nārada-smṛti, viz. Agni 253. 1b-9a = Nārada (vyavahāra-mātrkā chap. I. 8-15); Agni 253. 9b-12 = Nārada (vyavahāra-mātrkā chap. I. 26-29a); Agni 253. 13-30 are the verses defining the eighteen titles from ṛṇādāna to prakīrṇaha contained in Nārada and occur in the same order in both. The readings preserved in the Agnipurāṇa deserve some discussion. Agni (253. 3-4) reads 'dharmaś ca vyavahāraś ca ... uttaraḥ pūrva-sādhakah', while Nārada has 'pūrvabādhakah'. Agni reads 'caritraiḥ saṁgrāhe pūṁsāṁ rājājñāyāṁ tu sādhanam' (253. 5), while Nārada has 'caritraṁ pustakaraṇe rājājñāyāṁ tu śāsanam'. Agni (253. 15) reads 'dattvādravyaṁ ca saṁyag-yaḥ', while Nārada (dattipradānika 1) reads 'dattvā dravyamasamyag-yaḥ'. The Agni (253. 11) reads 'Śāṅkā sabbhistu saṁsargāt tattvaṁ ṣoḍhābhidarśanāt' and avoids the rare word 'hoḍhābhi-' in Nārada 'Śāṅkāsatāṁ tu saṁsargāt- tattvaṁ hoḍhābhidarśanāt' (Vyavahāramātrkā I. 27). For Nārada's 'akṣabradhnaśalākādyair &c.' (dyūtasamāhvaya I) Agni reads 'Akṣavajra &c.' (253. 29). The Mit. (on Yaj. II. 199) and Vir. (p. 718) follow printed Nārada in the last case and also in the other cases. In the Smṛti-candrikā, Hemādri, Parāśaramādhaviya and other later *nibandhas* numerous verses of Nārada are quoted on topics of ācāra, śrāddha, prāyaścitta. For example, Hemādri (caturvarga vol. III. part 2, pp. 159, 183, 185, 223, 235) quotes several verses of Nārada on Ekādaśī and a verse of Nārada about the astrological *yoga* called padmaka. The Smṛticandrikā (I. pp. 198-199) quotes 26 verses on the worship of Nārāyaṇa, the last of which is the well known verse 'dhyeyaḥ sadā savitrīmaṇḍala-madhyavanti &c.' and the same work (on śrāddha p. 354) quotes a verse of Nārada in which Sunday and Saṁkrānti are mentioned. The question arises whether



these quotations of Nārada on ācāra and prāyaścitta and allied topics are the work of the same Nārada that wrote on Vyavahāra. From the fact that early writers like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara do not contain a single quotation of Nārada on topics other than that of vyavahāra, it appears probable that the quotations on ācāra and prāyaścitta belong to a later date than the Nārada-smṛti on vyavahāra and either did not exist in the days of Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi or had not attained canonical authority in those days. There is in the India Office Library a ms. of Nārada-smṛti in three chapters and 322 verses dealing exclusively with ācāra and prāyaścitta (vide Jolly's Introduction p. 5 to edition of text).

The Nārada-smṛti, excluding the introductory passage in prose about the successive abridgments of the original work of Manu by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava, is written in the śloka metre except in the case of two verses (verse 38 of the 2nd chap. of vyavahāra-mātrkā and the last verse of the chapter on sabhā). Nārada himself is mentioned by name in connection with the ordeals (ṛṇādāna verse 253).<sup>355a</sup> The first person also occurs in 'ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi' (ṛṇādāna 343). Ācāryas are cited in 'dattāpradānika' (verse 5). Dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra are mentioned (vyavahāramātrkā, chap. I, 37 and 39) and Nārada lays down the rule as in Yāj. (II. 21) that in a conflict between the two the former should furnish the rule of conduct.<sup>356</sup> Nārada refers to Vasiṣṭha's rule about interest (ṛṇādāna 99). Two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa.<sup>357</sup> Manu is named in several places (ṛṇādāna verses 250, 251, 326).<sup>358</sup> The first passage about Manu is quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (II. 98) and corresponds closely with the teaching of Manu (8. 113). But the other passages

355a सन्दिग्धेर्धेभियुक्तातां विशुद्ध्यर्थं दुरात्मनाम् । प्रोक्तानि नारदेनेह सत्यानृतविशुद्ध्ये ॥

356 यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्दर्शनास्वार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

357 पुराणोक्तो द्वौ श्लोको भवतः । यः परार्थे ग्रहिण्यात्स्वां वाचं पुरुषाधमः । आत्मार्थे किं न कुर्यात्स पापो नरकनिर्भयः ॥ वाच्यार्थो नियताः सर्वे धातुमूला वाग्विनिश्चिताः । यो हि तां स्तेनयेद्वाचं स सर्वरतयकृन्नरः ॥ नारद ( ऋणादान 227-228 ).

358 सत्यं बाह्वनशस्त्राणि गोधीजकनकादि च । ... हत्येते शपथाः गोत्रेण मनुना स्वल्प-कारणे । ऋणादान 248, 250; देवं पञ्चविधं ज्ञेयमित्याह भगवान्मनुः । ऋणादान 251, छायाविनिवेशितो रक्षयो दिनशेषमभोजनः । विषवेऽङ्गुमानातः शुद्धोऽसौ मनुस्मृति ॥ ऋणादान 326.



crediting Manu with dividing ordeals into five kinds and giving his view about poison ordeal have no corresponding passage in the extant Manu. Therefore Nārada had a version of Manu before him that was somewhat different in certain respects from our Manu or Nārada may be referring to Vṛddha or Br̥hat Manu. Besides this there is one remarkable fact to be noted about the relation of Manu and Nārada. There are about 50 verses that are common to Manu and Nārada. Manu 8. 12-14 and 18-19 are Nārada (sabhā, verses 8-10 and 12-13 in a different order), Manu 8. 140-141 = N. (ṛṇādāna 99-100), Manu 8. 148-149 = N. (ṛṇādāna 80-81), M. 8. 143 = N. (r. 129, M. 8. 64 = N. (r. 177), M. 8. 72 = N. (r. 189), M. 8. 93 and 113 = N. (r. 199, 201), M. 98-99 = N. (r. 208, 209 and Udyogaparva 35.33-34), M. 8. 89 = N. (r. 225), M. 8. 186-187, 189, 191 = N. (upanidhi 10-13), M. 8. 232-233, 235 = N. (vetanasya-anapākarina 14-16 in a different order), M. 9. 47 = N. (marital relation, verse 28), M. 8. 224-225 = N. (marital relation, 33-34), M. 9. 357-358 = N. (marital relation, 65-66 in reverse order), M. 9. 3 = N. (dāyabhāga 31), M. 9. 216 = N. (dāyabhāga 44), M. 8. 267-269 = N. (vākparūṣya 15-17), M. 9. 270-272 = N. (vākparūṣya 22-24), M. 8. 281-284 = N. (daṇḍa-parūṣya 26-29), M. 4. 87 = N. (prakīrṇaka 44).

Nārada (ṛṇādāna 158) 'śrotriyās-tāpaśa vṛddhā ye ca pravrajitā narāḥ 1 asākṣinas-te vacanān nātra heturudāhṛtaḥ' has probably Manu 8. 65 in view where we read 'na sāksi . . . na śrotriyo na līngastho na saṅgebhya vinirgataḥ'.

Besides these there are several cases where Nārada closely agrees with Manu though the verses are not identical, e. g. Nārada (sāhasa 19) may be compared with Manu 9. 271 and Nārada (appendix on theft, verses 1-4) may be compared with Manu (9. 256-260). These facts establish that Nārada is based on a version of Manu that was essentially the same as the extant text of Manu, though there was some difference here and there. Nārada contains several verses that occur in the Mahābhārata. Foreexample, Śānti 111. 66 = N. (vyavahāra-mātrkā 72),<sup>339</sup> Udyoga 35. 58 = N. (sabhā, verse 18), Udyoga 35. 31-32 = N. (r. 202-203). There are several cases where the text of Kauṭilya agrees with

<sup>339</sup> तलवद् दृश्यते व्योम सद्योतो हव्यवाडिव । न तलं विद्यते व्योम्नि न सद्योते द्रुताभानः ॥



Nārada.<sup>360</sup> In some of these cases the agreement is almost word for word.<sup>361</sup>

Though Nārada is based on Manu, he differs in several essential matters from Manu. We have seen the difference between them in the nomenclature of the titles of law. Manu only casually mentions the ordeals of fire and water (8. 114), while Nārada enumerates five kinds of ordeals, describes them at length and adds two more viz. *tanḍula-bhaksya* and *taptamaśa* (ṛṇādāna, verses 259-348). He allows *Niyoga* (marital relation, verses 80-88), while Manu strongly condemns it. He allows remarriage of women (Nārada, marital relation, 97), while Manu is against it. Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves (8. 415), while Nārada raises their number to fifteen (*abhupetyaśuśrūṣa*, verses 26-28); Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 221-228), while Nārada allows it under state control and as a source of revenue; Nārada is further far more systematic than Manu and is full of divisions and subdivisions. For example, he divides property into three kinds, each of which is again subdivided into seven varieties (ṛṇādāna 44-47); Nārada divides the law of gift into four sections, which are further subdivided into 32; he subdivides the eighteen titles into 132 (*vyavahāra-mātṛkā* I. 25).

There are a few points which are almost peculiar to Nārada, such as the fourteen kinds of impotent persons (*striputinsayoga* 11-13), the three kinds of *punarbbas* and four kinds of *svairiṇis* (*ibid.* verses 45-52).

Nārada is probably later than Yājñavalkya. Yāj. knows only five kinds of ordeals, while Nārada knows seven and the former's treatment of them is not so exhaustive as Nārada's. The rules of judicial procedure in Nārada are more systematic and exhaustive than those of Yāj. Nārada contains more definitions than Yāj. In some respects however Nārada is more conservative than Yāj. For example, Nārada nowhere recognises the rights of the widow to

360 Compare कौटिल्य, धर्मस्थाय, chap. I, verses at the end with नारद, व्यवहार-मातृका 1st chap., verses 2, 10-11, 39-40.

361 धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोयमुत्तरः पूर्वसाधकः ॥ तत्र सत्ये स्थितो धर्मो व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु । चरित्रं पुस्तकरणे राजाज्ञायां तु शासनम् ॥ नारद, व्यवहारमातृका I. 10-11; the first half in each verse is the same in कौटिल्य.



succeed to her deceased husband as Yāj. does; Nārada gives no rules about the succession of *gotrajas* and *bandhus* as Yāj. does. In a few respects Nārada agrees with the views of Manu instead of with Yāj., such as allowing a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra woman. Nārada regards sexual intercourse with a pravrajitā (female ascetic) as a mortal sin (*śrīpumsayoga* 74-75), while both Manu (8. 363) and Yāj. (II. 293) treat it lightly. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Nārada flourished nearly at the same time as or somewhat later than Yāj.

Nārada contains several rare words such as "hoḍha" (in *vyavahāramātrkā* I. 27, meaning 'one's property when lost or stolen'). He gives expression to certain principles of law and politics, such as that a man is master of his own house, in other words, a man's house is his castle;<sup>362</sup> he highly eulogises the office of king, almost assigning it a divine origin and exhorts the people to obey and honour even a weak and undeserving king.<sup>363</sup> Mr. Jayasval sees in this and in the fact that Nārada speaks of *dināra* while the *Mṛcchakaṭika* speaks of *nāṇaka* indications that Nārada belongs to the fourth century, is later than the drama, is propping up the authority of a new dynasty and flourished under the Imperial Guptas (C. W. N. vol. 17, p. CCLXXXV). He regards a person as minor till the sixteenth year.<sup>364</sup> This limit was probably first fixed by Nārada. Nārada further boldly says that in case of conflict between *dharma-śāstra* and usages, the latter have to be followed, as they are directly observed.<sup>365</sup>

As Nārada's is regarded as an authoritative *smṛti* by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other later writers and as Asahāya, who is mentioned by name in the commentary of Viśvarūpa, wrote a comment on

362 त्रयः स्वतन्त्रा लोकेस्मिन् राजाचार्यस्तथैव च । प्रनिवर्णं च सर्वेषां वर्णानां स्वे गृहे गृही ॥  
 कृणादान 32. This idea occurs in शांतिपर्व 321. 147 'सर्वः स्वे स्वे गृही राजा'.

363 Vide प्रकीर्णक verses 20-22 राजेति संचारत्येष भूमौ साक्षात् सहस्रदक् । न तस्या-  
 ह्यामतिक्रम्य संतिष्ठेरन् प्रजाः क्वचित् ॥... निर्वेलोपि यथा स्त्रीणां पूज्य एव पतिः सदा ।  
 प्रजानां विगुणोप्येवं पूज्य एव प्रजापतिः ॥

364 बाल आ षोडशाद् वर्षात् पोगण्ड इति शस्यते । परतो व्यवहारः स्वतन्त्रः पितरौ  
 विना ॥ कृणादान 25-36.

365 धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तिको विधिः स्मृतः । व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावहीयते ॥  
 व्यवहारमातृका 40.



Nārada, the Nāradaśmṛti must be older by some centuries than the 8th century, the latest date to which Asahāya can be assigned. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī compares the royal palace to Nāradiya.<sup>166</sup> Ordinarily Nāradiya standing by itself would denote the Nārada-purāṇa (compare Viṣṇu-purāṇa 3. 6. 21 where we have the form Nāradiya for the purāṇa). The Nārada-purāṇa (Venkatesvara Press edition, Bombay) contains, however, no treatment of rājadharmā. Bāṇa may have intended a violent pun, meaning 'the palace where the duties of kings were being expounded (āvarṇyamāna), like the Nāradiya in which rājadharmā has not been set forth (avarṇyamāna).' European scholars like Dr. Jolly and Bühler hold that Bāṇa refers to the extant Nāradaśmṛti. But on this explanation also the difficulty is not entirely got over. The extant Nārada can hardly be described as a treatise on rājadharmā. It deals only in an indirect way with one aspect of the king's duties and is rather concerned with vyavahāra and the duties of the subjects towards each other from the strictly legal point of view. If we turn to the Mahābhārata and other works, we shall find that rājadharmā meant something different from what is treated of in the Nāradaśmṛti. Therefore Bāṇa's reference to the Nāradiya is of a doubtful character. The Rājanīti-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara frequently quotes Nārada on politics (pp. 3, 13, 79). These quotations are not traced in the printed Nārada. Therefore it is highly probable that Bāṇa refers to a distinct work of Nārada on politics which has not yet been recovered.

The Vyavahāramātrkā of Jimūtavāhana and the Parāśara-Mādhaviya (vol. III, part I, p. 203) quote a verse from Nārada, the latter half of which is the same as the latter half of a verse in the Vikramorvaṣīya.<sup>167</sup> The doctrine attributed to Nārada is found in Yaj. (II. 20) and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, (6. 22) but not in the same words. Unfortunately the date of Kālidāsa is far from being universally accepted, but the fourth or first half of the 5th century is often accepted as the probable date. There is further diffi-

<sup>166</sup> 'नारदीयमिवावर्ण्यमानराजधर्मम्' (राजकुलं) p. 91 of Peterson's ed.

<sup>167</sup> अनेकार्थाभियुक्तेन सर्वद्रव्यापलापिनः । विभाषितैकदेशेन देयं यदभियुज्यते ॥ अपरार्कं (on याज्ञ. II. 20); व्यवहारमानुका of जी० pp. 310-11; हंस प्रयच्छ मे कान्ता गतिरस्यास्त्वया हृता । विभाषिते ... युज्यते ॥ विक्रमोर्वशीय 1V. 17 (Pandit's ed),



culty in the fact that the text of the Vikramorvaśīya has been largely tampered with. If the verse is a genuine part of the drama, it seems natural to suppose that Kālidāsa turns a well-known legal maxim to a somewhat humorous use. It is hard to suppose that Nārada would borrow the words of a dramatist for setting forth a legal maxim. This would push back the date of Nārada far beyond the 5th century. Nārada in two places uses the word "dināra", once in the sense of a golden ornament and again as a coin or unit of value also called "suvarṇa." In this last case he says that "dināra is equal to 48 Kārṣāpaṇas or twelve dhānakas." Jolly ( R. u. S. p. 23 ) thinks that Indian *dināras* can scarcely be older than the 2nd century A. D., although in the times of the Indo-Scythian kings coins of the weight of *dināra* occur. Therefore Jolly is of opinion that Nārada is later than 300 A. D. Winternitz ( History of Indian Literature, vol. II. p. 216 n. 4 ) follows him in this assumption that all Sanskrit works in which the word *dināra* occurs must be later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It may be that the golden *dināras* most numerous found in India belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. But as Keith points out ( J. R. A. S. 1915 p. 504 ) Jolly's assumption is wrong and the introduction of *dināras* into India need not be later than the beginning of the Christian era. Golden *dināras* were first coined in Rome in 207 B.C. and the oldest Indian pieces corresponding in weight to the Roman Denarius were struck by Indo-Scythian kings who reigned from the first century B. C. ( W. B. p. 44 ). Therefore there is nothing to prevent us from holding that Nārada flourished in the first centuries of the Christian era, i. e. between 100 and 300 A. D. Mr. Jayasval assigns him to the 4th century A. D. and after the Mṛcchakaṭika. Most scholars would not be prepared to assign to the Mṛcchakaṭika so early a date as the 3rd century A. D. Besides Mr. Jayasval builds his theory on very slender foundations. Because the drama employs the word *nāpaka* and Nārada speaks of *dināra* only, no chronological conclusion as to the priority of the one to the other can be drawn. After both words became current in the language, one author, though later, may employ one word, while another, though earlier, may employ the other.

368 मणयः पद्मरागाद्या दीनारादि हिरण्यम् । मुकाविद्रुमशङ्काद्याः प्रवृष्टाः स्वामिगामिनः ॥  
नारद, व्यवहारमातृका II. 34 : कर्षापणोण्डिका गेया ताश्रितस्वस्तु धानकः । नव-  
द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव च ॥ परिशिष्ट verse 60.



It is difficult to say anything as to the home of Nārada. In the appendix on theft Nārada in one place says that in the south a silver kārṣāpaṇa is current, that in the east it is equal to twenty paṇas and that he does not follow the standard of kārṣāpaṇa current in the land of the five rivers.<sup>369</sup> From these data and from the fact that the oldest mss. of Nārada come from Nepal and that an old commentary on Nārada in Newari was composed in Nepal, Dr. Jolly conjectures that Nārada's home was to be sought in Nepal. This is all pure guess-work. There is no reason why Nārada could not have hailed from central India. The places where the oldest and best mss. of a work are found can hardly ever be indications of the original home of an ancient author. Bhāmaha is by common consent a Kashmirian writer on Poetics, but the only mss. of his work so far found come from southern India.

Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures 1918, p. 90), probably following the Nayaandrikā, hazards the conjecture that the writer called Piśuna cited in the Kauṭīliya is another name of Nārada. Beyond the bare fact that Nārada is often credited in the purāṇas with the role of instigating feuds and quarrels and that the word piśuna means "wicked, back-biter", there is nothing to support this identification.

A Jyotiṛ-Nārada is quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturviṃśatimata ( p. 11 ). A Brhan-Nārada is quoted by Raghunandana and a Laghu-Nārada in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāra-Kaustubha.

In the Mahābhārata several opinions are attributed to Nārada. One of them condemns the eating of flesh.<sup>370</sup> The first half of the last verse is the same as Manu 5. 52. Nārada is credited with having divided utpātas (portents) into three varieties.<sup>371</sup> Nārada is said to have held the view that one must always be active.<sup>372</sup> It appears that all these views are taken from some work or works of a Nārada.

369 क्रापोपणो दक्षिणस्यां द्विशि रौप्यः प्रवर्तते । पणोर्निबद्धः पूर्वस्यां विशतिस्तु पणाः स तु ॥... पाश्चनद्याः प्रदेशे तु संज्ञा या व्यावहारिकी । कार्षापणम्, पणं तु निबद्धमिह ने-  
तया ॥ चौर्यप्रतिषेधप्रकरणे 57 and 59.

370 स्वमांसं परमांसेन यो वर्धयितुमिच्छति । नारदः प्राह धर्मात्मा नियतं सोवसीदति ॥  
अनुशासन 115. 14.

371 उत्पानांस्त्रिविधान् प्राह नारदो भगवानृषिः । द्विव्याश्वेवान्तरिक्षांश्च पार्थिवान् पितामह ॥  
समा 46. 8-9

372 तस्मात्कर्मैव कर्तव्यमिति होवाच नारदः । उद्योगपर्व 49.



The first is probably taken from Nārada's version of the *Manusmṛti* of which the purāṇas speak as stated above ( note 270 ).

For Asahāya the commentator of Nārada vide section 58 below.

### 37. *Bṛhaspati*

*Bṛhaspati* as a *sūtra* writer on politics has been dealt with above (section 26). In this section *Bṛhaspati* the jurist will be spoken of. The complete *smṛti* of *Bṛhaspati* on law has not yet been discovered. It will be, when discovered, a very precious monument of ancient India, exhibiting the high-water mark of Indian acumen in strictly legal principles and definitions. Dr. Führer collected together 84 verses ascribed to *Bṛhaspati* in the legal treatises of *Aparārka* and others with German translation and notes (Leipzig, 1879) and Dr. Jolly collected about 711 verses of *Bṛhaspati* on law and translated them in the *Sacred Books of the East* ( vol. 33 ).

Yāj. (I. 4-5) enumerates *Bṛhaspati* among the writers on *dharma*, but he is probably referring to *Bṛhaspati*'s work on politics. The com. on the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* ( p. 7 ) quotes the first verse of *Bṛhaspati*'s *Nītiśāstra*.

We saw above how *Bṛhaspati* closely follows the extant *Manusmṛti*, how he pointedly refers to the text of *Manu* ( notes 282-286 ) and therefore might by analogy be styled a *vārtikakāra* of *Manu*. In many places *Bṛhaspati* explains and illustrates the laconic treatment of *Manu*. *Manu* ( 8. 153 ) speaks of four varieties of interest ( *Cakra*, *Kāla*, *Kārita*, and *Kāyika* ), but does not explain these terms. *Bṛhaspati* explains them clearly.<sup>373</sup> *Manu* ( 8. 49 ) enumerates five modes of recovering a debt ( *dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *chala*, *ācarita*, *bala* ) but leaves them unexplained ; *Bṛhaspati* devotes several verses to the explanation of these terms ( vide *Kullūka* on *Manu* 8. 49 ). *Bṛhaspati* gives elaborate rules regarding partnership. *Bṛhaspati* enumerates nine ordeals ( of fire, water, poison, balance, *kośa*, *taptamaśa*, *tanḍulas*, *dharmādharma*, *phala* ); while *Manu* barely alludes to two. *Manu* devotes only three verses to *samvidvyatikrama* ( 8. 219-221 ), but *Bṛhaspati* must have devoted at least a score of verses to this topic, as *Aparārka* alone quotes 17 verses of *Bṛhaspati* on this title.

373 Vide कुल्लूक ०० मनु 8.153: तासां स्वरूपमाह बृहस्पतिः । कायिका कायसंयुक्ता म.स-  
यासा च कालिका । वृद्धेर्वृद्धिश्चकृद्धिः कारिता ऋणिना कृता ॥



The order in which the topics of law appeared in Bṛhaspati can be settled with tolerable certainty from the quotations in Aparārka, Vivādaratnākara, Viramīrodaya and others works. It was as follows:—the four stages of a law-suit, proof (kriyā, human of three sorts and divine), witnesses (of 12 kinds), documents (ten kinds), bhukti (possession), ordeals (nine), 18 titles, ṛpādāna, nikṣepa, asvāmivikraya, sambhūya-samutthāna, dattāpradānika, abhyupetyā-śuśrūṣā, vetanasya-anapākarma, svāmipālavivāda, sanīvid-vyatikrama, vikriyāsanipradāna, simāvivāda, pāruṣya (of two kinds), sāhasa (of three kinds), strīsamgrahana, strīpuruṇidharma, vibhāga, dyūta, samāhvaya, prakīrṇaka (otherwise called 'nṛpāśraya vyavahāra,' wrongs for which proceedings are set on foot by the king).

Bṛhaspati was probably the first jurist to make a clear distinction between civil and criminal justice.<sup>374</sup> He divided the eighteen titles into two groups, those springing from wealth (14 titles) and those springing from injury to beings (4 titles). This distinction was probably dimly perceived by even Gāutama, when he says that in disputes based on injury there is no hard and fast rule about witnesses (i. e. about their interest in the subject of dispute).<sup>375</sup> Bṛhaspati like Nārada lays down the rule that a legal decision should not be arrived at merely on the basis of śāstra and that when a decision is devoid of reasoning, there is loss of dharma, for even a good man may be held to be a bad one or what is good may be held to be sinful in a judicial proceeding, just as Maṇḍavya was held to be a thief on a decision without thoughtful reasoning.<sup>376</sup> Bṛhaspati gives such elaborate definitions and rules about procedure from the filing of the plaint to the passing of the decree that he can very well stand comparison with modern legislators on the same subjects.

374 तदाह बृहस्पतिः । द्विपदो व्यवहारश्च धनहिंसासमुद्भवः । द्विसप्तधार्ममूलश्च हिंसासूल-  
श्चतुर्विधः ॥ व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत० p. 277 : vide also स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 9)  
'पाह्नये द्वे बन्धश्चैव परस्मात्संप्रहस्तथा । हिंसोद्भवानि चत्वारि पदान्याह बृहस्पतिः'.

375 न पीडाकृते नियन्धः । गो. ध. सू. 13. 9 on which हरदत्त says 'पीडाकरणे हिंसा-  
विषये । साक्षिणां नियन्धो न निरूप्यः । अर्थसंबन्धादि न किंचिदपि दूषणं भवति ।'

376 केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः । युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥  
चोरोऽचोरो साव्वसाधु जायेत व्यवहारतः । युक्तिं विना विचारेण माण्डव्यश्चोरेतां गतः ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 1 : compare नारद (व्यवहारमातृका chap. I.  
42) : यान्यचोरोपि चोरेत्वं चोरेत्यायात्यचोरेताम् । अचोरेश्चोरेतां प्राप्नो माण्डव्यो  
व्यवहारतः ॥ For the story of माण्डव्य, who kept silent, vide Ādiparva 107.



Nārada and Bṛhaspati agree very closely in several respects. For example, both speak of three kinds of proof, four parts of a judicial proceeding, almost the same defects of complaints, four kinds of answer, four divisions of the law of gift and their subdivisions, five modes of recovering debts, four kinds of sāhasa.

We have seen that Nārada departs from Manu in several essential matters. On the other hand Bṛhaspati follows Manu very closely. But he too differs on some points from Manu, for example, we saw above how Bṛhaspati dissents from Manu on the question of the divisibility of clothes &c. (note 285). He appears to differ from Manu as to the maximum interest allowed on corn, fruit, wool and beasts of burden.<sup>377</sup> Manu and Nārada are both silent as to the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate. But Bṛhaspati agreeing with Yājñavalkya makes her the first heir of her sonless husband.<sup>378</sup>

These considerations make it clear that Bṛhaspati is certainly later than Manu and Yāj. It is difficult to state his exact relationship to Nārada. He agrees more closely with Manu than Nārada does, but in some respects such as definitions and the rights of women he shows great advance over Nārada. So he is probably a contemporary of or not much later than Nārada. He employs the word *nāṇaka*.<sup>379</sup> He defines a *dināra*, also called "*suvarṇa*", as equal to twelve *dhānakas* and says that a *dhānaka* was equal to four *aṇḍikas*, an *aṇḍika* being a copper *paṇa* weighing a *kārṣa* and bearing a stamp.<sup>380</sup> This agrees with what Nārada says about *dināra*.

377 इरण्ये द्विगुणा वृद्धिस्त्रिगुणा वस्त्रकुप्यकं । धान्ये चतुर्गुणा प्रोक्ता शदे वासे लवेषु च ॥  
बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 39; compare मनु 8. 151.

378 आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः । शरीरार्थं स्मृता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यफले  
समा ॥ यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्थं तस्य जीवति । जीवत्यर्थशरीरार्थं कथमन्यः  
समाप्नुयात् ॥ सकुल्यैर्वियमानेस्तु पितृभ्रातृसनाभिभिः । असुतस्य प्रमीतस्य पत्नी  
तद्भागहारिणी ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 135. The Mit.  
has the last verse.

379 कुलीनदक्षानलसेः प्राज्ञैर्नाणकवेदिभिः । अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 259; वि. र. p. 711  
and वीर. p. 383.

380. Vide note 268 above. ताम्रकर्षकता मुद्रा विज्ञेयः कार्षिकः पणः । स एव चाण्डिका  
प्रोक्ता ताश्चतसस्तु धानका ॥ ता द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव तु । बृह.  
quoted in स्मृतिच. p. 99, वि. र. p. 667. कात्यायन is quoted on same page  
by the स्मृतिच. for a similar definition.



Dr. Jolly ( S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 276 ) assigns Brhaspati to the 6th or 7th century A. D. But this is much later by several centuries than the evidence warrants. Kātyāyana was looked upon as an authoritative writer along with Nārada and Brhaspati by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. This position he could not have attained in a century or two. So he cannot be placed later than the 6th century. Kātyāyana in several places quotes Brhaspati as an authority. Aparārka quotes Kātyāyana as saying that according to Brhaspati pastures, ways, clothes that are worn on the body, debts ( or books for use according to others ) and what is set apart for religious purposes should not be partitioned.<sup>381</sup> Kātyāyana says that according to Brhaspati, that wealth which a man acquires by means of his learning after refuting an opponent in a contest with a stake for the winner is styled " vidyādhana " and is not liable to partition<sup>382</sup>; and what is acquired through valour &c. by persons that were taught in the family or learnt under their father should be partitioned among the brothers, according to Brhaspati. If a man falsely denies his liability and if only a part of the claim is brought home to him, then he should be made to pay the whole.<sup>383</sup> That the statement of a witness may be relied upon on a matter under his direct perception owing to his being near the plaintiff and the defendant and not otherwise; so says Brhaspati.<sup>384</sup> The foregoing examples show that Kātyāyana looked upon Brhaspati as an authority who must therefore have flourished several centuries before. Therefore Brhaspati cannot be placed later than the 4th century A. D. As he knew the extant Manusmṛti, was later than Yāj. and probably than Nārada, Brhaspati must have flourished between 200 and 400 A. D. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes, without making any difference, prose and verse passages of Brhaspati and thereby shows that in his opinion the jurist Brhaspati

381 गोप्रचारश्च रथ्या च वस्त्रं यन्वाङ्मनोजितम् । प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत धर्मार्थं च बृहस्पतिः ॥  
वि. र. p. 505 and अपराकं on याज्ञ. II. 119.

382 परं निरस्य यद्बन्धं विद्यातो ब्रूतपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्यान् विभाज्यं बृहस्पतिः ॥  
quoted by अपराकं on या. II. 119; परा. मा. III. 2. p. 559.

383 सर्वापलापं यः कृत्वा मिथ्याल्पमात्रं संवदेत् । सर्वमेव तु दाप्यं स्यादिति युक्तो बृहस्पतिः ॥  
व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत. p. 311.

384 अर्थिपत्यर्थिसान्निभ्यदनुभूतं तु यद्वेत् । तद्व्याप्तं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्वधाह बृहस्पतिः ॥  
quoted in the व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत. p. 317.



(in verse) was identical with the political writer Bṛhaspati and was a very ancient writer in his day. Medhātithi (on Manu 9. 153) quotes the verse "na pratigrahabhūr" (ascribed to Bṛhaspati by others) as Smṛtyantara. Bṛhaspati is cited in a few cases as referring to his own views in the third person<sup>385</sup>; sometimes he uses the first person also.<sup>386</sup> Nothing can be said about his country at present. In a well-known passage Bṛhaspati refers to the usages of the southern people, of the people in the Madhyadeśa, of the eastern and northern people.<sup>387</sup> In a striking and beautiful passage Bṛhaspati compares vyavahāra with yajña,<sup>388</sup> the king with Viṣṇu, the successful party with the sacrificer and the defeated party with the victim, the plaint and the reply to food and the *pratijñā* to the sacrificial offering (prepared from food), the śāstras to the three Vedas and the *sabhyas* to the priests in a sacrifice. Bṛhaspati seems to have been very fond of such long-drawn metaphors.<sup>389</sup>

The Smṛticandrikā quotes about seventy verses of Bṛhaspati in the Āhnika portion and about forty on Śrāddha. In the later works like the Parāśara-Mādhaviya, the Nirṇayasindhu and Saṁskāra-Kaustubha, the number of verses quoted from Bṛhaspati is much larger than even those quoted by the Smṛticandrikā. Those verses are quoted on such saṁskāras as pūrṇāvāna, nāmakaraṇa, caula, upanayana, vivāha and also on āśauca and purification of dravyas. Even the Mitākṣarā quotes several verses of Bṛhaspati on matters

385 तादृगं बन्धनं चैव तथैव च विद्वन्मकम् । एष दण्डो हि भूद्रस्य नार्थदण्डो वृक्षपतिः ॥  
परा. मा. III. 1. p. 212; स्मृतिच०

386 एष दण्डः समाख्यातः पुरुषापेक्षया मया । quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 211.

387 उद्गुह्यते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः ॥  
मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः । उत्तरे मदापा नार्यः सृश्या नृणां राजस्वलाः ॥  
वीर. p. 29, अथ. म. &c.

388 यज्ञे संपूज्यते विष्णुर्गृहहारे महीपतिः । जयी तु यजमानोऽत्र जितः पशुछदाहृतः ॥  
पूर्ववक्षोत्तरावायं प्रतिज्ञा च हविः स्मृता । जयी शास्त्राणि सभ्यास्तु कृत्विजो दाक्षिणा-  
दने ॥ quoted in व्य. मा. p. 284.

389 ० ४. विप्रो धर्मद्रुमस्यादिः स्कन्दशास्त्रे महीपतिः । सचिवाः पञ्चपुष्पाणि फलं न्यायेन  
पालनम् ॥ यशो वित्तं फलरसो भोगोऽयमपूजनम् । जनेभ्यस्त्वं लोकपतिः स्वर्गे स्थानं  
च शाश्वतम् ॥ वीर० p. 14. Compare नारद (व्य. मा. I. 33 for the second  
verse),



other than vyavahāra. For example the Mit. on Yāj. I. 210 quotes a verse of Bṛhaspati that a nivartana (of land) is equal to 30 daṇḍas in area (daṇḍa being seven cubits in length) and ten nivartanas are equal to a *gotarma*.<sup>390</sup> On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati about impurity on birth or death &c. On Yāj. III. 21 the Mit. cites the definition of deśāntara given by Bṛhaspati.<sup>391</sup> On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's opinion that the period of mourning on the death of one's maternal grandfather, ācārya or śrotṛiya is three days. On Yāj. III. 253 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's rule as to prāyaścitta for consciously drinking wine.<sup>392</sup> Vide also Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, 250, 254, 260, 290 for other quotations from Bṛhaspati.

The foregoing therefore establishes that Bṛhaspati was known at least to the Mit. and later writers as an expounder in verse not only of vyavahāra but also of other topics of dharma as well. As over a thousand verses of Bṛhaspati (including about 800 on vyavahāra) are quoted it appears that his work must have been an extensive one comprising several thousand verses. Such a work of Bṛhaspati has yet to be recovered.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 261 quotes a Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati on the nine varieties of saṁkara.<sup>393</sup> Kullūka on Manu (9. 181) cites a verse of Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati about the eleven subsidiary sons (vide note 283 above, where the verse is ascribed to Bṛhaspati). Hemādri (Caturvarga vol. III, part 2, p. 472) quotes a Jyotir-Bṛhaspati on the prohibition of a śrāddha on the thirteenth tithi of the dark half. Aparārka on Yāj. II. 3-4 quotes three verses from Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati

<sup>390</sup> समहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद् दण्डा निवर्तनम् । दश तान्येव गौर्चर्म दत्त्वा स्वर्गे महीयते ॥

A similar verse occurs in the बृहस्पतिस्मृति (Jivananda part I. p. 645) where the reading is दशहस्तेन.

<sup>391</sup> महानयन्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः । वाचो यत्र विभियन्ते तद् देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥  
देशान्तरं वदन्येके षष्टियोजनमायतम् । चत्वारिंशद्वदन्यन्ये त्रिंशदन्ये तथैव च ॥

<sup>392</sup> सुरापाने कामरुते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिक्षिपेत् । मुखे तथा विनिर्दग्धे मृतः शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥

<sup>393</sup> यथाह बृहस्पतिः । एकशय्यासनं पक्षिर्भाण्डपङ्कयन्मिश्रणम् । याजनाद्यापने योनिस्तथा च सह भोजनम् । नवधा संकरः प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योधर्मैः सह ॥ These are ascribed to बृहस्पति by the गृह्यसूत्रभाष्यकार (folio 130a of D. C. Ms. No. 44 of A 1883-84).



about the derivation of the word "prāḍ-vivāka" and one on the punishment for sabhyas who take bribes. Three of these verses are ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the Parāśara-Mādhaviya and other works and one of them to Kātyāyana in the Vyavahāra--māṭṛkā.

### 38. Kātyāyana

Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana form a triumvirate in the realm of the ancient Hindu Law and procedure. The work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, like that of Bṛhaspati, has yet to be recovered. The following account is based on the quotations from Kātyāyana contained in about a dozen works from Viśvarūpa to the Viramitrodaya.

Kātyāyana is enumerated as one of the expounders of dharma by Śaṅkha-Likhita, Yājñavalkya (I. 4-5) and Parāśara. A Kātya. is quoted as an authority in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (I. 2. 47). A Śrautasūtra and Śrāddhakalpa of the white Yajurveda are ascribed to Kātyāyana.

Kātyāyana appears to have taken Nārada and Bṛhaspati as his models in the order and treatment of the subjects to be dealt with in vyavahāra. He closely follows both the writers in terminology and technique. On several points he presupposes Nārada and expounds and elucidates the latter's dicta. For example, Nārada (Intro. chap. I. 10-11) lays down that vyavahāra has four pādas, each later one prevailing over the preceding, viz. dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, rājaśasana (note 361) and then Nārada very briefly in one verse explains these four terms. Kātyāyana on the other hand devotes at least nine verses to the elucidation of the rule as to each succeeding one prevailing over its predecessor.<sup>394</sup> Nārada contains very little on the topic of strīdhana (dāyabhāga chap. verses 8-9). He merely enumerates the six kinds of strīdhana and then lays down the rule of succession. Kātyāyana's treatment of strīdhana has attained classical rank. It appears that he was probably the first to carefully define the several kinds of strīdhana (such as adhyagni, adhyāvahanika, prītidatta, śulka, anvādheyā, saudāyika), to lay down woman's power of disposal over the several varieties of strīdhana and to prescribe lines of devolution as to strīdhana. The verses on this topic occurring in the nibandhas number about thirty.

<sup>394</sup> Vide पुरा. मा. vol. III, part I, pp. 16-17, and वीर. p. 9-10, 120-121.



The leading nibandhas contain only a few quotations from Brhaspati on stridhana. Hence it may be surmised that Kātyāyana probably was the first smṛti writer to give elaborate rules on this topic.

It has been already shown (notes 381-384) how Kātyāyana often quotes the views of Brhaspati. A few more examples may be added here. According to Brhaspati, says Kātyāyana, when a man who stands surety with others on a joint liability goes abroad, his son would have to pay the whole debt, but if the man dies then the son would be liable for his father's share only.<sup>395</sup> When cattle stray into fields, gardens, houses or cowpens, they may be, according to Brhaspati, caught hold of (by the ear &c.) or beaten.<sup>396</sup> According to Brhaspati, a man of the kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra caste may employ one of his own caste to do the work of a dāsa (slave or serf), but even a Brāhmaṇa could never employ another Brāhmaṇa in the same way.<sup>397</sup>

About a dozen nibandhas on vyavahāra quote about 900 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the Smṛticandrikā alone citing about 600 of them. In these verses Kātyāyana refers at least a score of times to the views of Bhṛgu. It is remarkable that only a few of the views ascribed to Bhṛgu are found in the extant Manusmṛti. Kātyāyana says, according to Bhṛgu, whatever (ancestral) wealth was concealed by one coparcener from others, whatever was badly divided should be divided in equal shares when afterwards discovered (Parāśara-Mādhaviya III, p. 566). This may well be compared with Manu 9. 215. Kātyāyana says according to Bhṛgu, it is not Brāhmaṇa-murder to kill an ātāyīn who is foremost by his austerities, learning and caste. This has in view Manu 8. 360. Kullūka distinctly says that Kātyāyana simply explains the verse of Manu by referring to it as Bhṛgu's. On the other hand there are several places where the views ascribed to Bhṛgu find no counterpart in the extant Manu. According to

395 एकच्छायाश्रिते सर्वे दद्यात् प्रोषिते सुतः । मृते पितरि पित्रंशे परणे न बृहस्पतिः ॥  
परा. मा. III, p. 251.

396 क्षेत्रागमविहीनेषु गृहेषु पशुपादिषु । ग्रहणं तत्प्रविष्टानां ताडनं वा बृहस्पतिः ॥  
वि. २, p. 241.

397 क्षत्रविशुद्धयमस्तु समवर्णे कदाचन । कारयेद् दासकर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न बृहस्पतिः ॥  
वि. २, p. 152.



Bhṛgu in all *sahasas* of the worst type the truth should be found out by means of divine proof ( ordeals &c. ) even though there may be witnesses.<sup>398</sup> There is nothing in the Manusmṛti corresponding with this. According to Bhṛgu the ordeals of balance &c. are prescribed for those who are suspected to be in league with marauders and who have incurred popular censure, but in such cases there is no undertaking ( by the complainant to pay fine ).<sup>399</sup> The Manusmṛti has not a word on this point. Household paraphernalia, beasts of burden, cattle, ornaments, slaves should be divided when discovered ; if they are ( alleged to be ) concealed, the ordeal of *kośa* should be resorted to ; so says Bhṛgu.<sup>400</sup> Another important circumstance deserves to be noted. Kātyāyana several times refers to the views of Manu. Kātyāyana says that the view of Manu was that in certain charges ( such as the commission of *mahāpātakas* ) the ordeals for the accused were to be performed by good men.<sup>401</sup> According to Manu if a woman deserted her son, though he may be able ( to pay ), her *stridhana* should be seized and the paternal debt should be paid thereout.<sup>402</sup> Manu declared, says Kātyāyana, that if animals be killed, the offender should offer ( to the owner ) another similar animal or its proper price ( note 345 above where Parāśara also quotes it as Manu's view ). All these views attributed to Manu by Kātyāyana are not found in the extant Manusmṛti. In certain places Kātyāyana refers to the views of the Mānavas ; e. g. according to the Gargiyas and Mānavas if a bribe had already been paid, the person receiving it should be made to repay it and should be fined eleven times as much ;<sup>403</sup> according to

398 उत्तमेषु च सर्वेषु साहसेषु विचारयेत् । सद्भावं दिव्यदृष्टेन सत्सु साक्षिषु वै भृगुः ॥  
परा. मा. III. p. 90.

399 लोकापवादबुष्टानां शङ्कितानां च दस्युभिः । तुलादीनि नियोज्यानि न शिरस्तत्र वै भृगुः ॥  
अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०.

400 गृहोपस्करवाद्याश्च दोहामरणकर्मिणः । दृश्यमाना विभज्यन्ते कोशं गृहेष्वीन्मनुः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 723 and परा. मा. III, p. 557.

401 एषु वादेषु दिव्यानि प्रतिविद्वांसि यत्नतः । कारयेत्सज्जनैस्तानि नाभिशस्तं त्यजेन्मनुः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 696 who ascribes it to भृगु. The टोडरानन्द reads त्यजेन्नरः.

402 या स्वपुत्रं तु जयात्स्वी समर्थमपि पुत्रिणी । आदृत्य स्त्रीधनं तत्र पित्र्यर्णं शोधयेन्मनुः ॥  
वि. र. p. 65.

403 अथ प्रागेव दत्ता स्वात्मविद्याप्यस्तथा बलात् । दण्डं चैकादशगुणमाहुर्गार्गीयमानवाः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 782 ; वि. र. 652 ( which reads आम्भीयमानवाः ).



the Manavas thieves caught red-handed with their booty should be at once banished.<sup>404</sup> As regards both these references, the teaching of the Manusmṛti seems to be different ; vide Manu 9. 231 and 270 respectively. These facts about Kātyāyana's references to Bhṛgu and Manu raise several difficult questions, whether Bhṛgu and Manu stand for two entirely different works or for the same work and whether he refers to some other version of the Manusmṛti ascribed to Bhṛgu. In my opinion he is not referring to two separate works, and that he had before him a version of the Manusmṛti promulgated by Bhṛgu but somewhat different from and probably larger than the present Manusmṛti.

In the *nibandhas* several verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana along with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Brhaspati. For example, the well-known verse about the sixfold division of stridhana ( *adhyagnya-dhyāvahanikam &c.* ) is ascribed by the Dāyabhāga to Manu and Kātyāyana. The half-verse "*varṇānāmānulomyena dāsyam na pratilomataḥ*" is the same in both Yājñavalkya ( II. 183 ) and Kātyāyana. The Viramitrodaya ( p. 140 ) ascribes a verse to Brhaspati and Kātyāyana, in which the opinion of Brhaspati is cited. There is very close agreement between the definitions proposed by the two last writers of dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, and rājaśāsana. Besides Manu (or Mānavas), Brhaspati and Bhṛgu, Kātyāyana cites the views of several other writers on dharma. For Gārgyas and Gautama vide notes 403 and 404 above. He says, according to Kauśika, powerful robbers were to be guarded by chains of iron, were to be low-fed and were to undergo hard labour for the state till death ( Aparārka p. 849 ). He quotes the view of Likhita that where a woman is deprived of food, raiment and dwelling ( by her husband's coparceners ) she would be entitled to demand her own ( stridhana ) and a share from the coparceners. In one case ( Aparārka p. 755 ). a verse is cited as Kātyāyana's in which Kātyāyana himself is named ( Parāśaramādhaviya III. p. 235 ).

Kātyāyana contains the same advanced views about law and rules of procedure as are found in Nārada and Brhaspati. He is even in

404 मानवाः सद्य एवाहुः सहोदारा प्रवासनम् । गौतमानामनिष्टं यस्माप्युच्छेदद्विगहितम् ॥  
वि. र. 332. It is not unlikely that the correct reading is प्रमापणं for प्रवासनं, as the immediately following view of गौतम suggests. The words of मनु are सद्यः खोपकरणं चातयेद्विचारयन्.



advance of these two writers in certain matters, such as definitions in general and the elaboration of rules about stridhana. He gives numerous definitions, such as those of vyavahāra, prādvivāka, stobhaka, dharmādhikaraṇa, tīrita and anuśiṣṭa, sāmanā &c. He seems to have been the first to invent some new terms. For example, he defines paścātkāra as a judgment given in favour of the plaintiff after a hot contest between the plaintiff and the defendant, while the term *jayapatra* is restricted by him to the judgment given on admission by the defendant or a judgment dismissing the suit on various grounds.<sup>405</sup> He lays down a stringent rule that if a man abandons a ground of defence or attack and puts forward a less cogent one, he would not be allowed to put forward again the stronger ground after a decisive judgment of the court.<sup>406</sup> This resembles the 4th explanation to section 11 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code (1908) about *res judicata*. The verses about kārṣapaṇa and dīnāra quoted above (note 368) from Nārada (pariśiṣṭa verses 58-60) are ascribed to Kātyāyana by the Smṛticandrikā.

The date of Kātyāyana can be settled only approximately. He is certainly much later than Manu and Yājñavalkya. As shown above he presupposes Nārada and regarded Bṛhaspati as a very leading authority on vyavahāra. Hence his upper limit is the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses as Kātyāyana's by name (vide on Yāj. II. 5, 6, 47, 63, 281) on such topics of Vyavahāra as the defects of the plaint, the contents of the plaint, the liability for the debts of a deceased person, payments of debts or honour (satyanikāra), punishment for abortion, grievous hurt and homicide of a Brahmana woman. Medhātithi (on Manu 7. 1) ascribes to Kātyāyana the rule that in case of conflict between the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra the king should prefer the former. Medhātithi on Manu (VIII. 216) speaks of Kātyāyana-sūtra, appears to quote a portion of it in prose and explains it.<sup>407</sup> Medhātithi

<sup>405</sup> निरस्तास्तु क्रिया यत्र प्रमाणेनैव वादिना । १ श्रात्कारो भवेत्तत्र न सर्वसु विधीयते ॥  
अन्यवायादिहनिभ्य इतरेषां प्रदीयते । वृत्तानुवादसंक्षिप्तं तच्च स्याज्जयपत्रकम् ॥  
स्मृतिक०, दोहरानन्द, वीर०

<sup>406</sup> क्रिया बलवती भूत्वा दुर्बला योवलम्बते । स जयेवपुते सभ्येः पुनस्तां नामुपात्  
क्रियाम् ॥ मिता० on याज्ञ. II. 80; व्य. भा. p. 281; वीर० p. 108.

<sup>407</sup> 'यो बान्यः कस्यचित्कर्मणि धनमावश्य अर्धतो निवर्तेतेति कात्यायनीये सूत्रे धनमावश्य  
आसज्य धनव्ययं कारयित्वा यदि अर्धरुने निवर्तेत सोऽपि तद्गृहेदित्यनुषङ्गः ॥'

M. D. 28.



says that Kātyāyana extended the maxim of the trader carrying merchandise ( bhāṇḍavāha-vaṇik maxim ) to all similar transactions. All known quotations of Kātyāyana are in verse. When Medhātithi speaks of a sutra and quotes a portion of it ( as “vā” and “iti” after “nivarteta” indicate ) in prose, we must either suppose that he is referring to some other work of Kātyāyana than the one in verse from which hundreds of verses are cited by other writers or that Kātyāyana’s work on vyavahāra also contains some prose passages. As hardly any other writer quotes a prose passage of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the second alternative appears somewhat unlikely. Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi regarded Kātyāyana as an authoritative *smṛtikāra* along with Nārada and Bṛhaspati. This position he could not have attained in less than a few hundred years. Therefore the lowest limit to which Kātyāyana can be assigned is the 6th century. Hence it may be said that Kātyāyana flourished between the 4th and 6th century A. D.

The Vyavahāramātrkā ( p. 307 ) quotes a Bṛhat-Kātyāyana on the question of proof. The Dāyabhāga mentions a Vṛddha-Kātyāyana. The Sarasvativilāsa also quotes verses of Vṛddha-Kātyāyana on rescission of purchase and other topics ( p. 320 ). In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say whether these two are different works. The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi ( vol. III, part 2, p. 657 ) speaks of Upakātyāyana. Aparārka quotes a verse from śloka-Kātyāyana which is not found in the Karmapradīpa ( Jivananda’s ed. ), but appears to be a summary of a prose passage quoted as Kātyāyana’s immediately before by Aparārka.

In Jivananda’s collection of smṛtis ( part I, pp. 603-644 ) there is one of Kātyāyana in three prapāthakas and 29 khaṇḍas and about five hundred verses. The same work is printed as Gobhila-smṛti in the Ānandaśrama collection ( pp. 49-71 ). It contains also a few prose passages in the 12th, 13th and 14th khaṇḍas. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, a few verses being in the Indravajra and other metres. The work is styled the Karmapradīpa of Kātyāyana. The opening verse justifies this name when it states that like a lamp the work will clearly show the mode of performing certain rites treated by Gobhila and other rites which are not clearly elucidated.<sup>408</sup> The contents of this work are briefly as follows :— how

408 अघातो गोभिलोक्तानामन्येषां चैव कर्मणाम् । अस्वशानां विधिं सम्बन्धार्थाधिपे प्रदीपयन् ॥



to wear the sacred thread; sipping water and touching various limbs with water; the worship of Gaṇeśa and fourteen mātṛs in every rite; kuśas; śrāddha details; consecration of sacred fires; details about araṇis, sruc, sruva; rules about cleansing the teeth and bathing; saṁdhya; prāṇāyāma, muttering of Vedic *mantras*; tarpaṇa of gods and manes; the great daily *yajñas*; who is to offer śrāddha; rules about periods of impurity due to death; duties of wife; śrāddhas of various kinds.

The Karmapradīpa mentions by name several authors. It very frequently cites the views of Gobhila ( pp. 603, 626, 638 ) and Gautama ( pp. 619, 620, 626, 630, 636, 639 ). The Karmapradīpa as the opening verse says is intimately related to the Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra. It distinctly says that as Gobhila did not dilate upon the details as to time and procedure of goyajña and vājiyajña, Kātyāyana dilates upon them. This is borne out by the Gobhila gṛhya-sūtra.<sup>409</sup> Another<sup>410</sup> passage of Kātyāyana about the Aṣṭakas is based upon the very words of the Gobhila gṛhya. Frequent reference is made to the views of Vasiṣṭha on the worship of Mātṛs ( p. 605 ), on śrāddha ( pp. 608, 625 ). Vide also p. 642 ( 28. 16 ). Among the other authors named are Nārada on the sticks for dantadhāvana ( p. 615 ), Bhārgava ( probably Uśanas ) on p. 640, Śaṇḍilya and Śaṇḍilyayana on p. 626. Kātyāyana is named in several places ( pp. 624, 627, 638 ) and once the first person is used ( as in " mamāpyetaḥ hr̥di sīhitam " p. 643 ). The Kātyāyanasmṛti quotes the verse of Manu ( III. 70 ) on the five great *yajñas*. On p. 633 four verses forming the consolation to be offered to the relatives of a person departed are the same as Yaj. ( III. 8.11 ) and one verse in the same context occurs in the Mahābhārata ( Śāntiparva

409 Vide p. 638 verses 1-11 of 26th khṇḍa and compare with Gobhilagṛhya-sūtra III. 6. 10-15 ( गोयज्ञे पायसश्चरुः । अग्निं यजेत पूषणमिन्द्रमर्षरम् । ऋषभपूजा । गोयज्ञेनैवाश्वयज्ञो व्याख्यातः । यमवर्णो देवतानामञ्चाधिकौ । गन्धैरभ्युक्ष्णं गवाम् । ) .

410 यस्तु शाकादिको ह्येमः कार्ष्णोपाशकावृतः । अन्वष्टव्यं मण्यमायामिति गोभिलगौतमौ । चार्कलण्डिश्च सर्वासु कौत्सां मेनेष्टकासुच ॥ कात्यायनः 17. 24 ( p. 626 ) ; compare गोभिलगृह्य III. 10. 4-7 'चतुरष्टको ह्येमन्तः ताः सर्वाः समास्ताश्चिकीर्षेदिति कौत्सः । अष्टक इत्योद्गाहमानिः । तथा गौतमवार्कसण्डौ । योर्धमायहायण्यास्तामिस्त्राष्टमी तामपूषाष्टकेत्याचक्षते । '



27. 31 and other places ).<sup>411</sup> On p. 631 Kātyāyana speaks of Rāma having performed yajñas taking as his spouse the golden image of Sītā.

The question is:—what is the date of this Kātyāyanasmṛti (Karmapradīpa) and whether it is the work of Kātyāyana the great jurist. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 254) quotes a verse as Kātyāyana's which occurs in Jīvananda's text (p. 624 verse 20); similarly the Mit. quotes two verses as Kātyāyana's (on Yāj. III. 247) which have a place in the Karmapradīpa (Jīvananda p. 634 verses 4-5). Scores of verses cited as Kātyāyana's by Aparārka (on ācāra and prāyaścitta) are found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, *vide* Aparārka p. 43 (three verses) and Karmapradīpa (p. 605, 1110-12), Aparārka p. 51 (three verses about samīdh) and Karmapr. (p. 613, 8. 17-19), Aparārka p. 135 (four verses about bathing in rivers) and Karma. (p. 615, 10. 5-7 and 14), Aparārka p. 532 (four verses on śrāddha in which Kātyāyana himself is cited as an authority) and Karma. (p. 624, 16. 16-19), Aparārka p. 872 (six verses) and Karma. (21. 2-7 p. 632), Aparārka p. 1066 (three verses about an *agnihotrīn* being guilty of mahāpātaka) and Karma. (23. 4-6 p. 634). The Smṛticandrikā also quotes profusely from Kātyāyana on *ācāra*, śrāddha etc. and cites from the Karma-pradīpa by name passages which occur in Jīvananda's edition. The above references show that in the eyes of the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka the Karmapradīpa was an authoritative work. Therefore it follows that it must have been composed centuries before the 11th century A. D. It is however remarkable that several quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and other works are not found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 242) cites Kātyāyana's verse about five varieties of lapses in conduct viz. mahāpātaka, atipātaka, pātaka, prasaṅgika, upapātaka and on Yāj. III. 260 quotes a verse of Kātyāyana about what are atipātakas. These are not to be traced in the Karmapradīpa printed by Jīvananda. Similarly Aparārka (pp. 94-95) quotes three verses of Kātyāyana that are very interesting but are not found in

<sup>411</sup> सर्वे क्षयान्ता निष्पत्ताः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं हि जनिताः ॥



Jivananda's edition.<sup>412</sup> Later works like the Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāramayūkha, the Madanapārijāta quote numerous verses of Kātyāyana on upanayana, marriage and other saṁskāras which we vainly seek to find in the Karmaṇḍapīṭha. Hence it follows that there was some large work of Kātyāyana of which the Karmaṇḍapīṭha is either an abridgment or only a portion.

The next question is whether Kātyāyana the jurist and the author of the Karmaṇḍapīṭha are identical. There are not sufficient data to identify the two. The only fact that points to the identity is that such eminent and early writers as Viṣṇūśaṅkara and Aparārka appear to make no distinction between the two. Besides the Karmaṇḍapīṭha is also an early work. Against this it has to be remembered that Viśvarūpa, probably the most ancient of all extant commentators, nowhere quotes Kātyāyana on ācāra and prāyaścitta. This absence of quotations is not a very cogent argument; still it raises a doubt in one's mind whether a work of Kātyāyana on ācāra and other non-jural topics was known to Viśvarūpa.

The other principal versified smṛtis will now be described in ( Sanskrit ) alphabetical order.

### 39. Aṅgiras

From Viśvarūpa downwards Aṅgiras is quoted very frequently on all topics except that of civil law ( vyavahāra ). Aṅgiras is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa<sup>413</sup> ( on Yāj. I. 9 ) states that according to Aṅgiras a *pariśad* may comprise 121 Brāhmaṇas. On Yāj. I. 50 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Aṅgiras that what is done according to one's own will without following the dictates of śāstra is fruitless.<sup>414</sup> On Yāj. III. 248 Viśvarūpa says that the *vrata* called Vajra was prescribed by Aṅgiras for Brāhmaṇas guilty of deadly sins. Viśvarūpa ( on Yāj. III. 265 ) quotes two verses of Aṅgiras on the prāyaścitta for killing the wife of a Brāhmaṇa who has kindled the sacred fires, for killing wives of

<sup>412</sup> वरयित्वा तु यः कश्चित्पणश्चेत्पुरुषो यदा । रक्षागमांश्चीनतीत्य कन्यान्यं वरयेद्दूरम् ॥  
प्रदाय गच्छेत्कुलकं यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा । धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देयान्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ पूर्वदत्ता तु धा कन्या अन्येनोदा यदा भवेत् । संस्तृतापि प्रदेया स्यादस्मै पूर्वं प्रतिश्रुता ॥

<sup>413</sup> स्वस्वाभिप्रायकृतं कर्म यत्तु धर्मविवर्जितम् । क्रीडाकर्मैश्च बालानां तत्तत्त्वं निष्प्रयोजनम् ॥



other Brahmanas and Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. On Yāj. III. 266 he quotes two verses of Aṅgiras laying down *prāyaścitta* for killing certain beasts and birds, wherein Aṅgiras himself is mentioned with honour (bhagavan). Aparārka (pp. 22-23) quotes thirteen verses from Aṅgiras on the constitution of *paṛiṣad*, wherein such terms as *chāturvidya*, *vitarkī*, *aṅgavid*, *dharmapāṭhaka* are explained and the last of which says that a *paṛiṣad* sitting in judgment over those who are guilty of *mahāpātakas* may consist of hundreds. The *Mitākṣarā* (on Yāj. I. 86) quotes several verses on the practice of *sati* and ascribes them to both Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras.<sup>414</sup> Aparārka (pp. 109, 112) quotes four other verses on the same practice, one of which is in the *Indravajrā* metre and another prohibits a Brāhmaṇa wife from following that practice. Medhatithi (on Manu. V. 157) quotes the view of Aṅgiras on *sati* and disapproves of it. The *Mitākṣarā*, Haradatta and others quote numerous verses of Aṅgiras on *āśauca* and *prāyaścitta*. Haradatta on Gaurāṇī (20. 1) quotes a verse of Aṅgiras about the seven *antyajās*.<sup>415</sup> Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 237) quotes a *sūtra* of Sumantu in which Aṅgiras is cited as an authority. The *Śuddhi-mayukha* quotes a verse of Aṅgiras which relies upon *Śatātapa*.<sup>416</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes Aṅgiras on the enumeration of *Upasmṛtis* (vide note 260 above). The *Smṛticandrikā* also contains a few prose quotations from Aṅgiras; the same work cites a verse of Aṅgiras holding the *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu as the supreme guide.<sup>417</sup>

The Aṅgiras-smṛti (in Jivananda part I, pp. 554-560) in 72 verses is probably an abridgment. It lays down *prāyaścittas* for various occasions, such as taking food and drink from *antyajās*, for cruelly beating or causing various injuries to cows. It also lays down various rules for the wearing of the dark cloth (*nīlivastra*) by women. It cites Aṅgiras and Āpastamba by name. The penultimate verse condemns those who rob women of their wealth.

414 One of them is the well known verse तिस्रः क्रोड्योर्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानुषे । तावत्कालं वसेत्स्वर्गं भनारं यानुगच्छति ॥

415 चण्डालः श्वपचः क्षत्ता सुनो वेदेहिकस्तथा । मागधायांगवो चैव सप्तेनन्यावसायिनः ॥

416 सर्वेषामेव वषाणां सूतके मृतके तथा । दशाहच्छुद्धिरेतेषामिति शानातपोब्रवीत् ॥

417 यत्पूर्वं मनुना प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् । नहि तत्समनिकम्य वचनं हितमात्मनः ॥  
स्मृतिच० (आह्निक).



There are several mss. in the Deccan College Collection which contain a varying number of verses on *prāyaścitta* agreeing more or less with Jivananda's text. For example, No. 53 of 1879-80 contains about one hundred verses, No. 205 of 1882-83 contains 54 verses, while No. 65 of Viśrāmbāg collection and No. 83 of 1895-1902 contain only 32 ; No. 81 of 1884-86 is styled *Bṛhad-Āṅgiras* and contains 151 verses, many of which are identical with those in the Calcutta text.

The *Mitākṣarā* (on Yāj. III. 277) and the *Smṛtiratnāvalī* of Vedacārya (I. O. cat. No. 1552 p. 475) quote a *Bṛhad-Āṅgiras* and the *Mitākṣarā* also quotes a *Madhyama-Āṅgiras* several times (on Yāj. III. 243, 241, 258, and 260).

#### 40. *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*

This is a writer who is frequently quoted on *acara*, *āsana*, *śrāddha*, and *prāyaścitta* by the *Mit.*, *Aparārka*, *Smṛticandrikā* and other works. *Aparārka* (p. 724) quotes as *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*'s a verse ascribed to *Śaṅkha* in the *Mitākṣarā* (on Yāj. II. 119) and other works, which states that when one coparcener recovers with his own efforts family property that was lost to the family, he gets a fourth share of it and the others become sharers in the rest.<sup>418</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 32) quotes 'api vāsasā yajñopavitārthān kuryāt tadabhāve trivṛtā sūtreṇa', which is in prose.

#### 41. *Kārṣṇājini*

This writer is quoted by the *Mit.* (Yāj. III. 265 three verses), *Aparārka*, *Smṛticandrikā* and other works mostly on *śrāddha*. *Aparārka* (p. 138) quotes a verse from him which enumerates the seven sons of *Brahmā*, *Sanaka*, *Sanandana*, *Sanātana*, *Kapila*, *Āsuri*, *Voḍha* (?) and *Pañcaśikha*. *Aparārka* (p. 424) quotes a verse which refers to the two signs of the Zodiac, *Kanyā*, and *Vṛścika*.

#### 42. *Carurvimsatimata*

There are two Mss. of this work in the Deccan College Collection (No 244 of A. 1881-1882 and 111 of 1895-1902). It contains 525 verses. The work is so called because it embodies the essence of the teachings of 24 sages, *Matu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Atri*, *Viṣṇu*,

<sup>418</sup> पूर्वप्राप्तं तु यो भूमिमेकश्रेयदुद्धरेत् कमात् । यथाशं तु लग्नस्तेन्ये दक्ष्वाशं तु तुरीयकम् ॥



Vasiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Uśanas, Āpastamba, Vatsa, Hārta, Guru (Brhaspati), Nārada, Parāśara, Gārgya, Gautama, Yama, Baudhāyana, Dakṣa, Śaṅkha, Aṅgiras, Sātātapa, Sāṅkhyā (Sāṅkhyāyana?), Saṁivarta. The subjects treated of are :--The usages of the varṇas and āśramas, śauca, ācamana, cleansing the teeth, bath, prāṇāyāma, repeating the Gāyatrī, study of the Vedas, marriage, agnihotra, five great daily yājñas, means of livelihood, forest hermits, saṁnyāsins, duties of Kṣatriyas and the other two varṇas, prāyaścittas for the deadly sins and other lesser misdeeds, means of livelihood, śrāddha, āśauca (on birth and death).

The work often quotes the views of Uśanas, Manu, Parāśarya, Aṅgiras, Yama, Hārta. It quotes Manu III. 5 (asapiṇḍa ca yā etc.) and Manu 12. 95 (yā vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ.). Two other verses which it contains are indicated as interpolated in several editions of Manu.<sup>419</sup> It says that the teachings of Arhat, Cārvāka and Buddhas delude people.<sup>420</sup> Its position is that whatever is not found in the Veda or the Puraṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, or Mahābhārata or in the śāstras of Manu and others is as good as non-existent.<sup>421</sup>

The Caturvīṁśatimata is frequently quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and later works, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. It was probably compiled about the time when the latter two writers flourished. Aparārka (p. 112r) quotes a prose passage from the work on the prāyaścitta for a dvijāti procreating children on a Śūdra wife. This passage could not be traced in the two mss. referred to above.

The portions of the work on saṁskāra and śrāddha together with the commentary of Bhaṭṭoji, son of Lakṣmidhara, have been

419 बृद्धो च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः । अप्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा भर्तव्या मनु-  
रभवीत् ॥ (after मनु. XI. 10); पुराणं मानवो धर्मः साङ्गो वेदश्चिकित्सितम् ।  
आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न ह्यस्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥ (after मनु XII. 110.). This  
occurs in यशस्तिलक, 4th आध्यास p. 117 and the first half of it occurs in  
the तन्त्रवार्तिक.

420 अहंश्चार्वाकवाक्यानि बौद्धादिपठितानि च । विप्रलम्भकवाक्यानि तानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेत् ॥  
This occurs in the स्मृतिच. I. p. 5. (Gharpure) and पुरा. मा. vol. I,  
part I, p. 10.

421 यन्नास्ति वेदे न च यत्पुराणे रामायणे भारतसंगरे वा । मन्वादिशास्त्रेषु च यन्न वक्तुं  
नान्नास्ति नान्नीति न तेन कार्यम् ॥



published in the Benares Sanskrit Series (Nos. 137 and 139). The commentary is a very learned one and refers to a host of writers. This commentary is in some mss. ascribed to Rāmacandra (vide I. O. cat. No. 1554, p. 475).

### 43. Dakṣa

Dakṣa is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa quotes verses of Dakṣa several times, viz. on Yāj. I. 17 (on clods of earth for purifying the body), on Yāj. III. 30 (two verses on āsauca), on Yāj. III. 66 (about a parivrājaka), on Yāj. III. 191 (about padmāsana). The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 89) quotes a half verse of Dakṣa to the effect that a dvija should not remain unattached to an āśrama (i. e. without a wife in the context) even for a moment; on Yāj. III. 58 two verses about bhikṣus; on Yāj. III. 243 (one verse). Aparārka cites numerous verses of Dakṣa on ācāra, āsauca, śrāddha and similar topics. In one case (p. 368) he attributes a prose passage to Dakṣa about the gift of gold.<sup>422</sup> Two of Dakṣa's verses most frequently quoted by writers on vyavahāra are those that lay down what nine things cannot be the subjects of gift.<sup>423</sup>

In Jivananda's collection there is a Dakṣasmṛti (part II, pp. 383-402) in seven chapters and 220 verses (vide also Ānandaśrama collection pp. 72-84). The principal subjects treated of are:—Four āśramas, two kinds of brahmacārins; the daily round of duties for dvijas; various subdivisions of actions, nine karmans, nine vikarmans, nine actions that should be concealed, nine acts that should be made public, nine things that should not be gifted; gifts; eulogy of a good housewife; śauca of two kinds; impurity due to birth and death; Yoga and its six aṅgas viz. prāṇāyāma, dhyāna, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, tarka and samādhi, naitihuna of eight kinds to be avoided by ascetics, duties of bhikṣu, dvaita, and advaita.

This smṛti is certainly a very old one. All the quotations from Dakṣa cited by Viśvarūpa occur in the printed Dakṣa (vide pp. 395,

<sup>422</sup> सुवर्णमेव स्वर्णमस्य च देशकालपात्रसुवर्णपरिमाणञ्च कलविशेषः । अपरार्कः.

<sup>423</sup> सामान्यं याचितं न्यस्तमाधिर्दाराश्च तद्वनम् । अन्वाहितं च निक्षेपः सर्वस्वं चान्वये सति ॥ आपत्स्वपि न देयानि न च वस्तूनि पण्डितैः । यो ददाति स मृदात्मा प्रायश्चित्तीयते नरः ॥ अपरार्कः p. 404. These occur in the दक्षस्मृति (Jivananda part II, p. 391).



396, 384, 397 which reads 'na pathyāśanād yogo'). Similarly all the quotations in the Mit. from Dakṣa are found in the Calcutta text. Aparārka contains over forty verses from the printed Dakṣa, though there are a few verses cited by him as Dakṣa's which are not found therein. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses of Dakṣa on woman which are all found in the 4th chap. of the Calcutta text.

In the Deccan College collection there is a ms. of Dakṣa (No. 120 of 1895-1902) which contains 197 verses on the same topics as above, many of which are identical with the Calcutta text. The Bombay University has also a similar ms. Vide I. O. cat. No. 1320 p. 385 for a similar ms. in 197 verses.

#### 44. Pitāmaha

Pitāmaha is enumerated among writers on dharma in a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñvalkya quoted by Viśvarūpa. The Smṛti of Pitāmaha is drawn upon mostly on vyavahāra. Viśvarūpa cites (on Yāj. I. 17) a verse from him on śauca.<sup>424</sup> Mit. and Aparārka quote verses from Pitāmaha only on vyavahāra and specially on ordeals. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses on āhnikā, 130 on vyavahāra and only a few on śrāddha. Pitāmaha regards the Vedas with the aṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, the smṛtis, Purāṇa and Nyāya system as dharmasāstras.<sup>425</sup> Pitāmaha like Brhaspati enumerates nine kinds of ordeals,<sup>426</sup> while Yāj. and Nārada name only five, though the latter seems to have known two more, viz. taṇḍula and taptamāṣa. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a dozen verses about 50 *chalas* on which a king took action without any complaint.<sup>427</sup> Pitāmaha seems to have followed Vyasa in defining documents called krayapatra, sthitipatra, saṁdhipatra, viśuddhipatra.<sup>428</sup> The Smṛticandrikā cites

424 त्रिषु ये नोपनीयन्ते शुद्धाः सौधन्वनाः स्त्रियः । गन्धलेपापक ( वर्ण ! ) तेषां शौचं मृदाम्भसा ॥

425 वेदाः साङ्गनस्तु चत्वारो मीमांसा स्मृतयस्तथा । एतानि धर्मशास्त्राणि पुराणं न्यायदर्शनम् ॥  
अपरार्क p. 601; compare याज्ञ. I. 3.

426 अष्टमं फालमित्युक्तं नवमं धर्मजं भवेत् । दिव्यान्येतानि सर्वाणि निर्दिष्टानि स्वयंभुवा ॥  
quoted by अपरार्क p. 694.

427 कलानि चापराधाश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृहीयान्मृपस्त्वावेदकेर्विना ॥  
स्मृतिच.

428 Vide परा. भा. vol. III. p. 128 and स्मृतिच०.



Pitāmaha for an enumeration of the 18 prakṛtis viz. washerman, leather worker, etc.<sup>429</sup> The same work states that according to Pitāmaha the titles of law to be taken cognisance by the king himself were twenty-two. In the hall of justice, he says, there should be eight constituents viz. the scribe, the accountant, śāstra, the sādhyapāla, the assessors, gold, fire and water.<sup>430</sup> Some of the other noteworthy dicta of Pitāmaha are:—a suit should be<sup>431</sup> first tried before the village (pancāyat), then before the town (court of appeal), then before the king; between litigants of the same country, town, societies, cities and villages, the decision should be arrived at according to their own peculiar conventions and usages, but when there is a dispute between these and strangers, the decision must be according to the śāstra; possession<sup>432</sup> in order to be recognised by the courts as decisive must have five characteristics, it must have title, long duration, it must be uninterrupted, it must not have been impeached and it must be before the eyes of the opponent; a private document<sup>433</sup> under one's own hand is inferior to a jānapada (a publicly written and attested) deed, the latter is inferior to a royal edict, this last is inferior to possession continued for three generations.

Pitāmaha is later than Brharpati,<sup>434</sup> as he cites the latter's view that a litigation between members of the same village, society, town, guild, caravan or army must be decided according to their peculiar usages. Therefore Pitāmaha must be assigned to some date between the 4th and 7th century A. D.

429 रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च । केवतकश्च विज्ञेया म्लेच्छाभिलो तथैव च ॥  
वेमरस्थिरविष्याधहस्तलाक्षद्वधृकाः । कांसेदकाभरिपद्मानङ्गाण्डापगोपकाः ॥ एताः  
प्रकृतयः प्रोक्ता अष्टादश मनीषिभिः । वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च सर्वदा तु धृहिः स्थिताः ॥  
स्मृतिच०.

430 लेखको गणकः शास्त्रं साध्यपालः सभासदः । हिरण्यमभिहृदकमष्टाङ्गकरणं स्मृतम् ॥  
स्मृतिच० ( इय. ); compare नारद ( Intro. chap. verse 15).

431 यामे दृष्टः पुरे यायातुरे दृष्टस्तु राजनि । राज्ञः दृष्टः कुदृष्टो वा नास्ति तस्य पुनर्भवः ॥  
स्मृतिच०; देशपत्तनगोष्ठेषु पुरयामेषु वासिनाम् । तेषां स्वसमर्थेधर्मशास्त्रतोम्येषु तैः सह ॥  
स्मृतिच०.

432 सागमा दीर्घकाला चाविच्छिन्नापरवोज्जिता । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधाना च भुक्तिः पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥

433 स्वद्वस्तकाज्ज्ञानपदं तस्मात् नृपशासनम् । ततस्त्रैषुहो भोगः प्रमाणतरमिष्यते ॥

434 ग्रामगोष्ठपुरश्रेणिसार्धसेनानिवासिनाम् । ष्यवहारश्चरित्रेण निर्णेतव्यो बृहस्पतिः ॥



## 45. Pulastya

Pulastya is one of the expounders of dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse from him on śarīra-śauca.<sup>435</sup> The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 261) cites a verse from Pulastya that a Brāhmaṇa should principally use ascetic's food (i. e. vegetable food) in śrāddha, that kṣatriyas and vaiśyas should use meat and sūdras honey.<sup>436</sup> The Mit. (Yāj. III 253) quotes two verses of Pulastya who enumerates eleven intoxicating drinks together with *sura* as the twelfth.<sup>437</sup> Aparārka quotes several verses from Pulastya on saṁdhyā, śrāddha, āśauca, duties of yatis, prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes two verses from Pulastya propounding the view that a combination of jñāna and karma is the correct view.<sup>438</sup> The first of these verses is ascribed by him to Yoga-Yājñavalkya elsewhere (note 336). The Smṛticandrikā quotes about forty verses from Pulastya on āhnikā and śrāddha. In one place it quotes Pulastya on the efficacy of bathing on Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday.<sup>439</sup> In another place it refers to the *japa* of Rāma, Paraśurāma, Nṛsiṁha, Trivikrama.

The Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara cites a prose text from Pulastya on the gift of deer-skin.<sup>440</sup>

The Pulastya-smṛti must have been composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

435 स्नातकस्य त्रयापान पञ्चापानमिहोन्नयः । सर्वानिवं गृहस्थेषु शौचकल्पान्नियोजयेत् ॥  
विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

436 मुन्यन्नं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः । मधुप्रदानं शुद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरिधि यत् ॥

437 पानसं द्वाक्षमाधुकं सार्जूरं तालमैक्षवम् । मधुर्ध सारमारिष्टं मेरेयं नारिकेलजम् ॥  
समानानि विजानीयान्मद्यान्यकादशैव तु । द्वादशं तु सुरामयं सर्वेषामधमं स्मृतम् ॥

438 ज्ञानकर्मसमायोगात्परं प्राप्नोति पूरुषः । पृथग्भावान्न सिध्यन्ति उभे तस्मात्समाश्रयेत् ॥  
ज्ञानं प्रधानं न तु कर्महीनं कर्म प्रधानं न तु बुद्धिहीनम् । तस्माद्बुद्ध्यां तु  
भवेत्प्रसिद्धिर्नैकपक्षो विहगः प्रयाति ॥ अपरार्क on या. III. 57, p. 911.

439 त्वय्यङ्गारशनेर्वारिः स्नानं कुर्वन्ति ये नराः । व्याधिभिस्तं न पीडयन्ते मृगेः केसरिणो  
यथा ॥ स्मृतिच०.

440 अथातः रुष्णाजिनविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः । कार्तिक्यां पौर्णमास्यां वेशाख्यां च चन्द्र-  
सूर्यपदे विषुवयोर्वा रुष्णाजिनं ससुरं सशृङ्गमन्नं मनोहरम् । ms. No. 114 of 1884-86  
from Deccan College (folio 51 a).



46. *Pracetas*

Pracetas finds a place among the sages enumerated by Parāśara though not in Yājñavalkya. In both Mit. and Aparārka there are passages in prose and verse ascribed to Pracetas on daily duties, śrāddha, āsauca, prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 27) quotes a verse from Pracetas saying that workmen, artisans, physicians, male and female slaves, kings, royal officers have not to observe periods of impurity<sup>441</sup> (on death). This verse is cited as a smṛti by Medhātithi on Manu V. 60 without ascribing it to Pracetas. So Medhātithi looked upon Pracetas as equally authoritative with Manu, Viṣṇu and others.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III 20, 263-64), Haradatta (on Gautama 22. 18) and Aparārka frequently cite verses from Bṛhat-Pracetas on āsauca and prāyaścitta. The Mit. and Aparārka also quote verses on the same topics from Vṛddha-Pracetas.

A few prose quotations from Pracetas are noted in the Smṛti-candrikā and by Haradatta (on Gautama 23. 1).

47. *Prajāpati*

Prajāpati is cited as an authority by the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra ( II. 4. 15 and II. 10. 71 ). Vasiṣṭha several times quotes Prajāpatya ślokas ( viz. III. 47, XIV 16-19, 24-27, 30-32 ). It has been shown above that most of these verses are found in the Manusmṛti or have close correspondence with verses of Manu. So it is not unlikely that both the writers of dharmasūtras mean Manu by Prajāpati.

In the Ānandāśrama collection ( p. 90-98 ) there is a smṛti of Prajāpati in 198 verses on the various details of śrāddha, such as the time, place, the persons authorised to perform, proper food, Brāhmaṇas to be invited etc. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, but there are nine verses in the Indravajrā, Upajāti, Vasantatilakā ( verse 137 ) and Sragdharā ( verse 96 ). It speaks of Kalpaśāstra, smṛtis, dharmasāstra, purāṇas. It contains a verse referring to the Kanyā and Vṛścika ( scorpion ) signs of the zodiac, which is almost the same as a verse of Kārṣṇājini.

<sup>441</sup> कारवः शिल्पिनो वेद्या दासदासा तथैव च । राजानो राजमन्त्राश्च सद्यःशोचाः  
प्रकीर्तिताः ॥



The Mit. ( on Yāj. III. 25 and 260 ) quotes verses of Prajāpati on āsauca and prayaścitta. Aparārka cites verses of Prajāpati on purification of various substances, śrāddha, witnesses, ordeals and āsauca. None of these is traced to the printed text of Prajāpati. Aparārka ( p. 952 ) gives a long prose text of Prajāpati on the four orders of parivrājakas, viz. kuṭicaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa, paramahaṁsa. Aparārka ( p. 542 ) cites a verse of Laugākṣi which refers to the view of Prajāpati that the son of a putrikā was to offer pinḍas to his mother by the gotra of his maternal grand-father.<sup>442</sup> Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Parāśara-Mādhaviya and other works quote several verses of Prajāpati on vyavahāra. Witnesses are of two kinds, kṛta and akṛta. In this he seems to have followed Nārada ( ṛṇādāna, verse 149 ). Prajāpati lays down the characteristics of valid reply ( uttara ) of the defendant and defines<sup>443</sup> the four varieties of uttara. The Parāśara-Mādhaviya cites several verses of Prajāpati on ordeals. Prajāpati recognised the right of the sonless widow to succeed to her husband's wealth<sup>444</sup> and enjoined on her the duty of offering śrāddha every month and year to her husband's manes and to honour his relatives.<sup>445</sup>

#### 48. Marīci

This sage is relied upon as an authority by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā on Āhnikā, Āsauca, Śrāddha, Prayaścitta and Vyavahāra. Aparārka quotes several verses on *tarpaṇa* one of which speaks of Sunday.<sup>446</sup> Marīci disallows bathing in the rivers in the months of Śrāvaṇa

442 मातामहस्य गोत्रेण मातुः पिण्डोदकक्रियाम् । कुर्वीत पुत्रिकापुत्र एवमाह प्रजापतिः ॥ अपरार्कः.

443 साक्षी द्विभेदो विज्ञेयः कृत एकोऽपरोऽकृतः । लेख्याददः कृतो ज्ञेयः मुक्तोऽकृत उच्यते ॥ अपरार्कः p. 666, स्मृतिच० ( ह्य. p. 80 reads उत्तरोऽकृत ).

444 स्मृतिच० ( ह्य. p. 42-43 ), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 69-73.

445 पूर्वं प्रसीताभिहोत्रं भूते भर्तरि तद्धनम् । लभेत् पतिव्रता नारी धर्म एव सनातनः ॥

446 जङ्गमं स्थावरं हेम कुप्यं धान्यरसाम्बरम् । आदाय दापयेच्छ्राद्धं माससंवत्सरादिकम् ॥ वितृष्यगुरुदोहित्रान् भर्तृस्वस्त्रीयमातुलान् । पूजयेत्कव्यपूतार्ग्यां वृद्धानां धातिर्धोस्तथा ॥ स्मृतिच० ( p. 291 ), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 536.

447 सप्तम्यां रविवारे च गृही जन्मदिने तथा । मृत्युपुत्रकलत्रार्थं न कुर्याच्चिलतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्कः p. 132; स्मृतिच० ( आह्निक p. 123 ).



and Bhādrapada.<sup>448</sup> Marici made a very near approach to the modern conceptions underlying the Transfer of Property Act. 'Completeness is not attained without writing in the transactions of sale, mortgage, partition and gift of immoveable property'.<sup>449</sup> If a buyer purchases a chattel before a row of merchants and to the knowledge of the king's officers and in broad daylight, he is free from blame and gets back his money (if the thing turns out to be another's property), while if the price (paid by a buyer for a chattel) cannot be recovered (from the vendor who sells without title) owing to the vendor's address being not known, the loss should be apportioned between the buyer and the original owner of the chattel.<sup>450</sup> Marici divides *ādhi* into four varieties, *bhogya*, *gopya*, *pratyaya*, *ājñādhi*.

It is to be noted that Aparārka (p. 908) quotes a prose passage of Marici on *āśauca*.

#### 49. Yama

The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) cites four ślokas of Yama and quotes (11. 20) one verse in which Yama is spoken of as an authority. All the ślokas except one are found in Manu.<sup>451</sup> Vasiṣṭha quotes a śloka of Prajāpati wherein Yama's view

448 नभोनभस्ययोर्मध्ये सर्वा नयो रजस्दलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्वीत देवर्षिपितृतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 235.

449 स्थावरे विक्रयाधाने निभागे दान एव च । प्रतिग्रहे च क्रीने च नालेख्या सिध्यति क्रिया ॥ परा. मा. vol. III. p. 128; स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 60 reads लिखितेनापुन्यात् सिद्धिमविसंवादेव च).

450 अविज्ञातनिवेशत्वाद्यत्र मूल्यं न लभ्यते । हानिस्तत्र समा कस्या केतुनाष्टिकयोर्द्वयोः ॥ अपरार्क p. 775.

451 अथापि यमगीताञ्चश्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । श्मशानमेतत्तस्यज्ञं य शुद्धाः पःपचारिणः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे तु नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन ॥ न शुद्धाय मतिं दयान्तोच्छिष्टं न हविष्कृतम् । न चास्थोपदिशेद्भूमं न चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् ॥ यश्चास्थोपदिशेद्भूमं यश्चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् । सोऽसंबृत्तां तमो योरे सह तेन प्रपद्यते ॥ वसिष्ठ 18. 13-15. The last two are almost the same as मनु IV. 80-81 and the first is a paraphrase of आप. श्रौ. 'पयु इ वा एतच्छूशानं यच्छूद्रः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम्'. नाधदोषोस्ति राज्ञां वै व्रतिनां न च सत्रिणाम् । ऐन्द्रस्थानमुपासीना ब्रह्मभूता हि ते सदा ॥ वसिष्ठ 19. 48 and मनु V. 93. 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । अध चेन्मत्रविद्युक्तः शरीरैः पाङ्क्तिदूषणैः । अदुष्यं तं यमः प्राह पङ्क्तिपावन एव सः ॥ वसिष्ठ ॥ 11. 20; vide बृहस्प 3. 41. घृतं वा यदि वा तैलं विप्रो नाद्यान्मत्रविद्युतम् । यमरतदृष्टिः प्राह तुल्यं गोमांसभक्षणैः ॥ वसिष्ठ. 14. 30.



is set forth. Yama is one of the sages enumerated in the list of Yājñavalkya. Govindaraja (on Manu 5. 16) and Aparārka quote a verse of Śaṅkha wherein Yamas' view that the flesh of certain birds could be eaten is referred to.<sup>452</sup> Aparārka (p. 1231) also cites a verse of Śaṅkha in which the view of Bhagavān Yama that one should save one's life in all ways (even by incurring sin) is relied upon.

In Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 560-568) there is a *smṛti* of Yama in seventy-eight verses on *prāyaścitta* and purification (*śuddhi*). In this *smṛti* Yama himself is cited in the third person (verse 65). One verse (33) refers to the view of Bhāsvati (son of the sun, by which may be meant either Manu or Yama himself).<sup>453</sup> Some of the verses are identical with those of Manu (e. g. verses 26, 28 are the same as Manu 11. 178 and 3. 19). Verse 44 is in the *Upajāti* metre. In the Ānandāśrama collection there is a *Yamasmṛti* in 99 verses on *prāyaścitta*, *śrāddha*, and purification. Most of the topics of this *smṛti* are the same as those of the Calcutta text, but most of the verses are not identical. A few verses are found in both, e. g. the verses about the seven lowest castes<sup>454</sup> (*antyajas*). Verse 11 quotes the view of Śātātapa. This *smṛti* contains the well-known text that a woman passes on marriage into the gotra of her husband, which is cited by the Mī. (on Yāj. I. 254).<sup>455</sup> In the same collection there is a *smṛti* of Brhad-Yama (pp. 99-107). It is divided into five chapters and contains 182 verses. It deals with *prāyaścittas* for various lapses, purification from various kinds of contacts (*śuddhi*), *śrāddha*, partition and a few matters of medical procedure. In this *smṛti* Yama is frequently cited by name. Śātātapa is cited on partition (V. 20). Many of the verses of this text are identical with those of Yama in Jivananda's text. For example, Jivananda (p. 561) verses 15-17 are the same

452 निक्षिर्णि च मयूरं च लावकं च कपिञ्जलम् । वाधीणसं वर्तकं च मह्यतानाह यमः सताम् ॥ ( सदा v. 1. ) अपरार्क p. 1167.

453 ततो देवलकश्चैव भूतको वेदविक्रयी । एते वर्ज्याः प्रपत्नेन एतद्वास्वतिरिवीत् ॥ Compare मनु §. 180.

454 रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो दुरुढ एव च । केषुर्तमेदमिहोक्तं सप्तैते अन्यजाः स्मृताः ॥ Jivananda verse 54, Ānandāśrama verse 33.

455 स्वयमिदं प्रसूयते नारी विवाहात्सप्तमे पदे । स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्तव्यास्तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥ verse 78.



as *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 1-3, *Jivananda* p. 563 verses 29-33 are the same as *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 34-38, *Jivananda* verses 35-36 are the same as *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 16-17. The verse in the *Upajati* metre (*Jivananda* 44) is *Bṛhad-Yama* III. 61. Two of the verses at the end of chap. V. are the same as *Yāj.* II. 17 and 23.

The numerous mss. of *Yama* contain either one or other of the above three texts or different texts bearing on the same topics. For example, Deccan College collection Nos. 209-211 of A 1881-82 and No. 153 of 1895-1902 are the same as the *Yamasmr̥ti* in the *Ānandaśrama* collection, No. 401 of 1891-95 seems to be the same as *Bṛhad-Yama* in the *Ānandaśrama* collection. But the I. O. Cat. No. 1334 p. 390 contains 57 ślokas, the last 20 of which are in the *Indravajrā* metre.

*Viśvarūpa*, *Vijñāneśvara*, *Aparārka*, the *Smṛticandrikā* and other later works quote over three hundred verses of *Yama* on all topics of *dharmaśāstra* including *vyavahāra*. This establishes that they had an extensive work of *Yama* before them from which it is probable various abridgments corresponding with the printed works were made. *Viśvarūpa* quotes about ten verses of *Yama* on water as purifier (on *Yāj.* I. 187), on *śrāddha* (on *Yāj.* I. 225 and 252) and on *prāyaścitta* for killing a cow (on *Yāj.* III. 262). The identical verses are not found in the printed texts. Some of the verses quoted from *Yama* in *Aparārka* and the *Smṛticandrikā* can be traced in the printed text. For example, *Aparārka* (p. 42) quotes a verse of *Yama* in which *Yama* himself is referred to as an authority.<sup>456</sup> It occurs in *Jivananda*'s text (verse 65). The two verses in *Jivananda*'s text (verses 26, 28) that are identical with *Manu* are cited in the *Smṛticandrikā* as *Yama*'s. Two verses of *Bṛhad-Yama* (III. 20-21) about the proper age of marriage in the case of girls are quoted as *Yama*'s in the *Smṛticandrikā*.<sup>457</sup> In some of the verses quoted by *Aparārka* from *Yama*, the opinions of *Manu* are cited which can be identified with the views of the *Manu*-

456 अपः कनसस्पृष्टा य आचामनि वै द्विजः । सुरां पिबति स व्यक्तं यमस्य वचनं यथा ॥ This is attributed to यम in the स्मृतिच० also.

457 अष्टवर्षा भवेद्गैरी नववर्षा च रोहिणी । दशवर्षा भवेत्कन्या अत ऊर्ध्वं रजस्वला ॥ प्राप्त द्वादशमे वर्षे कन्यां यो न प्रयच्छति । मासि मासि रजस्तस्याः पिता पिबति शोणितम् ॥ स्मृतिच० ( आह्निक p. 79. ).



smṛti. For example, according to Yama food polluted by the touch of hair, moths and insects, or seen by sinners and women in their courses is purified by water, holy ashes etc.<sup>458</sup> This refers to Manu V. 125. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which says that according to Manu those who administer poison, who are incendiaries and robbers and those guilty of homicide and abetment thereof should pay the extreme penalty of death.<sup>459</sup> Aparārka (p. 988 on Yāj. III. 109) quotes five verses of Yama which refer to the 26th *tattvas* well known in the Sāṅkhya system, regard Puruṣottama as a 26 *tattva* and propound that he who correctly understands the 25 *tattvas*, in whatever āśrama he may be, reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu. Aparārka quotes a few prose passages from Yama on the garments to be worn by brahmacārins,<sup>460</sup> on *prāyaścitta* for killing various kinds of birds and insects, for cutting trees and bushes, for drinking wine, for stealing gold and for the other deadly sins etc.<sup>461</sup>

The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 104. 72-74) quotes *gāthās* of Yama.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which speaks of the sun being in the zodiacal sign Virgo.<sup>462</sup>

Yama required the king to look into the disputes of litigants carefully and impartially.<sup>463</sup> Yama cites the authority of Manu for the proposition that everything brought about by coercion such as a gift or a deed was liable to be set aside. This is almost identical with Manu 8. 168. Yama lays down that a Brāhmaṇa was never to be awarded corporal punishment, but that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of

458 अवधुतं केशपतङ्गकीटैरुदकयया वा पतितैश्च दुष्टम् । अलातमस्माम्युद्दिश्यभागैः  
संस्पृष्टमन्नं मनुराह भोज्यम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 267.

459 विषमिदायकाश्चोरा घातकाश्चोपघातकाः । स्वशरीरेण दण्ड्याः स्युर्मनुराह प्रजापतिः ॥  
स्मृतिच०; vide मनु. 9. 278.

460 सर्वेषां रोरवशाणक्षौमाविकानि सामर्थ्याद्धोषेक्षान्तिराणि न । अपरार्क p. 58.

461 Vide pp. 1130, 1135, 1218, 1222.

462 इत्से वर्षासु कन्यास्थे &c. स्मृतिच० ( भा. p. 366 Gharpure. ).

463 राजा मन्त्रिसहायस्तु द्वयोर्विदमानयोः । सम्यक्कार्याण्यवेक्षेत रागद्वेषविषर्जितः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 596.

464 यलाद्वसं यलाद्रुक्ं यलायच्चापि लेखितम् । सर्वान् यलकृतानर्थान् निर्वर्त्यमाह वै  
मनुः ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 130 ).



crimes was to be imprisoned and made<sup>465</sup> to work. Yama, like Yāj. ( II. 145 ), prescribed that the strīdhana of a woman married in the Āsura form went to her father,<sup>466</sup> if she died childless. Aparārka ( p. 822 ) quotes two verses of Yama that prescribed the first amercement for him who, though forbidden, wrongfully takes the water of a lake or disturbs a water-course and the highest amercement for him who breaks a lake. Aparārka ( p. 860 ) also cites Yama for the fine of five kṣṇālas in the case of adultery with another's wife of the same caste as that of the paramour and twelve paṇas in case the wife is of a lower caste. The Smṛticandrikā and the Vyavahāramayūkha on the other hand direct that the king should punish the Brāhmaṇa woman guilty of adultery with a Śūdra by throwing her to dogs and by forcible tonsure and riding on an ass in case of adultery with a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. The Smṛticandrikā, Parāśara-Mādhaviya and Vyavahāramayūkha quote a verse of Yama about a debtor, who, being able to pay, does not wantonly pay, being punished by taking twice the amount. Yama remarks that the order of saṁnyāsa is not allowed to women in the Vedas or in the śāstra<sup>467</sup> ( dharmaśāstra ) and that her real dharma is to be the mother of children from one of her own caste. A Bṛhad-Yama is cited by the Mit. ( on Yāj. III. 255 and 290 ), Haradatta and by Aparārka on prāyaścitta. Similarly a Laghu-Yama is cited by Haradatta and Aparārka and a Svalpa-Yama ( probably same as Laghu-Yama ) by the Smṛtiratnākara of Vedācārya.

### 50. Laugākṣi

The Mit. ( on Yāj III. 1-2, 260, 289 ) quotes verses of Laugākṣi on āsauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes prose passages and verses of Laugākṣi on the saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva, cāturmāsya, purification

<sup>465</sup> न शरीरो ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डो भवति कर्हिचित् । गुप्तं तु बन्धने बद्ध्वा राजा भक्तं प्रदापयेत् ॥ ... यथापराधं विप्रं तु विकर्माण्यपि कारयेत् । अवध्या ब्राह्मणा गावो लोकेस्मिन् वेदिकी श्रुतिः ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 316 ).

<sup>466</sup> आसुरादिषु यद् द्रव्यं विवाहेषु प्रदीयते । अप्रजायामतीतायां पितृव तु धनं हरेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 286 ). Note अप्रजायामतीतायां, which is the reading in विश्वरूप ( p. 172 above ).

<sup>467</sup> स्त्रियाः श्रुतौ वा शास्त्रे वा प्रवज्या न विधीयते । प्रजाः हि तस्याः स्त्रो धर्मः सवर्णादिति धारणा ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 254 ).



of substances, śrāddha, āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites (p. 512) a verse of Laugākṣi which regards Prajāpati as an authority. The Mit. and almost all works on vyavahāra cite a verse of Laugākṣi defining yoga and kṣema and prescribing that they are impartible.

### 51. Viśvāmitra

Viśvāmitra is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya as quoted by Viśvarūpa. Aparārka, the Smṛti-candrikā, the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana and other works quote verses of Viśvāmitra on almost all topics of dharma except vyavahāra, such as on the five deadly sins, on śrāddhas, prāyaścitta etc. Viśvāmitra defines dharma as that which is esteemed by Āryas (respectable people) who know the Vedas.<sup>468</sup> His verses on the mahāpātakas are frequently quoted.<sup>469</sup> The Madras (Govt.) Mss. cat. (p. 1985 No. 2717) notices a smṛti of Viśvāmitra in verse in nine chapters.

### 52. Vyāsa

In Jīvananda (part II pp. 321-342) and in the Ānandaśrama collection of smṛtis there is a smṛti ascribed to Vyāsa. The two texts are the same with a few variations. It is in four chapters and contains about 250 verses. Vyāsa is said to have declared the smṛti in Benares. The contents briefly are :— the dharmas herein laid down prevail only in that region where the black deer roam about ; the authoritativeness of śruti, smṛti and purāṇas ; mixed castes ; sixteen saṁskāras ; duties of Brahmacārī ; marriage ; Brāhmaṇa may marry Kṣatriya or Vaiśya girl but not Śūdra ; duties of a wife ; the nitya, naimittika and kāmya acts of householders, eulogy of the householder stage and of gifts.

Viśvarūpa quotes a few verses of Vyāsa. They are mostly taken from the Mahābhārata and are concerned with topics of marriage, daily duties ( such as washing the teeth and bathing ), śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Similarly Medhātithi quotes several verses from the

468 यमार्थाः क्रियमाणं तु शंसन्वागमवेदिनः । स धर्मो यं विगृह्णति तमधर्मं प्रचक्षते ॥ स्मृतिच० ( अह्निक p. 6 ).

469 ब्राह्मणो न च हन्तव्यः सुरा पेया न च द्विजेः । ब्राह्मणस्वर्णहरणं न कर्तव्यं कदाचन ॥ गुरुपत्नीं न गच्छेच्च संसर्गं तेनैव नाचरेत् । महापातकिसंज्ञा तु निर्दिष्टेषा मनीषिभिः ॥ अपराक p. 1044.



Mahābhārata as Vyāsa's. In Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works about two hundred verses of Vyāsa are cited on vyavahāra. From these it appears that Vyāsa dealt with rules of procedure and the several titles of law (vyavahāra-padas) and that his doctrines closely agreed in most respects with those of Nārada, Kātyāyana and Brhaspati. He gives rules on the four kinds of uttara (mithyā, sampratipatti, kārana and prāṇ-nyāya), divides documents in three varieties (svāhastā, jānapada, rājāsāsana), divides laukika documents into eight sub-varieties (just as Kātyāyana seems to have done); he closely follows Brhaspati in his requirements about royal grants and two of his verses about grants (ṣaṣṭim varṣa &c. and sāmānyoyaṁ dharmasetur nrpaṇām) occur very frequently in inscriptions (vide Aparārka on Yaj. I. 318). Vyāsa lays down that if a stranger enjoy a person's land for twenty years when the king is there (i. e. when there is no revolution or anarchy) and when the owner is able (to resist) the latter loses his property.<sup>470</sup> He speaks of adverse possession as having five characteristics.<sup>471</sup> He mentions seven kinds of sureties, while Hārita and Kātyāyana speak of only five and Brhaspati of four. He speaks of only five kinds of ordeals. He defines a *niṣka* as equal to 14 suvarṇas, a suvarṇa being equal to eight palas.<sup>472</sup> Vyāsa seems to represent a middle stage in the evolution of the rights of the widow to succeed to her deceased husband. He says that a woman was to get a maximum of two thousand (kāṣāpaṇas) from the estate of her deceased husband<sup>473</sup> (besides what he gave her when living). Vyāsa gave to the father and sons equal shares in ancestral property and allowed partition even against the wish of the father.<sup>474</sup> From these important charac-

470 वर्षाणि विंशतिर्यस्य भूभुक्ताथ परिरिह । सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य तस्य सह न सिध्यति ॥  
अपरार्क p. 632.

471 सागमो दीर्घकालश्च छेदोपाधिविचर्जितः । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधानश्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग उच्यते ॥  
अपरार्क p. 635.

472 पलान्वष्टो सुवर्णस्य सुवर्णाश्च चतुर्दश । एतन्निष्कप्रमाणं तु व्यासेन परिकीर्तितम् ॥  
स्मृतिच०.

473 द्विसाहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रियो देवो धनस्य च । यच्च भर्त्रा धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममाप्नुयात् ॥ अपरार्क p. 752.

474 क्रमागते गृहे क्षेत्रे पितृपुत्राः समाशिनः । पितृकेण विभागार्हाः पुत्राः पितुरनिच्छतः ॥  
अपरार्क p. 728.



teristics of Vyāsa it may safely be concluded that Vyāsa flourished about the same time as Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati, i. e. between the second and the fifth century.

In Aparārka and other works there are numerous verses attributed to Vyāsa which are certainly not taken from the Mahābhārata or from the Vyāsa-smṛti in the Ānandaśrama collection (pp. 357-371). For example, on Yāj. I. 12 he cites a verse of Vyāsa in the Vasantatilakā metre about the auspicious asterism for *caula* and another verse laying down Saturday, Sunday and Friday as unsuitable for *caula*. Similarly Vyāsa's verses dealing with the merit of bathing on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in conjunction with certain *tithis* are cited by Aparārka (p. 213). Vyāsa speaks of śrāddhas when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo (Aparārka p. 424). These indications are sufficient to assign Vyāsa to a comparatively later date. But as Aparārka evidently makes no distinction between Vyāsa the jurist, Vyāsa the reputed compiler of the Mahābhārata (e. g. he quotes on p. 961 six verses of the Bhagavatgītā as Vyāsa's) and Vyāsa who wrote on the saṁskāras, śrāddha and other topics, it appears that the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma were separated from him by several centuries. Whether the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma are identical is a difficult problem. All that can be said is that the two may probably be identical. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a Gadya-Vyāsa and about 450 verses of Vyāsa on āhnikā, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta.

Aparārka quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Vyāsa on Saudāyika, a kind of stridhana. The Mit., the Prāyaścitta-mayūkha and other works cite verses of a Bṛhad-Vyāsa. Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara quotes Mahā-Vyāsa and Laghva-Vyāsa as authorities and also Dāna-Vyāsa, which probably means the dāna-dharma portions of the Mahābhārata.

### 53. Ṣaṭ-trimśan-mata

This appears to have been a work like the Caturviṁśatimata described above. Quotations from it are cited in the Kalpataru, the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and a host of writers and works. Mitramiśra<sup>475</sup> says that though the Ṣaṭ-trimśan-

<sup>475</sup> षट्त्रिंशन्मतादिकं तु कैश्चिदेव परिगृहीतत्वाद्विगृहीतत्वादप्रमाणमित्युक्तम् । कल्पतरुणा विज्ञानेश्वरापराकेशूलपाणिभूतिभिस्तु प्रमाणत्वेन परिगृहीतम् । परिभाषा-काश P. 17.



mata has been accepted as an authority by the above-mentioned writers, yet certain other writers did not hold the work authoritative. The fact that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention this work, taken along with the above statement of Mitramiśra, may be relied upon for holding that this compilation must have been among the latest products of the age of smṛtis and was probably compiled some time between 700-900 A. D. Almost all the quotations from this compilation are concerned with the topics of purification of substances (śuddhi), śrāddha and prāyaścittas for sins and pollutions of various sorts. No verse of this compilation dealing with vyavahāra could be discovered. One verse quoted from it prescribes a bath on touching Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, atheists and followers of Kapila.<sup>476</sup> Another verse quoted by Aparārka cites the view of Brhaspati.<sup>477</sup> In another verse the view of Vaiśvasvata is referred to.<sup>478</sup> Aparārka quotes a prose passage from this compilation prescribing the prāyaścittas for touching the corpse of a cāṇḍāla etc. As no ms. was available, it is difficult to say what 36 sages are relied upon as authorities.

#### 54. Saṃgraha or Smṛtisamgraha

This work is frequently cited by the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works on all topics of dharma. The quotations on vyavahāra are copious and are very important for the history of Hindu Law. A few of the important views of the Saṃgrahakāra are set out below. He gives the requisite characteristics of a plaint in five verses.<sup>479</sup> According to him documents are of two kinds, rājakiya and janapada. The ordeals from dhātā (balance) to poison (i. e. four) are prescribed in cases where the subject matter is of great value (i. e. above 500 paṇas), while kośa and the (other)

476 योद्धान् पाशुपताञ्जेनान् लोकायतिकक्रापिलान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० 1. p. 118, अपरार्क p. 923 omits जेनान् and reads लोकायतिकनास्तिकान्.

477 तिलहोमायुतं चैव पराकद्वयमेव च । गायत्र्या लक्षमेकं च समान्याह बृहस्पतिः ॥ अपरार्क p. 1249.

478 समुच्छिद्यस्तु यो भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते वा मुक्तभोजनः । एवं वैवस्वतः प्राहुः मुक्त्या सान्तपनं चरेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 1174.

479 Vide मिता० on याज्ञ. II, 6, स्मृतिच० ( द्य. p. 36 ), व्यवहारमयूख ( p. 12 ), वीर० ( p. 62 ).



ordeals (in all three) are prescribed in disputes for lesser sums.<sup>480</sup> This is slightly opposed to Nārada (ṛṇādāna verse 336) according to whom the five ordeals from tulā to koṣa were prescribed in substantial disputes.<sup>481</sup> The Saṁgrahakāra has in view the seven ordeals spoken of by Nārada (ṛṇādāna verses 252, 337, 343), while Bṛhaspati and Pitāmaha enumerate nine. He defines dāya as the wealth that is handed down through father and mother.<sup>482</sup> He held that ownership arose from the dictates of śāstra and was not an affair of the world (laukika) and puts forward two reasons in support of his theory, viz. if ownership were laukika, then it would not be possible to make such assertions as 'his wealth has been wrongfully seized by another' and the texts (vide Gautama X. 39) laying down the means of acquisition of wealth for the several varṇas would be meaningless.<sup>483</sup> Dhāreśvara held the same view. These views were elaborately criticized by the Mit. According to the Saṁgrahakāra,<sup>484</sup> partition creates ownership in the son as regards paternal wealth (in which he has no rights by birth). Dhāreśvara entertained the same opinion, which was vehemently controverted by the Mit., holding that partition takes place of that in which one has already ownership. According to the Saṁgraha,<sup>485</sup> ownership does not consist in being able to dispose of a thing at one's sweet will, since it is the śāstra that prescribes the proper disposal or application of all things. The Saṁgraha<sup>486</sup> laid down that the special share given to the eldest son, the practice of niyoga and the offering of a cow are all forbidden in the present age. Dhāreśvara also held the same

480 धटादीनि विभान्तानि गुर्वधेषु दापयेत् । कोशादीनि पुनस्त्रीणि लघ्वर्धेषु यथाक्रमम् ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. 98 ); परा. मा. III. p. 153.

481 कोशान्तानि तुलादीनि गुरुवर्धेषु दापयेत् ।

482 पितृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् । कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागो धुनोच्यते ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 478.

483 अस्यापद्धतमेतेन न युक्तं वक्तुमन्यथा । विहितोऽर्थगमः शास्त्रे यथावर्णं पृथक् पृथक् ॥ प्रतिपक्षज्ञिवाणिज्यशुभ्रपाख्या यथाक्रमम् । स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 257 ).

484 क्रियते स्वं विभागेन पुत्राणां पैतृकं धनम् । स्वत्वे सति प्रवर्तन्ते तस्माद्दुर्घ्याः पृथक् क्रियाः ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 259 ).

485 न च स्वमुच्यते तद्यत्स्वेच्छया विनियुज्यते । विनियोगोऽत्र सर्वस्य शास्त्रेणैव नियम्यते ॥

486 यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोऽपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 266 ); परा. मा. III. p. 492.



view about the eldest son's rights and the Mit. also approves of it and quotes anonymously the same verse (on Yaj. II. 117). The Saṁgraha in two verses, apparently following Manu 9. 182-183, lays down that, if of several full brothers one has a son, all thereby have issue and that, if one out of the several wives of a person has a son, all the co-wives may be regarded as putravatī. The Smṛticandrikā says that Devaśvāmī explained this dictum of the Saṁgrahakāra. The Saṁgraha says that the widow of a separated coparcener dying childless would inherit his whole estate if she submitted to *Niyoga* at the behests of her elders.<sup>487</sup> This was also the opinion of Dhāreśvara and was refuted according to the Smṛticandrikā by Viśvarūpa. The Mit. also criticizes this view. He names Manu in connection with the succession of a person dying without leaving any one out of the twelve kinds of sons.<sup>488</sup> He has in view Manu 9. 185. According to the Saṁgrahakāra the order of succession to a sonless man is :—widow, the daughter who is a putrikā, mother, paternal grandmother, father, full brothers, half-brothers, the line of the father (pitrantati), the grandfather's line, the great-grand-father's line, other sapindas, sakulyas, the preceptor, the pupil, a fellow-student, a learned Brāhmaṇa. The Mit. notes that relying on Manu (9. 217) Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grandmother after the mother and before the father (thus agreeing with the Saṁgraha). (The Saṁgraha says that homicide and other offences when committed with force are called *sabasa*.<sup>489</sup>

It will be seen from the above that the views of the Saṁgrahakāra closely agreed with those of Dhāreśvara in many respects and were not approved of by the Mit. and other later writers. In vyavahāra the Saṁgraha certainly marks a far more advanced stage than Yājñavalkya and Nārada, whose works do not contain the controvertial questions about ownership, partition etc. As Dhāreśvara agrees very closely with the Smṛtisāṁgraha it may be argued that they were not separated by a long interval of time. It has to be

487 भ्रातृषु प्रविभक्तेषु संसृष्टेभ्यस्तस्य च । गुर्वादेशान्नियोगस्था पत्नी धनमवाप्नुयात् ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 533.

488 अशेषात्मजद्वयस्य मृतस्य धनिनो धनम् । केनेदानीं यद्वीतव्यमित्येतन्मनुनोच्यते ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 290.).

489 मानुष्यमारणादीनि कृतानि प्रसभं यदि । साहसानीति कथ्यन्ते यथाकथान्यन्यथा पुनः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 7).



also noted that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not refer to the Saṁgraha. It is not unlikely that the Saṁgraha was in vogue in the territory ruled over by Bhoja of Dhāra and was therefore followed by Bhoja Dhāreśvara. Taking all things into consideration the Saṁgraha was probably compiled between the 8th and 10th centuries of the Christian era. The Smṛticandrikā no doubt says in one place that the Saṁgrahakāra follows the views of Dhāreśvara.<sup>490</sup> But this statement should not be emphasized and interpreted too literally. All that it means is that both held the same opinion. There is no intention to state that Dhāreśvara preceded the Saṁgrahakāra. Chronology was never the strong point of Indian commentators, particularly when the writers whose opinions were referred to flourished several centuries earlier. We know that Bhāruci and Dhāreśvara preceded the Mitākṣarā which names both; but the Sarasvatīvilāsa in several places (e. g. pp. 347, 361, 383) says that Bhāruci cannot tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara and also says that Dhāreśvara and Devaśvāmi follow the view of Vijñānayogin (p. 395).

The Smṛticandrikā quotes several verses from the Saṁgraha on topics of śraddha in which Gautama, Kātyāyana, Parāśara, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Yama and Śaunaka are cited by name.<sup>491</sup>

### 55. Saṁvarta

Saṁvarta occurs as a Smṛtikāra in the list of Yājñavalkya. He is cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, the Mit., Haradatta, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and a host of other writers. Viśvarūpa quotes either wholly or in part about twenty verses of Saṁvarta on evening *sandhyā-vandana*, on the duties of a yati and on the prāyaścittas for theft, adultery of various kinds, deadly sins. Medhātithi quotes verses of Saṁvarta on Manu V. 88 and XI. 116. The Mit. quotes him on prāyaścitta and aśauca (Yāj. III. 6, 17, 19 etc.). Aparārka had a large work before him and quotes about 200 verses.

<sup>490</sup> संग्रहाकारस्य धारेश्वरमतानुसारित्वात् ।

<sup>491</sup> For example 'याज्ञवल्क्यो विसर्गात्पाक् पात्रमुत्तानमिच्छति । यमो विसर्जनं कृत्वा गृह्यकर्तापि शौनकः ॥ प्रीतिप्रश्नादि देवानां पूर्वं कात्यायनादयः ।' स्मृतिच० (II. p. 484), compare या. I. 248. 'यस्मिन्ते संस्रवाः पूर्वमर्घ्यपात्रे निवेशिताः । पितृपात्रं तदुत्तानं कृत्वा विषाम् विसर्जयेत् ॥'.



A few of the views of Samvarta on topics of vyavahāra may be noted here. According to him oral testimony when in opposition to writing was to be discarded.<sup>492</sup> This is in striking agreement with section 92 of the Indian Evidence Act. He says that if houses and fields are being enjoyed (by one person as against another) when the king is there (i. e. when the central government is strong and there is no anarchy), then it is possession that counts and not mere writing (i. e. possession will be protected and not mere paper title without possession).<sup>493</sup> He lays down that no interest was to be allowed if not stipulated for in certain cases, viz., on stridhana (when used by the husband), on interest, on deposit (as long as it is not lost or deteriorated) and in suretyship.<sup>494</sup> He enumerates ten wrongs (*aparādhas*) of which the king was to take cognisance *suo motu* without any private person's complaint, viz., restraint of the defendant (before judgment), obstruction of the public road, women conceiving in adultery, becoming rich without any ostensible means, destruction of a meeting-hall and of trees and crops, kidnapping of maidens, sinning Brāhmanas, champerty and maintenance, destruction of the roads where tolls are to be paid, the danger of robbers, rape, injury to cows and Brāhmanas.<sup>495</sup> He prescribed that disputes were not to be investigated on the full moon and new moon day, and on the 14th and 8th *tithis*.

492 लेख्ये लेख्यक्रिया शोका वाचिके वाचिकी मता । वाचिके तु न सिध्येत्सा । लेख्यस्यो-  
परि या क्रिया ॥ लेख्यस्योपरि यत्ताक्ष्यं कूटं तदभिधीयते । अधर्मस्य हि तद् द्वार-  
मतो राजा विवर्जयेत् । वाचिकेयादि सामर्थ्यमक्षराणां विहन्यते । क्रियाणां सर्वनाशः  
स्यादनवस्था च जायते ॥ अपरार्क pp. 691-92.

493 भुज्यमाने गृहक्षेत्रे विद्यमाने तु राजनि । भुक्तिर्यस्य भवेत्तस्य न लेख्यं तत्र कारणम् ॥  
परा. मा. III. p. 146.

494 न वृद्धिः स्त्रीधने लाभे विक्रये च यथास्थिते । संदिग्धे प्रतिभाव्ये च यदि न स्यात्स्वयं-  
कृता ॥ स्मृतिच० ( व्य. p. 157 ).

495 आसिधं पथि भङ्गं च यथ्य गर्भः पतिं विना । स्वयमन्वेषेद्यद्वाजा विना चैव विधादिना ॥  
यस्य दृश्यस्य (?) संपात्तिर्न दृश्येतागमः क्वचित् । स्वय ... दिना ॥ सभाभङ्गं  
तरुच्छेदं सस्यव्याघातमेव च । स्व... ॥ कन्यापहारकं पारं विभं च पतितं तथा । परार्थ-  
वादसंयुक्तं स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ षड्भागकरशुल्कार्थं मार्गभेदकमेव च । रवराष्ट्र-  
चौर्येभीतिं च परदाराभिर्भोजनम् ॥ गोघ्राहणनिहन्तारं सस्यानां चैव घातकम् । दशैतान-  
पराधंश्च स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० ; परा. मा. III. 44-45.



In Jivananda's collection (part I, pp. 584-603) and in the Anandaśrama collection (pp. 411-424) there is a *smṛti* of Saṁvarta in 227 and 230 verses respectively. It purports to have been declared to Vāmadeva and other sages by Saṁvarta. Its main contents are:— that is the religious country where the black deer roam about, rules of conduct for a Brahmacārin, *prāyaścittas* for various lapses on the part of a student, duties of housholder, eulogy of liberality, duties of forest hermit and *saṁnyāsin*, *prāyaścittas* for various sins and actions. Saṁvarta is sometimes cited as an authority (verses 38, 123). He recommends the marriages of girls at the age of eight (verse 67) and condemns marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter (verse 157).

In a few Mss. (e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1367) the Saṁvartasṁṛti comprised is different from the printed Saṁvarta.

The printed *smṛti* appears to be an epitome of a portion of the original *smṛti* of saṁvarta. Many of the verses in the printed texts are found in Aparārka. For example Aparārka p. 49 = Saṁvarta verse 6; Aparārka p. 693 = Saṁvarta verses 107-108; Aparārka p. 1053 = Saṁvarta verses 111-113; Aparārka p. 1094 (eight verses out of which five) = Saṁvarta verses 130-134. The *pāda* of Saṁvarta which Viśvarūpa quotes (*ardhastamitabhāskaram*) on Yaj. I. 25 occurs in verse 6 of the printed text. This shows that the printed *smṛti* preserves very ancient material, the authenticity of which is vouched for by so early a writer as Viśvarūpa.

The Mit. quotes a Bṛhat-Saṁvarta (on Yaj. III. 265, 288).

A Svalpa-Saṁvarta is quoted in Harinātha's *Smṛtisāra*.

## 56. Hārīta

The verse quotations from Hārīta on topics of *vyavahāra* deserve some treatment. He defines *vyavahāra* as that whereby the recovery of one's own wealth and the avoidance of (doing) the duties peculiar to another (caste or class) are effected in due course of law.<sup>496</sup> He further says that that judicial proceeding is proper which is based on the dictates of *dharmatāstra* and *arthaśāstra*, which is in conformity with the usages of respectable people and which is free from

<sup>496</sup> स्वधनस्य यथा प्राप्तेः परधर्मस्य वर्जितम् । न्यायेन यत्र क्रियते व्यवहारः स उच्यते ॥



fraud.<sup>497</sup> • Hārīta calls upon the king to know the śāstras, the duties of the varṇas and of the lowest castes.<sup>498</sup> He like Nārada said that vyavahāra had four aspects, each succeeding one prevailing against the preceding one<sup>499</sup>, viz., dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, nṛpājñā. He attached the greatest importance to writing and said that a transaction consigned to writing is effective even after great lapse of time and that he who has a writing in his hands is entitled to possession (probably in cases of mortgages and pledges).<sup>500</sup> He lays down very elaborate rules about the requisites and defects of plaints, about summoning the defendant, about the contents, faults and kinds of the defendant's reply, and about the burden of proof.<sup>501</sup> He protects long possession of property even if it originated without title provided it had lasted for three generations.<sup>502</sup> He says that title is the decisive factor as to various kinds of possession, viz., when possession is forcibly taken by soldiers and freebooters, when a thing is stolen or kept concealed, when it was delivered through affection and friendship or when it was lent on hire, or when it was handed over for wearing or safe custody or was borrowed through friendship.<sup>503</sup> To illustrate the relation of title and possession he uses a very apt figure, viz. just as a branch cannot be seen expanding in the sky unless it is supported by the roots, so title is the root and possession

497 धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रोक्तः शिष्टाचारादिलक्षणः । तलेन च व्यपेतो यः व्यवहारः स धार्मिकः ॥ स्मृतिच०.

498 शास्त्राणि सर्वधर्मास्तु प्रकृतीनां च सूपतिः । व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा तत्सर्वमाचरेत् ॥ स्मृतिच०.

499 धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोयमुत्तरः पूर्वबाधकः ॥ सरस्वतीविलास p. 58 (Mysore ed.). Vide नारद (Intro. chap. verse 10).

500 सुदीर्घेणापि कालेन लिखितः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् । स्मृतिच०; लेख्यं यस्य भवेद्भस्तेभोगं तस्य विनिर्दिशेत् । अपरार्क on या. II. 90.

501 Vide मिता. on या. II. 6 and 7.

502 अन्याद्येनापि यद्वक्तुं विना आवाधवापि च । न तच्छब्दव्यं पराहर्तुं तृतीयं समुपागतम् ॥ स्मृतिच०; 'यद्विनागममत्यन्तं भुक्तं पूर्वोक्तिभिर्भवेत् । न तच्छब्दव्यमपाहर्तुं क्रमाद्विपुष्पागतम्' ॥ मिता. on या. II. 27.

503 भट्टचाट्यलाट्टकं दूतं गुप्तमथापि वा । स्नेहमणयदत्तं च प्रदत्तं भाटकेन वा ॥ तथा वसनरक्षार्थं याचितं णयेन वा । एवं बहुविधे भोगे आगमो निर्णयः स्मृतः ॥ न मूलेन विना शास्त्रा अन्तरिक्षे प्ररोहति । आगमस्तु भवेन्मूलं भुक्तिः शास्त्रा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ स्मृतिच०.



is its offshoot. According to him sureties are of five kinds,<sup>504</sup> *abhaya* (for keeping the peace), *pratyaya* (for confidence), *dāna* (return of money or carrying out one's obligations), *upasthāna* (return of money lent on pledge) and *darśana* (for appearance). He prescribed an absolute tutelage for women as regards the giving away of the husband's wealth and allowed only maintenance to a young widow of improper conduct.<sup>505</sup> But *Hārīta* was humane in his treatment of even erring wives. He does not allow a husband to cast adrift an adulterous wife and prescribes that she should be given food to keep body and soul together and bare clothes.<sup>506</sup>

It appears from the above that *Hārīta* the jurist must have flourished nearly at the same time as *Bṛhaspati* and *Kātyāyana*, i. e. between 400 and 700 A. D.

### 57. Commentaries and Nibandhas (digests)

The literature on *Dharmaśāstra* falls into three well-marked but somewhat over-lapping periods. The first period is that of the ancient *dharmaśūtras* and of the *Manusmṛti*. It is a period dating from at least the 6th century B. C. to the beginnings of the Christian era. Next comes the period when most of the versified *smṛtis* were composed and it ranges from the first centuries of the Christian era to about 800 A. D. The third period is that of the commentators and the writers of digests. This covers over a thousand years from about the 7th century to 1800 A. D. The first part of this last period was the golden era of famous commentators. Commentaries on *smṛti* works continued to be written almost to the end of this period, e. g. *Nandapaṇḍita* wrote the commentary called *Vaijayanti* on the *Viṣṇudharmaśūtra* in the 17th century. But the general tendency from the 12th century onwards was to write works not professing to be commentaries on a particular *smṛti*, but works that were in the nature of digests containing a synthesis of all the dicta of *smṛti* writers on topics of *dharma*. Examples of this class

504 अमये प्रत्यये दाने उपस्थाने च दर्शने । पंचस्वेव प्रकारेषु ब्राह्मणे प्रतिमूर्ध्नेः ॥ स्मृतिच ०.

505 दानार्थे वा धनार्थे वा धर्मार्थे वा विशेषतः । आदाने वा विसर्गे वा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥ स्मृतिच ०; विधवा यौवनस्था चेन्मारी भवति कर्कशा । आयुषः क्षपणार्थं तु दातव्यं जीवनं तदा ॥ मिता ० on या. II. 135.

506 भार्याया व्यभिचारिण्या परित्यागो न विद्यते । दद्यात्पिण्डं कुचेलं च अधःशय्यां च शालयेत् ॥ स्मृतिच ०.



of works are the Kalpataru, the Smṛticandrikā, the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, the Ratnākaraś of Caṇḍeśvara. Even when in the earlier part of this period writers professed to compose only commentaries on particular works, they adopted the style of digests trying to introduce order out of a chaotic mass of Smṛti dicta and explaining away apparent contradictions. For example, Viśvarūpa's commentary (in the ācāra and prāyaścitta sections), the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka's work, though professing to be commentaries on Yājñavalkya, are really in the nature of digests. In fact there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a *ṭīkā* and a *nibandha* (digest). Vijñāneśvara is described by the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa as the most eminent of all writers of *nibandhas*. Therefore, though it is usual to speak of the third period as one of commentators and nibandhakāras, there is no necessity in this work to observe any sharp line of distinction between the two. In the following pages a few prominent and typical commentators and nibandhakāras who have written on all or most of the branches of dharmaśāstra and whose works have attained classical rank will be dealt with in chronological order as far as that can be done with any accuracy.

### 58. Asahāya

Dr. Jolly in his edition of the Nārada-smṛti (B. I. series) has incorporated a portion of the bhāṣya of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. Even this revised version comes up to only verse 21 of the fifth title *abhyupetya-aśusrūṣa*. The exact relation of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's labours to the original bhāṣya cannot be accurately gauged from the opening<sup>507</sup> words 'finding that the Nārada-bhāṣya composed by Asahāya was spoilt (*bhraṣṭa*) by bad scribes, Kalyāṇa composes this after revising the ancient one'. The colophon at the end of the first chapter of the Vyavahāramātrkā says that Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised the bhāṣya of Asahāya at the encouragement of Keśava-bhaṭṭa.<sup>508</sup> Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa seems to have taken great liberties with the text of the original bhāṣya. On p. 9 verse 15 (*rāja satpuruṣaḥ sabhyaśāstraṁ gaṇakalekhakau*), the comment on śāstra is 'Manu-Nārada-

<sup>507</sup> दृष्ट्वास्तद्व्याख्यानं नारदभाष्यं कुलेसकैर्भ्रष्टम् । कल्याणेन क्रियते प्राकनमेतद् विशोध्य

पुनः १ (first-verse).

<sup>508</sup> इति असहायनारदभाष्ये केशवभट्टप्रोत्साहितः कल्याणभट्टपरिशोधित-व्यवहारमानुकायां प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।



Viśvarūpātmaṁ'. If Viśvarūpa named here be identical with the the Viśvarūpa who commented on Yāj. (as is almost certain), this passage could not have occurred in Asahāya's bhāṣya. Viśvarūpa, in commenting on Yāj. III. 263-64, mentions Asahāya by name and cites his explanation of a sūtra of Gautama (22. 13). The name Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa frequently occurs in the printed commentary itself (p. 81, 86, 89).<sup>509</sup>

In the I. O. ms. there is a salutation to Śivā and Gaṇeśa at the beginning. There is a ms. of the Nāradiyabhāṣya as printed by Dr. Jolly in the Deccan College collection (No. 27 of 1874-75). It does not contain the first folio and curiously enough it ends just where the printed text stops. Dr. Jolly omits a few lengthy passages occurring in the ms. and generally indicates such omissions by dots. In a few cases Dr. Jolly omits only a word or two for no apparent reason, e. g. on p. 8 (folio 7b of No. 27 of 1874-75) he omits the word 'paramasamrddhya' after 'vyavahārah' and before 'caturṇāni-api varṇānām'.

The Hārata of Aniruddha who was the *guru* of king Ballāla-sena of Bengal the author of Adbhutasāgara (about 1168 A. D.) tells us that Asahāya composed a bhāṣya on the Gautamadharmasūtra.<sup>510</sup> Viśvarūpa also cites, as said above, Asahāya's explanation of a sūtra of Gautama.

It appears that Asahāya probably wrote a commentary on the Manusmṛti also. A passage of the Sarasvativilāsa<sup>511</sup> says that partition of dharma was approved of by smṛtikāras like Manu,

509 तथा चोक्तमेव सामान्यग्राह्यत्रलक्षणविचारप्रकरणे कल्याणभट्टेन । p. 81; यथोक्तं त्रिषाह-  
लेख्यप्रकरणकारकल्याणभट्टेन । p. 86; कल्याणकृतं श्लोकत्रयमस्ति । p. 89.

510 हारलता (B. I. series) p. 35. 'गौतमः । बालदेशान्तरितप्रजितानां सत्यःशौचम् ।  
( गो. ध. सू. 14. 44 ) यत्र मृतोऽशौचःभ्यन्तरे न श्रूयते तद्देशान्तरं तत्र मृतो देश-  
न्तरित इति गौतमभाष्यकृतसहायेन व्याख्यातम् ।'; हारलता p. 97 'गौतमः ।  
पिण्डनिवृत्तिः सप्तमे पञ्चमे वा । ( गो. ध. सू. 14. 12 ) । अत्रासहायव्याख्या । यदा  
पितृपितामहप्रपितामहास्त्रयो जीवन्ति तदा प्रपितामहादूर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यः पिण्डदानम् । ...  
इदं तु व्याख्यानं न शोभनं प्रतिभाति ।'

511 धर्मविभागो मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिरमृतिकाराणां तत्प्रवृत्तिव्याख्यातृणामसहायमेधातिथिविज्ञा-  
नेश्वरपरार्काणां नियन्दृणां चन्द्रिकाकारादीनां च संमत एव । सरस्वतीविलास para. 83  
and p. 348 ( Mysore ed.).



Yajñavalkya, by their commentators, viz. Asahāya, Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka and by writers of *nibandhas*, viz. the author of the Candrikā and others. Here the order in which the commentators are named requires that Asahāya like Medhātithi was known to be a commentator of Manu. This conclusion is to some extent corroborated by the fact that the Vivādaratnākara<sup>512</sup> quotes with reference to Manu 9. 182 the words of Asahāya thereon. On Manu 8. 156 Medhātithi quotes the opinion of Asahāya.<sup>513</sup>

The foregoing establishes that Asahāya composed bhāṣyas on the Gautamadharmasūtra, on the Manusmṛiti and on Nārada. When the Smṛticandrikā<sup>514</sup> refers to a bhāṣya of Nārada it is most probably referring to Asahāya. In the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 124) the opinion of Asahāya and Medhātithi on the right of an unmarried sister to receive one-fourth as provision for her marriage from her brothers is preferred to that of Bhāruci.<sup>515</sup> This seems to be rather a reference to Asahāya's commentary on Manu (9. 18) which contains a rule similar to Yāj. (II. 124), while Nārada contains no such rule about a fourth share. It is a strange irony of fate that the

The सरस्वतीविलास often refers to a writer called निबन्धनकार. He is likely to be असहाय. Vide सरस्वतीविलास p. 457 'अत्र (मनुस्मृतौ) वाक्पाठ्य-दण्डपाठ्यसंयहणानन्तरं दायविभागः क्रमिकः । निबन्धनकारेण तु त्रयोदशविवाद-पदं दाय इत्युक्तम् । उभयोर्महान् विरोधः । स परिह्रियते । तथोक्तं नारदेन । . . . नारदवचनानुसारि निबन्धनकारवचनम् । अतश्च तद्व्याख्येयस्यापि गौतमसूत्रस्य नारदवचनानुसारित्वमेव ।' ; तथा च गौतमः । प्रतिषेधे पुमान्दण्ड्यस्तदर्थं स्त्री इति । अस्यार्थो विवृतो निबन्धनकारेण ' p. 468.

512 The verse of मनु is भ्रातृणामेकजातानामेकश्वत्पुत्रवान् भवेत् । The words of असहाय are 'अत्रासहाय्येनोक्तं पुंसं सति भ्रातृजे स्त्रीणां सपत्नीपुत्रे क्षेत्रजोदयः प्रतिनिधयो न कर्तव्या इति ।' वि. र. p. 583.

513 यज्वासहायनारदानां तु मते काकिणीमात्रमपि शक्तः कारणपरिवृत्तिकाले दापयितव्यः । on the verse अदर्शयित्वा तत्रैव.

514 स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 36) on दर्शनाविधि says 'एवं तदीयभाष्ये व्याख्यातम् ।' ; तथा च नारदः । स्त्रीकृतान्यप्रमाणानि कार्याण्यहुरनापदि . . . अत्रापवादप्रदर्शनार्थमाह स एव । विशेषतो गृहक्षेत्रदानाधमनविक्रयाः । इति । गृहक्षेत्रयोर्दानाधमनविक्रयास्त्वापयप्यस्व-तन्त्रकृता न सिध्यन्तीत्यर्थः । एवं तद्भाष्ये व्याख्यातम् ।

515 अतोसहायमेधेतिथिप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमेव चतुरस्रं न भाष्ये । मिताक्षरा.



very name of Asahāya who is profusely quoted by the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* in the first half of the sixteenth century was forgotten by later writers, so much so that the *Bālabhāṭṭi* understands the word *Asahāya* (in note 515 above) as an attribute of *Medhātithi* in the sense of 'peerless'.

As *Viśvarūpa* and *Medhātithi* both name *Asahāya*, his lowest limit is about 750 A. D. How much earlier he flourished it is difficult to say. He can hardly be earlier than the 6th century. In the com. on *Nārada* (p. 48) there is a story from *Pāṭaliputra* about the repayment of a debt by sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. It has been argued (*Calcutta Law Journal*, vol. 17 p. 59) that, as *Pāṭaliputra* was a deserted city in the middle of the 7th century and as the reference shows that *Pāṭaliputra* was a living and flourishing city, *Asahāya* must have lived long before the 7th century. But as the very authenticity of the text of the *bhāṣya* is doubtful owing to the drastic 'revision' of *Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa*, such a conclusion is extremely hazardous. In the ms. of the *bhāṣya* other places such as *Vaṭapadraka* (probably modern Baroda), *Avāvadu* and *Sarivāduka* are mentioned. There is nothing to show that the author was either a native of or had a first-hand knowledge of *Pāṭaliputra*. He might have been relying on traditions when he gave the story. Dr. Jolly not being aware of the express mention of *Asahāya* by *Medhātithi* argued that he flourished earlier than *Medhātithi* (*Tagore Law Lectures* p. 5; *S. B. E.* vol. 25 p. VII) on the ground that the *Mit.* and the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* always place *Asahāya* before *Medhātithi* whenever authorities on *vyavahāra* are enumerated. Dr. Jolly's conclusion is right as shown above, but his reasoning is faulty. There is hardly anything of chronology in the order in which authors are named, since we find that the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*<sup>516</sup> names *Vijñāneśvara* even before *Asahāya*, though the former flourished centuries after the latter.

Some of the views attributed to *Asahāya* may be quoted here. The definition of *daya* (heritage) given by the *Mit.* was identical with *Asahāya's*.<sup>517</sup> *Asahāya* explained the dictum of *Uśanas* that

516 स. वि. (para 195) 'विज्ञानेश्वरसहायमेधातिथीनामिदं व्याख्या' (p. 371 of Mysore ed.).

517 असहायविज्ञानयोगिप्रभृतीनां तु यत्स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तद् दायस्यदेनोपपद्यते इति । स. वि. (para 19).



fields were impartible by taking it to refer to the son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriya wife, who does not participate in land gifted to a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>518</sup> The Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 takes the same view. Asahāya held that as regards succession to the *Śulka* of a woman even step-brothers should be given something, though the major portion would go to the full brothers.<sup>519</sup> According to Asahāya, the wealth of a childless Brāhmaṇa went to the teacher, then to the teacher's son, then to the teacher's widow, the pupil, pupil's son, pupil's widow (one after another) and then to the fellow-student.<sup>520</sup> The Vivādaratnākara<sup>521</sup> (p. 578) quotes the Prakāśa as referring to the views of Asahāya and Medhātithi on Manu IX. 198 that the special rule of Manu applies to all the *stridhana* belonging to a Kṣatriya woman who has a brāhmaṇi co-wife. The Vivādaratnākara<sup>522</sup> quotes a verse of Nārada about *māṣa* and a verse of the bhāṣyakāra thereon. It probably refers to Asahāya's bhāṣya.

### 59. Bhartr̥yajña

This seems to have been a very ancient commentator. Medhātithi<sup>523</sup> in his bhāṣya on Manu 8. 3 says 'other explanations have been well brought out by Bhartr̥yajña and they should be understood from his work'. Trikāṇḍa-Maṇḍana (who flourished before 1100 A.D.) in his Āpastambasūtradhvanitārtha-kārika<sup>524</sup> (I. 41) refers to the views of Bhartr̥yajña that one who had committed to

518 स. वि. para 195 ( or p. 371 ).

519 अतश्च कन्याशुल्कविषये सोदरासोदरविभागेऽसोदराणामपि किञ्चित् देयमित्यसहायव्याख्यानमसहायम् । स. वि. para 314 ( or p. 384 ). Here there is a play on the word असहाय which means ' unsupported, baseless.'

520 स. वि. para 608.

521 पित्रा दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमात्रोपलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथिरिति ( धी इति ! ) प्रकाशकारः ।

522 तथा चोक्तं नाग्नेन-माषो विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्यापणस्य च । स च राजन्तो विवक्षितः । तथा च भाष्यकारः । सौवर्णमौषकेः संख्या दण्डकमस्तु शस्यते । पूनां शस्यचरणे माषरन्त्येभ्य राजन्तेः ॥ वि. र. p. 234.

523 व्याख्यानान्तराणि भर्तृयज्ञेनैव सम्यक्कृतानि इति तत एवावगन्तव्यानि सर्वथा प्रमाणमूलानि ।

524 यद्वाध्ययनसंसिद्धविज्ञानरहितोपि सन् । नातवाधिक्रियाशून्यो भर्तृयज्ञादिदर्शनात् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन ( B. I. series ).



memory the text of the Veda had the privilege (the *adbikāra*) of consecrating the sacred fires, though he may be innocent of the meaning of the Vedic texts. From Ananta's bhāṣya it appears that Bhartṛyañña composed a bhāṣya on the Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra which had been lost (utsanna) in the former's day. From Gadādhara's comments on the Pāraskara grhyasūtra it appears that Bhartṛyañña commented on Pāraskara.<sup>525</sup> The Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes Bhartṛyañña's explanation of the word *samvibhāga* occurring in Gautamadharmasūtra ( 10. 39 'svāmī riktha-kṛaya-samvibhāga-parigrahādhigameṣu').<sup>526</sup> The Nityācārapradīpa (B. I. series) after quoting Gautamadharmasūtra ( 11. 29 varṇāśramāḥ svadharmaṇiṣṭhāḥ &c. ) cites the comment of Bhartṛyañña<sup>527</sup> on the word *lac-cheṣya* occurring in that sūtra. Therefore it appears probable that Bhartṛyañña like Asahāya was an ancient commentator of the Gautamadharmasūtra. The Gṛhastharatnākara, after quoting from Vasiṣṭha ( 17. 1 ) and Viṣṇu the well-known verse of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (ṛnam-asmin sam-nayati) cites the explanation of Bhartṛyañña as to the word 'jātasya' occurring therein.<sup>528</sup>

Since Bhartṛyañña is quoted by Medhātithi who also mentions Asahāya but not Viśvarūpa, it follows that Bhartṛyañña must have flourished before 800 A. D. and was probably a contemporary of or slightly later than Asahāya.

### 60. Viśvarūpa

The commentary of Viśvarūpa called Bālakriḍā on the Yājñiavalkya-smṛti has been recently published in two parts by M. M. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The Mit. states in the introductory verses that the dicta of Yāj. were expanded by

525 on पारस्करगृह्य I. 1. 2. ' एते पञ्च भूस्कारा इति भर्तृयज्ञभाष्ये अन्यथा इति कर्कोपाध्यायः ', on पारस्कर I. 2. 1. the भाष्य of भर्तृयज्ञ on the word दारकाले is quoted; on the सूत्र ' केशसंमितो ब्राह्मणश्च &c. ' ( पारस्कर II. 5. 28 ) गदाधर says ' इदं च सूत्रं सूत्रत्वेन हरिहरभाष्ये तिष्ठति भर्तृयज्ञकर्कादियन्धेषु नोपलभ्यते '.

526 संविभागो भर्तृदाय इति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 78a of D. C. ms. No 44 of 1883-84.

527 अत्र तच्छेषेण इति तस्येव नित्याचारकर्मणः शेषेणेति भर्तृयज्ञः । नित्याचारप्रदीप p. 12.

528 अत्र जातस्येति कण.पाकरणयोश्चर्येति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 133a.



the voluminous or ample (*vikāṣa*) explanations of *Viśvarūpa*. In commenting on *Yāj. I. 81* the *Mit.* tells us that *Viśvarūpa* looked upon the words of *Yāj. I. 79* (*tasmin yugmāsu saṁviśet*) as a *niyama*. In *Viśvarūpa's* commentary on *Yāj. I. 80* (*evam gacchan &c.*) we do find that the verse of *Yāj.* and similar passages of *Manu* ( 3. 45 ), *Vasiṣṭha* and *Gautama* ( 5. 1 ) are understood to contain a *niyama* and not a *parisaṁkhyā*.<sup>529</sup> On *Yāj. III. 24* the *Mit.* informs us that *Viśvarūpa*, *Medhātithi* and *Dhāreśvara* looked upon certain texts of *Ṛṣyasūtra* on *āśauca* as in conflict with well-known *smṛtis* and discarded them. Mr. S. Sitaram Śāstri published ( in 1900 at Madras ) the text and translation of *Viśvarūpa's* comment on inheritance and Mr. Setlur also published the *vyavahāra* section. In the following pages the Trivandrum edition is relied on.

The printed com. of *Viśvarūpa* on the *vyavahāra* section is extremely meagre and scarcely merits the epithet *vikāṣa* applied to it by the *Mit.* But the comment of *Viśvarūpa* on the *ācāra* and *prāyaścitta* sections is truly voluminous and compares favourably with the *Mit.* The style of *Viśvarūpa* is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great *Śaṅkarācārya*. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the *Carakas* and *Vājasaneyins* (on *Yāj. I. 32*), the *Kāthaka* ( on *Yāj. III. 237* and *243* ) and very often supports his position by quotations from the *Rgveda* ( e. g. on *Yāj. II. 121* and *206* ), the *Brāhmaṇas* ( e. g. the *Śatapatha* on *Yāj. I. 53* and *III. 257* ) and from the *Upaniṣads* ( e. g. on *Yāj. II. 117*, the well-known *Chāndogya* passage about the ordeal for theft and on *Yāj. I. 50* *Chāndogya II. 23. 10* about the three branches of *dharma* ). He speaks of the *pada-pāṭha* and the *kramapāṭha* as due to human agency ( on *Yāj. III. 242* ). He frequently quotes the *Gṛhyasūtras* of *Paraskara* and less frequently those of *Bhāradvāja* and *Āśvalāyana*. He cites a host of *smṛtikāras*.<sup>530</sup> Most of the quotations attributed to

529 मानवं तु ' ऋतुकालाभिगामी स्यात् ' इति ... नियमपरतयेव व्याख्येयम् । एतेनैव ... वासिष्ठ व्याख्यातम् । ... गौतमीये श्वतुतपरिसंख्यार्थं ' ऋतावुपेयात् ' इति केचित् । ... तस्मात्तदपि नियमार्थमेव व्याख्येयम् ।

530 The स्मृतिकारः mentioned by name are : अङ्गिरसः, अत्रि, आपस्तम्ब, उशनसः, कात्यायन, काश्यप, गार्ग्य, वृद्धगार्ग्य, गौतम, जतुकर्ण ( ७-मि ), दक्ष, नारद, पराशर, पारस्कर, पितामह, पुलस्त्य, पेंडीनासि, वृहस्पति, बौधायन, भारद्वाज, भृगु, मनु, वृद्धमनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, वामन, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शान्तातप, शौनक, संबत, सुमन्तु, स्वयंभु ( i. e. मनु ), इरीत.



Svayambhū are found in the extant Manusmṛti, but this is not the case with the quotations ascribed to Bhṛgu ( vide p. 138 above ). Most of the quotations from Bṛhaspati ( even on such topics as repayment of debts, sureties, the rights of śūdrāputra ) are in prose, only a few being in verse ( e. g. a verse about ordeals on Yāj. II. 117, a verse about the method of partition on Yāj. II. 153 ). It appears therefore that Viśvarūpa either knew a work of Bṛhaspati in prose on arthaśāstra in which occurred a few verses or he had before him a prose work of Bṛhaspati and a versified smṛti of Bṛhaspati, both of which he regarded as the compositions of the same author. He quotes a verse ( on Yāj. I. 328 ) from Viśālākṣa, a well-known writer on politics quoted even by Kauṭilya. He refers to the arthaśāstra of Uśanas along with that of Bṛhaspati. Kauṭilya is nowhere quoted by name. The learned editor of Viśvarūpa thinks ( Intro. p. V ) that Viśvarūpa took Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa as *ārṣa* writers long anterior to Yāj. and therefore used their *dicta* to elucidate and support Yāj., while he omits Kauṭilya because he thought Kauṭilya to be posterior to Yāj. This argument contains several fallacies. In the first place it is wrong because Viśvarūpa quotes verses from Nārada and Kātyāyana to supplement Yāj. There is nothing to show that Viśvarūpa regarded Nārada and Kātyāyana also as anterior to Yāj. and we have seen above that they are several centuries later than the smṛti of Yāj. Moreover Kauṭilya himself looked upon both Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa as high authorities and so Viśvarūpa might have quoted them rather than Kauṭilya. Even taking the latest date assigned to Kauṭilya ( about 3rd century A. D. ), he flourished several centuries before Viśvarūpa. It is impossible to believe that Viśvarūpa was in possession of the exact chronological relation of Yāj. and Kauṭilya. Many scholars, besides, place Kauṭilya's work centuries before Yāj. It appears, however, that Viśvarūpa had the work of Kauṭilya before him. On Yāj. I. 307 he speaks of ministers tested by the four allurements ( *upadha* ) of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *bhaya*. This is an echo of Kauṭilya ( I. 10 ). On Yāj. I. 343 Viś. refers to the view of some that a march should be made when neighbouring chiefs are overwhelmed in calamities.<sup>551</sup> This is the view of Kauṭilya almost in

551 तथा चाहुः-सामन्तव्योर्व्यसनसाम्येन यातव्यं तममित्रमेव यांयात्-इति । विश्वरूपः, compare 'तुल्यसामन्तव्यसने यातव्यममित्रं वा इत्यमित्रमभियायात् । कौटिल्य VII. 5; किं पुनस्तन्मन्त्रणीयम् । इत्थं च दिक्प्रचारदूतसंश्लेषण-कापटिकादास्थित-



the same words. On Yāj. I. 341 Viś. speaks of the manifold aspects of the work of a minister, some words of his comment being almost identical with Kautilya's.

Viśvarūpa's work is thoroughly saturated with the lore of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. He quotes Jaimini by name (on Yāj. I. 225 where Jaimini VI. 8. 15 is quoted). Curiously enough he applies the term *nyāya* to Mīmāṃsā. He takes 'nyāya-mīmāṃsā' in Yāj. I. 3 as one *vidyā*, while he notes that others explain *nyāya* as the system of logic propounded by Akṣapāda. He quotes the sūtras of Jaimini as those of Yājñikas who know *nyāya* (e. g. on Yāj. I. 53 he quotes Jaimini I. 3. 16 and on Yāj. I. 87 he quotes Jaimini VI. 8. 17). He applies the epithet *naiyāyika* to a mīmāṃsaka like Śābara and speaks of the mīmāṃsakas as *nyāyavidāḥ*.<sup>532</sup> He mentions the Śābarbhāṣya by name (on Yāj. III. 243) and in several places quotes the very words of Śābara (e. g. on Yāj. III. 181).<sup>533</sup> He quotes the śloka-vārtika of Kumārila (I. 12 the verse 'sarvasyaiva hi &c.') in his introductory remarks. In his comment on Yāj. I. 7 he cites over fifty verses in the nature of *karikās* dealing with the relation of śruti and smṛti and kindred topics. These verses are his own composition, as in one of them he assures us that a certain point will be dealt with by him in detail in the section on Śraddha.<sup>534</sup> In interspersing his commentary with *karikās* of his own and in their style and pithiness he greatly resembles Kumārila. Throughout his work he relies upon mīmāṃsā maxims and methods of

गृहपतिकवदेहकतापसव्यजनावरितचारप्रपञ्चनिरूपणपरप्रयुक्तकापटिकायुच्छेदबुर्गादि-  
करणकन्यासंभदानकुमारचिन्ता-अन्तःपुरप्रचारायनेकविधं च । विश्वरूप. The  
words कापटिको ... व्यञ्जन occur in कौटिल्य (I. 11) and कौटिल्य has  
chapters on राजपुत्ररक्षण (i. e. कुमारचिन्ता), अवरोद्धवृत्त (i. e. अन्तःपुर-  
प्रचार), दुर्गविधान and दूतप्रणिधि.

532 न्यायविदश्च धार्मिकाः 'अपि वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात्', न्यायविदश्च याज्ञिकाः सर्वार्थत्वायु-  
त्तरार्थे न प्रयोजयेदित्याहुः (this is Jaimini VI. 8. 17); न च लक्ष्यमाणस्य  
विशेषणं विवक्ष्यत इति न्यायविदः (on याज्ञ. III. 250). The last is a well-  
known mīmāṃsānyāya. "तथा च नैयायिकाः 'नहि वचनस्यातिभारोस्ति' इत्याहुः."  
These words occur in शाबरभाष्य on Jaimini III. 2. 3.

533 तथा चोक्तं 'चोदना भूतं भवन्तं भविष्यन्तमित्याद्येवंजातीयकमर्थं शब्दोत्पन्नवगमयितुम्'  
इति । This is शाबरभाष्य p. 4 (B. I. edition).

534 सर्वं चैतत्प्रपञ्चेन वक्ष्यामः श्राद्धसंग्रहे । विश्वरूप part I. p. 16.



discussion. For example, on Yāj. I. 4-5 he discusses the rule of Jaimini II. 4. 8 ff (about 'sarvaśakhāpratyayam ekaṁ karma') in its application to smṛtis; on Yāj. I. 225 he relies upon the position that words like *yava* and *varāha* are to be taken as employed in the Vedas in the same sense in which *śiṣṭas* use them (vide Jaimini I. 3. 9); on Yāj. II. 144 he speaks of wealth (*dravya*) being *puruṣārtha*, where he alludes to the well-known distinction between *kratvartha* and *puruṣārtha*, the subject of Jaimini's 4th chap. His commentary on Yāj. III. 212, 237, 262 are fine examples of his superb skill in the interpretation and reconciliation of apparently conflicting texts.

Though Viśvarūpa was a past master in Purvamīmāṃsā lore, his philosophical views seem to have been identical with those of the great Śāṅkara. According to him, *mokṣa* results from correct knowledge alone and the whole *samsāra* is due to *avidyā*.<sup>535</sup> He quotes anonymously one of Gauḍapāda's *kārikās*<sup>536</sup> (III. 5) on Yāj. III. 134.

He speaks on Yāj. III. 103 of Nārada who knew the Veda of music (*gītvēdavid*), of purāṇa (on III. 175), and quotes verses (on Yāj. III. 85) from an *abhidhānaśloka* (lexicon) and from a *Nāmaratnamālā* (on III. 266). He speaks of the *śloka* of Bhikṣa-tana (on III. 66). He is in this probably referring to the *Bhikṣa-tanakāvya*,<sup>537</sup> which is mentioned by the *Sahityadarpaṇa*. Among commentators he mentions Asahāya's *bhāṣya* on Gautama by name (on Yāj. III. 263). On Yāj. III. 256 he explains *Mleccha* as *pulindas* and *Tajikas* (i. e. Arabs).

535 In his com. on *साङ्ख्यवल्क्य* III. 66 he says 'अपवर्गार्थं हि पारिवाज्यं ज्ञानैक-साधनं न तत्र कर्मणा प्रयोजनमित्युक्तमेव' । ; 'तत्त्वाग्रहणात्मकेनाविद्योत्थत्वात्प्रपञ्च-स्यैवमादिचोदानवकाश एव । ... तत्त्वेन ब्रह्मणो नान्यद्वस्त्वन्तरमस्तीति ब्रह्मविदां स्थितिः ।'.

536 तथा चाह-यथैकस्मिन्घटाकरो रजोधूमादिभिर्धुते । न सर्वे संप्रयुज्यन्ते सुखं दुःखं तथात्मनः ॥ इति । तथान्येरेपि-धूमपूर्णघटानां च यस्यैकस्यैव रेचनम् । उत्पाद्य क्रियते तत्र जायते व्योम निर्मलम् ॥ इति । In the *Ānandāsrama* edition of *गौडपाद* the fourth *pāda* is तद्वज्जीवा सुसादिभिः. I could not trace the *kārikā* धूमपूर्णः.

537 Vide I. O. cat. p. 1448 for the *भिष्ठाटनकाव्य* of शिवभक्तिदास alias उत्प्रेक्षा-बल्लभ who names वात्मीकि, कालिदास and the कादम्बरी of बाण.



It has been shown above (§34 pp. 169-170) how Viśvarūpa's text of Yāj. varied in some respects from that of the Mit. ; how he frequently refers to the views of commentators of Yāj. earlier than himself ( in the words ' अपरे, ' ' anye ' ), how he proposes several explanations of the same words in several cases.

Dr. Jolly (Journal of Indian History 1924, pp. 7-8 ) says that the citations of Viś. in the Smṛticandrikā about his having refuted the views of Dhāreśvara cannot be traced in the printed Bālakriḍā, as also the reference to Viś. in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 135. It has been shown above (note 529) that the printed Viś on Yāj. I. 80 does contain the view attributed to it by the Mit. As regards the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 it has to be noted that the Mit. does not mention Viś. by name there, but only speaks of ' bhagavān ācārya,<sup>518</sup> ' which words are interpreted by the Subodhini and the Bālabhāṭṭas referring to Viśvarūpa. It is true that the printed Viś. does not contain in so many words the explanation attributed by the Mit. to ' bhagavān ācārya. ' But it is worth considering that in the printed Viś. the two quotations from Manu and Śaṅkha do occur and are put in the mouth of an objector and are explained away in a way somewhat similar to that put forth in the Mit.<sup>519</sup> As regards the passages of the Smṛticandrikā, the matter requires careful examination. The Smṛticandrikā ( II. p. 294 Gharpure's ed. ) says that according to the Saṁgrahakāra a widow was allowed to succeed to her sonless husband's wealth if she submitted to *niyoga*, that the

538 The words of the Mit. are : यदपि मनं पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य रिक्तं भ्रातर एव वा ( मनु 9. 135 ) इति मनुस्मरणात्, तथा-स्वर्थात्तस्य अपुत्रस्य भ्रातृगामि द्रव्यं तदभावे पितरौ हरेयातां ज्येष्ठा वा पत्नीति शङ्खस्मरणाच्च अपुत्रस्य धनं भ्रातृगामिति प्राप्तं भरणं चास्य कुर्वीरन् स्त्रीणामाजीवनक्षयादित्यादिवचनाच्च भरणोपयुक्तं धनं पत्नी लभत इत्यपि स्थितम् । एवं स्थिते बहुधने अपुत्रे स्वर्थात् भरणोपयुक्तं पत्नी गृह्णाति शेषं च भ्रातरो यदा तु पत्नीभरणमात्रोपयुक्तमेव द्रव्यमस्ति ततो न्यूनं वा तदा किं पत्न्येव गृह्णाति उत भ्रातरोपीति विरोधे पूर्वबलीयस्त्वज्ञापनार्थं पत्नी बुद्धितर इत्यादिबध्मिति । तदप्यत्र भगवानाचार्यो न मृष्यति । यतः । पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य ... इति विकल्पस्मरणान्नेदं क्रमपरमपि तु धनग्रहणेधिकारप्रदर्शनमात्रपरम् । तच्चान्यथापि पत्न्यादिगणे घटते इति व्याचक्षते ।

539 ननु एतदप्यस्ति । ' पिता हरे ... वा ' इति । मानन्वसत्यामेतद् द्रष्टव्यम् । कथं शङ्ख-वचनं ' स्वर्थात्तस्य ... पत्नी ' इति । उकलक्षणपत्नीबुद्धिभवावे सोदर्यभ्रात्रभिप्रायं तत् । विश्वरूपः ।



same was the view of Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa refuted the view of Dhāreśvara. In no place does the printed Viś. name Dhāreśvara. The words of the Smṛticandrikā are not to be taken literally. It will be shown below that the author, Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, flourished about 1200 A. D., while Dhāreśvara flourished between 1000-1050 A. D. Devaṇṇa had no correct idea of their relative chronological position. It has been shown above (p. 249) how though Asahāya is named by the Mit., the Sarasvatīvilāsa very often says that Asahāya does not like (or tolerate) the views of Vijñāneśvara. Similarly the same work (para 392) says that Dhāreśvara and Devaśvāmin do not tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara, but Dhāreśvara is one of the predecessors of Vij. actually named by him. So all that the Smṛticandrikā means is that Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa differed in their views on the particular points mentioned by it. The word *patni* is taken by Viś. to mean a widow who is pregnant at the time of her husband's death and quotes the sūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Gautama in support of his view as *jñāpakas*. So this view entirely differs from the view of Dhāreśvara that the widow of a sonless person succeeds if she submits to *niyoga*. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 300) says that the Saṃgrahakāra placed the father's mother immediately after the mother and before the father, that the Saṃgrahakāra relied on the same arguments that were employed by Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa and others refuted those arguments. The passage in the printed Viś. is somewhat corrupt in this place. Viś. does place the mother before the father on the ground of the word *māta* occurring first when the word 'pitarau' or the compound 'mātapitarau' is expanded. The comment does mention the verse of Manu (9. 217) about the grandmother, but it makes no clear sense, as it stands.<sup>140</sup> For the reason given above Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1912, p. 345 and for 1915, p. 322) is not right when he places Viśvarūpa later than Bhojadeva because of the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā.

In the works of Jimūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātṛkā), in the Smṛticandrikā, the Hāralatā, and other later works like the Sarasvatīvilāsa, the views of Viśvarūpa are frequently cited and discussed. Several such citations have been

<sup>140</sup> सन्निवादिषु पुत्राणां तु पितरि मातृभावे 'पितुर्मौला इरेद् धनम्' इत्यस्य विषयः ।



already examined by me ( JBBRAS for 1926, pp. 200-204 ). From considerations of space I do not repeat here the discussion of those passages. In the *Gṛhastharatnākara*<sup>541</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara (D.C. No. 44 of 1883-4, folio 133a) the explanation of *Viśvarūpācārya* on *Yāj. I. 135* is cited, which does not exactly tally with the printed *Viś. Hemādri*<sup>542</sup> refers to *Viśvarūpa*'s explanation given in his section on partition which does not occur in the printed text. The result of the examination of these citations is that the printed text of *Viś.* is in the main genuine, but that in a few cases ( particularly in the *vyavahāra* section ) it is corrupt or deficient.

Though *Viś.* holds the same view as the *Mit.* that ownership does not for the first time arise on partition but that partition takes place of what is already ( jointly ) owned, yet on numerous points the two disagree. A few of them may be set out here.

( 1 ) *Viś.* allows ( on *Yāj. II. 118* ) the father unrestricted freedom of distribution of property among his sons during his lifetime, while the *Mit.* expressly says that this power of unequal distribution is restricted to self-acquired property.

( 2 ) *Viś.* ( on *Yāj. II. 119* ) allows a share of property to the widows of predeceased sons and grandsons of a man when a partition takes place during his lifetime. The *Mit.* restricts the words ' *patnyah* ' to the father's own wives when he effects a partition during his lifetime.

( 3 ) *Viś.* connects the words ' without detriment to the paternal estate ' ( in *Yāj. II. 122* ) with the words ' whatever else is acquired by himself ' and not with ' *maitra* ' ( gifts from a friend ) and ' *audvāhika* ' ( gifts on marriage ), while the *Mit.* connects the half verse ' whatever else is acquired by the man himself without

541 विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 135 is तथा चान्तायः । तस्माद्वर्षत्यप्रावृत्तो न व्रजेत्—इति । अयं मे वज्रः पाप्मानमहतात्—इत्येतदेव मन्त्रस्य कार्त्स्न्यम् । यदा वर्षति गच्छेत् तदेवमिति व्याख्येयम् । ; while the गृह्यधरत्नाकर 8878 ' अयं मे वज्रः सर्वं पाप्मानमहन्ति—इति सर्वं मन्त्रं पठन् वर्षत्यप्रावृत्तो ( ! प्रावृत्तो ) गच्छेद् यावन्मन्त्र-समाप्तिः ऊर्ध्वमतिष्ठम् । तावतेवातिपाप्मनोपहतत्वादिति विश्वरूपाचार्यः ।

542 भ्राता वा भ्रातृपुत्रो वा सपिण्डः शिष्य एव च । सपिण्डकक्रिया कृत्वा कुर्यादाभ्युदयिकं ततः ॥ इत्यत्र वचने अभ्युदयशब्देन आभ्युदयिकं भ्रातृ विभागप्रकरणे विश्वरूपा-चार्येण व्याख्यातम् । चतुर्वर्गः ( कालनिर्णय p. 43 ).



detriment to the paternal estate ' as a qualifying clause to the next half verse and to another verse ' kramād abhyāgatam &c. ' In the Mit. the two verses ' pītṛdravyāvirodhena &c. ' and ' kramād &c. ' occur consecutively, while in Viś. they are separated by three verses and Viś. takes the verse ' kramād ' &c. as referring to the re-opening of a partition for a son born after partition.

( 4 ) Viś. allows *niyoga* only to *śūdras* in general and to *kṣatriya* kings in case of danger of extinction of line ( vide com. on Yāj. I. 69 and II. 131 ), while Mit. forbids *niyoga* in general and holds the texts speaking of it as applicable to a girl who is only betrothed and not married.

( 5 ) Viś. appears to allow one share out of ten to the son of a *śūdra* wife from a *brāhmaṇa* without restriction of any kind, while Mit. restricts the share to estates other than land acquired by gift.

( 6 ) Viś. interprets the expression ' half share ' ( in Yāj. II. 138 ) with reference to the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* as meaning ' some portion, not necessarily exactly half, ' while Mit. interprets it literally.

( 7 ) Viś. allows a widow to succeed to her husband if she is pregnant at his death, while Mit. allows a widow to succeed without any restriction except that of chastity.

( 8 ) Viś. restricts the word ' *duhitarāḥ* ' in ' *patnī duhitarāś-caiva* ' ( Yāj. II. 138 ) to *putrika* only and so does not allow all daughters whatever to succeed, while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

( 9 ) Viś. reads ' *anyodaryasya saṁsṛṣṭi* ' for *anyodaryastu* &c. ' and ' *sodaro* ' for ' *saṁsṛṣṭo* ' in Yāj. II. 143 and his interpretation of the verse is entirely different from that of the Mit.

( 10 ) Viś. reads ' *ādhivedanikaṁ caiva* ' for ' *ādhivedanikādyam ca* ' of Mit. and holds that *bāndhudatta*, *śulka* and *anvādheyaka strīdhana* of a childless woman goes on her death to her full brother; while Mit. connects these three with the preceding verse and takes the half verse ' *atitāyām* ' as laying down a general rule of succession to *strīdhana* of all kinds and interprets ' *bāndhavāḥ* ' as meaning ' husband and the rest '.

( 11 ) Viś. takes the verse ' *adhivinna-striyai* ' &c. ( on Yāj. II. 152 ) as applicable to a wife superseded without any ground of



supercession allowed by the texts; while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

As Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika and is mentioned by the Mit. as an authoritative commentator it follows that he flourished between 750 A. D. and 1000 A. D. A greater approximation as to the date of Viśvarūpa can be made, if the identity of Viśvarūpa with Sureśvara be held established. Sureśvara, as he himself tells us in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, the Taittiriyaopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika and other works, was a pupil of the great Śaṅkarācārya whose generally accepted period is 788-820 A. D. Mādhyamācārya in several works of his quotes as Viśvarūpa's passages from the well-known works of Sureśvara. For example, the Parāśara-Mādhaviya ( vol. I, part I, p. 57 ) quotes a kārīkā of Sureśvara as that of Viśvarūpācārya.<sup>541</sup> In the Vivaraṇaprameyasamgraha (Vizianagaram series p. 92 ) also Mādhava quotes a verse from the Brhadāranyakopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika as Viśvarūpa's.<sup>542</sup> In the Puruṣārthaprabodha<sup>543</sup> of Brāhmānanda-bhārati ( ms. in Bhau Daji collection, Bombay ) composed in 1476 ( probably of the Śaka era ) the author speaks of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi as a work of Viśvarūpa. In the Saṅkṣepa-Śaṅkara-jaya Viśvarūpa is said to be the author of the two vārtikas on Śaṅkara's bhāṣya.<sup>544</sup> According to tradition embodied in the various lives of Śaṅkara, the latter had four pupils, Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Totaka and Hastāmālaka. Several works mention Viśvarūpa as one of the four pupils and omit the name Sureśvara. For example, in the Dvādaśa-vākya-vivaraṇa of Gopāla ( Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. No. 557, p. 227 b ) the four pupils of Śaṅkara are named as Viśvarūpa, Padmanābha, Totaka and Hastāmālaka. In the Mānasollāsa-vṛttānta-vilāsa of Rāmatīrtha we are expressly told that Sure-

543 इदं च वाक्यं नित्यकर्मविषयत्वेन वार्तिके विश्वरूपाचार्य उदाजहार—आग्ने कलाथे ह्रयादि ह्यपस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । फलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणां ॥ The sutra of आपस्तम्ब is आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 and the करिका occurs in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक ( I. 1. 97 ).

544 The verse is on p. 640 of the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक.

545 इत्येवं नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धौ भग्नशेषमवित्तमे । श्रीमद्विश्वरूपार्योराचार्यः करुणार्णवेः ॥ ( folio 6 ).

546 इत्थं स उक्तो भगवत्पदेन श्रीविश्वरूपो विदुषां वरिष्ठः । चकार भाष्यद्वयवार्तिके (ते?) आज्ञा गुरुणा ह्यविचारणीया ॥ संक्षेपशङ्करजय 13.68 (Aufrecht's Oxford Cat p. 257 ).



śvara is another name of Viśvarūpa, a pupil of Śaṅkara ( vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. No. 1763, p. 82). In the Saptasūtra-saṁnyāsapaddhati ( Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 296 ) the four pupils are said to be Svarūpācārya, Padmācārya, Tōṭaka and Pṛthivīdhara. The Guruvaiśākāya (Vanivilas ed.) identifies Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa (II.59) and makes him a pupil of Kumārila and Śaṅkara. It may therefore be held as fairly established that Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are identical. Some corroboration is afforded by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes Gauḍapāda the ' paramaguru ' of Śaṅkara and holds the same philosophical views as those of Śaṅkara. Just as Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika, Sureśvara also in his Taittirīyopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika quotes a *karika* of Kumārila and styles the latter Mīmāṃsakāṁ-mānya.<sup>547</sup> This shows that Sureśvara treated Kumārila with scant respect, which seems unlikely if he was at any time Kumārila's pupil. Viśvarūpa in his introduction<sup>548</sup> performs an obeisance to the Sun, the great serpent ( Śeṣa ), Tilaksvāmin and Vināyaka. The Bhāmī of Vācaspati-miśra has a similar salutation. Vācaspati-miśra wrote his Nyāyasūci-nibandha in 841-42 A. D. i. e. he was almost a contemporary of Śaṅkara and his pupils. The learned editor of Viś. tells us that in a commentary on Viś. called Vacanamālā Sureśvara is bracketed with Manu and Yogīśvara ( Yājñavalkya ) as an expounder of Śāstra ( i. e. dharmaśāstra ).<sup>549</sup> Therefore that commentator looked upon Viś. and Sureśvara as identical. From all these several considerations it follows that

547 मोक्षार्थं न भवतेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः । नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्सन्ध्यायजिह्वासया ॥ इति मीमांसकंमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् । ते. उ. भाष्यवार्तिक I. 9-10. The verse मोक्षार्थं &c. is श्लोकवार्तिक ( संबन्धाक्षेपपरिहार verse 110 ).

548 प्रणम्यार्कं महानागं तिलकस्वामिनं तथा । विनायकं च सद्गोभिः स्मृतिरुद्ध्योत्यते मयः ॥ विश्वरूप ; vide याज्ञ. I. 289 आदित्यस्य सदा पूजां तिलकस्वामिनस्तथा । महागणपतेश्चैव कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ . The Bhāmī has मूर्तिष्टतिलकस्वामिन्महागणपतीन् वयम् । विश्ववन्द्यान्मस्यामः सर्वसिद्धिविधायिनः ॥. तिलकस्वामी would mean तिलकप्रियः स्वामी. The मिताक्षरा reads तिलकं स्वामिनस्तथा.

549 अवनम्य मनुसुरेश्वरयोगीश्वरतीव्रकिरणगुहचरणान् । शास्त्राणां व्याकर्तृन् कर्तृन्पि देवता निसिलाः ॥ One of the verses at the end of the वचनमाला is भवभूतिनिबन्धनोद्धोतिमिमीमांसतिवादिके गुरोः । सकटाक्षनिरीक्षणपूर्वं ( वः १ ) पतिते मामयमुद्दिष्यति ॥. Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22, pp. 4458-4460 for वचनमाला.



*Viśvarūpa* flourished about 800-825 A. D. But this problem presents further difficulties. The mutual relations of *Sureśvara*, *Bhavabhūti*, *Umbeka* and *Maṇḍana* are a great puzzle. I have dealt with this question in *JBBRAS* for 1928, pp. 289-293. The conclusions arrived at there are that *Maṇḍana*'s literary activity lies between 690-710, that of *Umbeka* between 700-730 and *Sureśvara*'s between 810-840 A. D. and that *Umbeka* and *Bhavabhūti* are identical, but that *Maṇḍana* and *Sureśvara* are separated by about 100 years.

Dr. Jolly has brought together in the *Journal of Indian History* (vol. III. pp. 1-27) some valuable information about *Viśvarūpa*.

In several later works a digest called *Viśvarūpa-nibandha* is frequently cited. That appears to be the composition of another *Viśvarūpa* altogether. For example, the *ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha-nirṇaya* of *Śivabhaṭṭa* (which is later than 1650 A. D.) tells us that *Viśvarūpācārya* composed a *vivaraṇa* (commentary) on the *Śrāddha-kalikā*.<sup>550</sup> The *Kṛiyacintāmaṇi* of *Śivaraṇa* (D. C. No. 221 of 1879) quotes several<sup>551</sup> verses from *Viśvarūpanibandha* on *Sapinda* relationship in marriage, which are not found in the *Balakriḍā*, but which agree remarkably with the words of the *Mit.* on *Yāj. I. 53*. The *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (pp. 378, 380) mentions *Viśvarūpa-nibandha* and quotes two verses cited therein. The *Tithi-nirṇaya-sarva-samuccaya* (later than 1450 A. D.) quotes certain *karikas* of *Viśvarūpa* on the 18 varieties of *Ekādaśī*.<sup>552</sup> The *Kālanirṇayasiddhanta-vyākhyā* (composed in 1653 A. D.) quotes certain verses of *Viśvarūpa* on the question of the disposal of food prepared for a marriage when a period of impurity or death supervenes.<sup>553</sup> The

550 अत एवोक्तं श्राद्धकलिकायां--मासिकानि सपिण्डं च अमावास्या तथादिकम् । अन्नेनैव तु कर्तव्यं यस्य भायां रजस्वला ॥ इति । अन्नेनैव कर्तव्यं न त्वामान्नादिनेति च कलिकाविवरणेपि श्रीमद्विष्णुरूपाचार्यव्याख्यानम् । Ms. in the Bhadkamkar Collection, folio 7 b.

551 विश्वरूपनिबन्धे । एवमुक्तप्रकारेण पितृधन्धुषु सप्तमात् । ऊर्ध्वमेव विवाहस्य पञ्च-मात्मातृधन्धुतः ॥ सन्तानो भियते यस्मात्पूर्वजादुभयत्र च । तमादाय गणे ( गणेद् ) धीमान्वरं यावच्च कन्यकाम् ॥ इति । कृत्यचिन्तामणि folio 150. The *Mit.* says 'सन्तानभेदेपि यतः सन्तानभेदस्तमादाय गणयेद्यावत्सप्तम इति सर्वत्र योजनीयम्'.

552 एवं स्माताभिप्रायेण विश्वरूपेणापि अष्टादश भेदा उक्ताः । Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 19 a.

553 Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 137 b on verse 82.



Nirṇayasindhu also quotes verses of Viśvarūpa. From these data it follows that a Viśvarūpa composed a commentary on Srāddha-kalikā and also wrote a digest on matters of ācāra and other topics of dharma in prose and verse. Raghunandana in his Udvāhatattva (ed. by Jivananda, p. 116) names a Viśvarūpa-samuccaya. It is likely that it is the same as Viśvarūpa-nibandha.

### 61. Bhāruci.

The Mit. on Yāj. ( I. 81 ) says that Bhāruci like Viśvarūpa held the view that the rule ' ṛtau bhāryām gacchet ' was a *niyama* and not a *parisaṃkhyā*. On Yāj. II 124 the Mit. says that the explanation of ' the fourth share ' to be given to unmarried sisters offered by Asahāya and Medhātithi was the proper one and not that of Bhāruci. The Parāśaramādhaviya<sup>554</sup> and the Sarasvativilāsa ( para 133 ) inform us that Bhāruci was of opinion that unmarried sisters were only entitled to a provision for their marriage and were not entitled to a fourth share.

Bhāruci, being mentioned by the Mit., is certainly older than 1050 A. D. Rāmānujācārya in his Vedārthasaṃgraha (reprint from the *Pandit*, ed. of 1924, p. 154) mentions six *ācāryas* that preceded him as expounders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, viz. Bodhāyana, Tāṅka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin and Bhāruci. Similarly the Yatindramatadīpikā<sup>555</sup> of Śrīnivāsadāsa (Ānandāśrama ed.) enumerates ( p. 2 ) a host of teachers as the predecessors of Rāmānujācārya in propounding the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. Vyāsa is the reputed author of the Vedāntasūtras, Bodhāyana is said to have composed a *vytti* on the Vedānta-sūtras, called Kṛtakoṭi according to the Prapañca-hṛdaya ( p. 39, Trivandrum ed.). Tāṅka and Brahmanandin are identical. Dramiḍa is credited with the authorship of a *bhāṣya* on the Vedānta-sūtras ( which is quoted by Rāmānuja in his *bhāṣya* on II. 2. 3 ). Nāthamuni is said to have been the grand-father of Yāmuna-muni, who was born about 916 A. D. Rāmānuja refers to him with great reverence as his teacher's teacher ( *parama-guru*, vide Vedārtha-saṃgraha, p. 149 ) and is said to have been young

554 भारुचिस्तु चतुर्थभागपदेन विवाहसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगिं द्रव्यं विवक्षितं, अतो दायभाक्त्वम-  
संस्कृतकन्यानां नास्तीति मन्यते । परा. मा. vol. III, 2. p. 510.

555 ' व्यास-बोधायन-गुहदेव-भारुचि-ब्रह्मनन्दि-द्रमिदाचार्य-श्रीपराङ्मुखा-नाथमुनि-यतीश्वर-  
प्रभृतीनां मतानुसारेण &c. )



when Yāmuna died ( vide J R A S for 1915, p. 147 and I. A. for 1909, p. 129 ). It is therefore obvious that the teachers are arranged by the Yatīndramatadīpikā in chronological order. Hence Bhāruci, being placed earlier than even Dramiḍa and Nāthamuni, was comparatively an ancient author and could not have flourished later than the first half of the 9th century. Bhāruci the jurist also flourished before 1050. It is difficult to believe that there were two famous writers of the same name nearly about the same time. Hence it may provisionally be held that Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra and Bhāruci the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher are identical. If this identity be accepted, then Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra becomes comparatively an early writer, being at least as old as Viśvarūpa. His views agree on several points with those of Viśvarūpa, which is a circumstance that lends some corroboration to the date proposed for him.

One interesting point about Bhāruci deserves mention here. From numerous notices contained in the *Sārasvatīvilāsa* it appears that Bhāruci either commented upon the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* or wrote some work in which he took great pains to incorporate explanations of several sūtras of Viṣṇu. For example, para 637 tells us that Bhāruci explained the word 'bija' occurring in a sūtra of Viṣṇu as 'piṇḍa'.<sup>556</sup> In para 674 we are told that Bhāruci explained the word 'niṣkāraṇa' in a sūtra of Viṣṇu and that he held that a daughter's son has not to perform the śrāddha of his maternal grandfather if the latter has a son. *Sudarśanācārya* in his comment upon *Āpastambagr̥hya* ( 8. 21. 2 ) ascribes the same view to Bhāruci and quotes the very words of Bhāruci.<sup>557</sup> Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 210-211 for further examples. There is nothing unnatural in Bhāruci, the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher, having composed a commen-

<sup>556</sup> यथाह भारुचिरेतद्विष्णुवचनव्याख्यानावसरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति । स. वि. para 637 ( pp. 422-23 of Mysore ed. ). The sūtra of विष्णु is 'बीजग्रहणानुविधायमंशं गृहीयात्' स. वि. para 636.

<sup>557</sup> अत्र भारुचिः । निष्कारणमिति वदता विष्णुना समनन्तरकर्तृणां पुत्रादीनां विद्यमानत्वे दौहित्रस्य न कर्तृत्वसंक्रान्तिरिति । स. वि. para 674 ( p. 427 ). The sūtra of विष्णु is दौहित्रस्य मातामहश्चादौ निष्कारणम्. The words of सुदर्शनाचार्य are इममेवार्थं भारुचिरप्याह यस्मिन्पक्षे अपुत्रो मातामहः पुत्रिकः सुतश्चासिलद्रव्यद्वारा तस्मिन्पक्षे तस्य पिण्डदाननियमः इत्यादिना ग्रन्थेन ।



tary on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. The extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra contains doctrines peculiar to the Viśiṣṭādvaita system such as the worship of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, the four Vyūhas of Vāsudeva &c. If Bhāruci was a Viśiṣṭādvaitin he would naturally turn to the sūtra of Viṣṇu as having the greatest claim on his attention. Many of the sūtras of Viṣṇu quoted in the Sarasvativilāsa with the explanations of Bhāruci are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu, on which Nandapaṇḍita commented in the first half of the 17th century. It appears that the Sarasvativilāsa had before it a larger version of Viṣṇu current in the south (vide note 118, p. 70 above).

On scores of points there is divergence between the views of Bhāruci and those of the Mit. Bhāruci differed from the Mit. as to the definition of *dāya* and *vibhāga*, he allowed *niyoga* to childless widows, while the Mit. condemned it in the case of all widows; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, did not mention *sapratibandha* and *apratibandha dāya*; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, held that a coparcener who concealed some joint property was not guilty of theft, while the Mit. held that he was. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 211-13 for more examples and details.

### 62. Śrīkara

The Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 alludes to the view of Śrīkara and others that the widow succeeded as heir to her deceased husband's estate if it was small.<sup>558</sup> The Smṛtisāra<sup>559</sup> of Harinātha attributes the same view to Śrīkara and disapproves of it. On Yāj. II. 169 the Mit.<sup>560</sup> cites the view of Śrīkara about that topic and disapproves of it. Viśvarūpa also gives two explanations of that verse of Yāj., the first of which agrees with that of the Mit. and the second is akin to Śrīkara's.

558 एतेनालधनविषयत्वं श्रीकरादिभिरुक्तं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।

559 न च स्वल्पयत्नत्वे ( धनत्वे ! ) पत्नी दुहितर इति बहुधनत्वे धातुणामप्रजा इति वचनमिति श्रीकरमतमुचितम् । स्मृतिसार I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a.

560 अथाविदितदेशान्तरे गतः कालान्तरे वा विपन्नस्तदा मूलसमाहरणाशक्तेर्विक्रेतारमदर्शयित्वैव स्वयमेव तद्धनं नाष्टिकस्य समर्पयेत् । तावत्तेवासौ शूद्रो भवतीति श्रीकराचार्येण व्याख्यातं तदिदमनुपपन्नम् । मिताक्षरा, the s. vi. p. 207 (Mysore ed.) quotes these very words 'अथाविदित ... समर्पयेदिति श्रीकरहचिकादय आहुः । विद्वानेव्यस्तु &c.'



The works of Jimūtavāhana ( viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātrkā ), the Smṛticandrikā and the Sarasvativilāsa contain very interesting notices of Śrīkara's views. Many of them were brought together by me in J B B R A S for 1925, pp. 213-215. Śrīkara like Viśvarūpa held the view that 'duhitarah' in Yāj. refers to the *putrika*, he allowed the parents of a childless person to succeed together at the same time. The Dāyabhāga very severely criticizes the views of Śrīkara on the succession to re-united members, on *vidyadhana* and on Yāj. II. 24 ( about enjoyment for 20 years ).<sup>561</sup> Most of the views attributed to Śrīkara were also entertained by Viśvarūpa or are more antiquated than Viśvarūpa's.

Śrīkara was probably a writer from Mithilā and seems to have propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession. The Smṛtisāra<sup>562</sup> of Harinātha ascribes such a view to a Śrīkara-nibandha.

Whether Śrīkara wrote a commentary on a smṛti or a general digest ( nibandha ) it is difficult to say. The Smṛticandrikā<sup>563</sup> says that Śambhu, Śrīkara and Devasvāmin compiled digests of smṛtis and added their own explanations of them. The Smṛtyarthasāra<sup>564</sup> of Śridhara asserts in the introductory verses that Śrīkaṇṇha and Śrīkarācārya filled up the gaps in the smṛtis that were scattered about ( by introducing order out of chaos ). Śrīkara's explanations of Yājñavalkya are frequently cited by the Mit., the Dāyabhāga and

561 Vide व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 47 where श्रीकर is the first of a host of writers who held, following Yāj. II. 24, that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immoveable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.

562 Vide स्मृतिसार ( I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 147 a ) मृतसन्तानाभावे तत्पितृसन्तते-स्तद्धनं तदभावे च तत्पितामहसन्ततेः ... इति त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यमित्यादिना दर्शितम् । एतदुर्ध्वं त्रयाणामपि जन्यजनकक्रमेणैव पूर्ववत्संनिधानादध्याहितेति सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यानां धनभागितेति अनन्तरः सपिण्डादयः इत्यादिना दर्शितम् ।

563 ये पुनः स्मृतिसमुच्चयकाराः शम्भुश्रीकरदेवस्वाम्यादयः संप्रत्युद्धारविषयविभागयोः शिक्षाचारं मन्यमाना उद्धारदिविषयाणि स्मृतिवाक्यानि विचारयितुं ग्रन्थविस्तारं चक्रिरे । स्मृतिच० ( व्य० section p. 266 ).

564 श्रीकण्ठश्रीकराचार्यैः श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणैः । स्मृतिशास्त्रेष्वनेकेषु विप्रकीर्णेष्वनेकेषु । अनु-हात्तुपकारार्थं स्मृतिच्छिद्रं प्रयत्नतः । पुराणन्यायमीमांसासाङ्गवेदैः प्रपूरितम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थ-सार ( D. O. ms. No. 44 of 1870-71 copied in स्वत् 1495 has these verses ).



others. But the Mit. does not connect Śrīkara's name with Yājñavalkya as a commentator, though Viśvarūpa is expressly so connected. It appears therefore more likely that Śrīkara wrote a digest of smṛtis in which he paid particular attention to the explanation of the words of Yājñavalkya. The Rājanītiratnākara<sup>565</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the views of Śrīkara on rājanīti, one of which is that the poor and helpless are entitled to a share of the royal wealth.

Hemādri<sup>566</sup> quotes the view of Śrīkara on Viṣṇu and disapproves of the faults found therein by the author of the Paṇḍita-paritoṣa.

As Śrīkara is quoted by the Mit., he is certainly earlier than 1050 A. D. As his views agree largely with Viśvarūpa's, he may provisionally be regarded as nearly of the same period as Viśvarūpa's. He cannot be earlier than Asahāya who is named both by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi, though both of them are silent about Śrīkara. Hence Śrīkara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A. D. and probably flourished in the 9th century.

This Śrīkara must be distinguished from another Śrīkara, the father of Śrinātha.

### 63. Medhātithi.

Medhātithi is the author of an extensive and erudite commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the Manusmṛti. It is the oldest extant commentary on that smṛti. The *bhāṣya* of Medhātithi was first published about forty years ago by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik in Bombay and recently Mr. J. R. Gharpure of Bombay brought out an edition of Medhātithi which closely follows Mandlik's edition. A critical edition of the *bhāṣya* based upon all the available Mss. is a great *desideratum*. An English translation of the *bhāṣya* by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha is in progress and several parts have been published so far. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used. The *bhāṣya* as printed is corrupt in many places, particularly in the 8th, 9th and

565 'राजधने दीनानायादिसकलमाणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्वाज्यविनाशश्चेति युक्तिरिति गोपाललक्ष्मीधरश्रीकरादयः ।' राजनीतिरत्नाकर pp. 40-41 (ed. by Jayasval).

566 अत्र श्रीकरः प्राह । यदा गतकाले अमावास्याद्वयं भवति तदा मिथुनादिनरेष्वाषाढी-  
मावात् । . . . अत्र च षण्डितपस्तिषकृता दूषणमनिहितम् । अनुपपन्नमेतत् । . . .  
तेन श्रीकराणां मतमेव साधु । चतुर्वंगे । III. 2, pp. 900-903.



12th *adhyāyas* In Mr. Gharpure's edition there is no *bhāṣya* on verses 182-202 of the 9th chapter.

Bühler in his learned and exhaustive Introduction to the *Manu-smṛti* ( S. B. E. vol. 25 ) brings together a good deal of information about *Medhātithi* ( pp. CXXVIII-CXXVI ). In J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 217-221 I have offered criticisms on some of Bühler's views and have given certain additional information.

In several Mss. of the *bhāṣya* at the end of several *adhyāyas* occurs a verse<sup>567</sup> which says that a king named Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, brought copies of *Medhātithi*'s commentary from another country and effected a restoration (*jīrṇoddhāra*). This does not refer to the restoration of the text of *Medhātithi*, but to the completion of the library of the king, who was Madanapāla, son of Sādhāraṇa and flourished, as we shall see later on, in the latter half of the 14th century.

Dr. Jolly ( Tagore Law Lectures p. 6 ) holds *Medhātithi* to be a southerner on account of the fact that his father's name was Virasvāmin and on account of the attention paid to his *bhāṣya* by southern writers. It cannot be said that names ending in 'svāmin' were a monopoly of the south. The *Rājatarāṅginī* gives several literary celebrities whose names ended in 'svāmin' ( e. g. V. 34 mentions a Śivasvāmī ). Kṣīrasvāmin was a Kāshmirian. The south has always been famed for preserving Mss. of valuable works from the north. Mss. of the *Kāvya-lamkāra* of Bhāmaha, a Kāshmirian, are very rare and have been found only in the south. Bühler ( p. CXXIII ) seems to be right in holding that *Medhātithi* was a Kāshmirian ( or at least an inhabitant of Northern India ). In explaining such words as 'svaraṣṭre' and 'janapadaḥ' ( *Manu* VII. 32 and VIII. 42 ) *Medhātithi* introduces Kāshmir. He gives ( on *Manu* VIII. 400 ) the monopoly of the sale of elephants as a privilege of the kings of Kāshmir where saffron abounds.<sup>568</sup> He says

567 मान्या कापे मनुस्मृतिस्तदुचिता व्याख्या हि मेधातिथिः सा तुमेव विधेर्वशात् कचिदपि प्राप्यं न यत्पुस्तकम् । श्लोकांश्चो मदनः सद्धारणसुतो देशान्तरादाहृतैर्जीर्णोद्धारमचीकरत्तत इतस्तत्पुस्तकैर्लेखितैः ॥ सद्धारण is a *Prākṛit* form of साधारण.

568 यानि भाण्डानि राजोपयोगितया यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमप्रायेषु पट्टोर्णादीनि प्रतीच्येष्वप्या दक्षिणात्येषु मणिमुक्तादीनि &c. Should we not read यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमं प्राच्येषु पट्टोर्णादीनि ? The meaning then would be elephants are the monopoly of kings everywhere, saffron in Kāshmir &c.



that the rainbow is called 'vijñāna-chāyā' in Kashmir (on Manu IV. 59). He very frequently refers to northerners e. g. on Manu III. 234 he says 'kutapa' is the word for what is well-known as 'kambala' among northern people and on III. 238 he says 'northern people wrap their heads with *śaṭakas*' (garments). He says on Manu II. 24 that in the Himālayas in Kashmir it is not possible to perform the daily *sandhya* in the open nor is it possible to bathe every day in a river in 'Hemanta' and 'Śiśira'. On Manu II. 18 he says 'in other countries, some say, people marry one's maternal uncle's daughter; but that is opposed to the words of Gautama' (4. 3) and proceeds 'even in that country taking food in the same plate with (or in the company of) one whose thread ceremony is not performed is not at all regarded as dharma (but as improper conduct)'. This is clearly a reference to Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 1. 19) according to which 'mātulasutā-pariṇayana' and taking food in the same plate with one whose *upanayana* is not performed are two of the five usages peculiar to the south. It is fair to add that later writers like Kamalākaraḥṭṭa (Nirṇayasindhu, 3rd pariccheda on sāpiṇḍya) regard Medhātithi as a southerner.

Medhātithi quotes from or names numerous smṛti writers, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkha, Manu, Yaj., Nārada, Parāśara, Brhaspati, Kātyāyana and others. He refers to Brhaspati as a writer on 'vārtā' (Manu VII. 43 and IX. 326) and to Brhaspati and Uśanas as writers on politics and government (Manu VIII 285, VII. 2 and 155). On Manu VII. 43 he refers to *Cāṇakya* as a writer on 'dandanīti'. In numerous places he seems to have drawn upon Kauṭilya's work. For example, on Manu VII. 155 in interpreting 'pañcavarga' as 'kāpatika, udāsthita, grhapatika, vaidehika and tāpasavyaṅjana' he explains them almost in the words of Kauṭilya (I. 2). On VII. 148 he quotes the five āṅgas of *mantra* in the very words of Kauṭilya.<sup>569</sup> Vide also his remarks on Manu VII. 54 (testing of ministers by *upadhas*). He names Asahāya (on 8. 156) and certain writers as Smṛtivarapa-kārāḥ (on II. 25). Bühler is not quite accurate (p. cxx, n. 1) when he states that 'Medhātithi gives only once the name of an

<sup>569</sup> इमान्यङ्गानि कर्मणामारम्भोपायः पुरुषद्रव्यसंपत् देशकालविभागः विनिपातप्रतीकारः कार्य-  
सिद्धिरिति । मेधातिथिः, compare कोटिल्य I. 15 'कर्मणामारम्भोपायः ... कार्य-  
सिद्धिरिति पञ्चाङ्गे मन्त्रः' ।



early commentator'. On VIII. 3 he refers to the interpretations of Bhartṛyājña. He refers to the interpretations of Yajvan (on VIII. 151 and 156). Yajvan is only the last part of a name (as in Deva-rājayajvan). He quotes the interpretation of Manu by Upādhyāya (on II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147). Bühler holds that Medhātithi refers to his own teacher. It is more likely that Upādhyāya, like Yajvan, is the name or part of the name of a previous commentator of Manu. On VIII. 152 the explanations of Rju are twice cited. On IX. 253 Medhātithi cites the view of one Viṣṇusvāmin.<sup>570</sup> From the tenor of the quotation it appears that Viṣṇusvāmin was a writer on Mimāṃsā and not a commentator of Manu as Bühler thought (p. CXX, n. 1). Some Mss. read the word preceding Viṣṇusvāmi as 'kovara', others as 'kāvara'. It is probably 'kāvera' (residing on the Kāverī river).

He quotes (on Manu I. 19) a verse from the Sāṅkhyakārikā ('prakṛter mahān &c'). He speaks of Vindhyavāsa<sup>571</sup> as a Sāṅkhya and says that he does not admit a subtle interim body (antarābhava-deha). This is probably taken from Kumārila's words.<sup>572</sup> He repeatedly refers to the *purāṇas*, tells us (on III. 232) that they were composed by Vyāsa and contained accounts of creation. He quotes (on XII. 118) a verse from the Vākyapradīpa.<sup>573</sup>

He tells us (on II. 6) that the Pāñcarātras, Nirgranthas (Jains) and Pāśupatas were outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy.<sup>574</sup>

Medhātithi had drunk deep at the fountain of the Pūrva-mimāṃsā. His bhāṣya is full of the terms *vidhi* and *arthavāda*. He quotes Jaimini's sūtras frequently and applies them to the interpretation of smṛti texts at every step. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 p. 219 for examples. He cites passages from Śabara's bhāṣya (e. g. on III. 1). He mentions Kumārila by name (on I. 3) and as Bhaṭṭapāda (on Manu II. 18).

570 अतो यावती काचित्कलभ्रुतिः सा सर्वार्थवाद इति कोवरविष्णुस्वामी ।

571 सांख्या इि केचिन्मन्त्राभवाभिच्छन्ति विन्यवासप्रभृतयः । मेधातिथि on मनु I. 55.

572 अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्यवासिना । श्लोकवार्तिक P. 704.

573 उक्तं च वाक्यप्रदीपे—न तदस्ति च तन्नास्ति इत्यादि । Dr. Kielhorn told Dr. Bühler that the verse is not found in the वाक्यप्रदीप of हरि (B. B. E. vol. 25, CXXIII. n. 1)

574 एवं सर्व एव बाह्या भोजकपाश्चात्त्रिकनिग्रन्थानार्थवादपाशुपतप्रभृतयः ।



Bühler at first took the remark (on Manu XII. 19) about 'Śārīraka' as<sup>575</sup> referring to Śāṅkara's bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra, but later on changed his opinion (S B E. vol. 25, p. cxxii) and held that it probably implies a reference to the Śārīraka sūtras. Bühler's considered opinion does not seem to be right. The words 'yatheha rājā . . . apaiti' are a summary of Śāṅkara's bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 34 and II. 3. 42. and I. 2. 11-12. On Manu II. 83 he refers to the Upaniṣad-bhāṣya<sup>576</sup> on Chāndogya II. 23. 4 and says that that passage has been differently explained in the bhāṣya. Śāṅkara does explain that passage of the Chāndogya differently. But this is not all. In various other places Medhātithi seems to have in view the Śārīraka-bhāṣya of Śāṅkara. For example, on I. 80 he has<sup>577</sup> before him Śāṅkara's bhāṣya on the sūtra 'lokavat tu līlākāvalyam' (Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 33). He, however, seems to have favoured the position that the attainment of mokṣa is due<sup>578</sup> not to mere correct knowledge but to the combination (*samuccaya*) of knowledge and kārma (vide remarks on Manu VI. 32, 74-75,

575 ननु च धर्मो धर्मयोरिच्छा प्रति नियन्तृत्वे ऐश्वर्यं हीयते । तथा शारीरके दर्शितं यथेह राजा सेवानुरूपं ददाति न च तस्यैश्वर्यमप्येति अतो महत्परमात्मानो पश्यत इति व्यपदिश्यते ।

576 उपनिषद्भाष्ये चैतद्व्याख्या व्यख्यानां तत्त्वित्यानुषंगिकानां अदर्शितम् । मेधातिथिः । The उपनिषद् passage is 'तद्यथा शङ्कुना सर्वाणि पत्राणि संतृण्णानि एवमोङ्कारेण सर्वा वाक् संतृण्णा' . मेधातिथि explains 'सर्वो ह्यर्थो वाच्यवह्निरानतीतो वाचश्च सर्वस्या ओङ्कारो मूलम् । तथा च श्रुतिः । तद्यथा शङ्कुना &c. ... अकारानन्तमुत्तिराश्रयभावापत्तिर्वा । कथं पुनः सर्वा वागोङ्कारेण संतृण्णा । वैदिक्यास्तावदोङ्कारः पूर्वकत्वमुक्तम् । लौकिक्या अपि तदादीनि वाक्यानि ह्युरित्यापस्तम्बवचनात् । ' . शङ्कराचार्य explains 'यथा शङ्कुना पर्णनालेन सर्वाणि पर्णानि पर्णवियवजातानि संतृण्णानि विद्वानि व्याप्तानीत्यर्थः । एवमोङ्कारेण ब्रह्मणा परमात्मनः प्रतीकभूतेन सर्वा वाक् शब्दजातं संतृण्णा । अकारो वा सर्वा वागित्यादिश्रुतेः ।

577 लीलयापि कौतुकेनापि लोके राजादीनां प्रवृत्तिर्दृश्यत इति ब्रह्मविदः । मेधा० ; 'यथा लोके कस्यचिदतिषण्णय राज्ञो ... लीलारूपाः प्रवृत्तयो भवन्ति' शाङ्करभाष्य.

578 On I. 50 he says 'परब्रह्मावाप्तिस्तु मोक्षलक्षणा केवलानन्दरूपा ज्ञानात् ज्ञानकर्म-समुच्चयाद्वा द्वेति वक्ष्यामः ।'; on Manu VI. 74-75 'इदं तु ज्ञानकर्मणोः समुच्चयान्मोक्ष इति श्लोकद्वयं ज्ञापकम् ।'; on XII. 87 अतश्च ब्रह्मनिष्ठापरेणापि वेदाभ्यासा-दीम्पनुष्ठेयानि ।



and XII. 87-90 ). This was probably due, as Kullūka remarks<sup>579</sup> ( on I. 3 ), to his being a profound student of Mīmāṃsā.

From Medhātithi's bhāṣya it is perfectly clear that the text of Manu on which he commented was practically the same that we have now. He refers to ancient (*ciraṃtana*) expositors of Manu ( on V. 127 ) and to former (*pūrva*) expositors ( IV. 176, II. 134, X. 21 ). He discusses various readings in several places ( vide III. 119, IV. 99, 185, 229, VIII. 53 ). On VIII. 182-183 he notes<sup>580</sup> that the order of the verses was traditionally different. Kullūka also notices that those two verses and the next two were read in one order by Medhātithi and Bhojadeva and in another by Govindarāja. On 9. 93 he notes that according to some that verse is not Manu's.<sup>581</sup>

Medhātithi's bhāṣya is full of very interesting information. But for want of space it cannot be analysed in detail. The Mit. ( on Yaj. II. 124 ) refers to the view of Asahaya and Medhātithi ( on Manu 9. 118 ) about the fourth share to be given to an unmarried sister at a partition between brothers and follows it in preference to Bhāruci's. On Yaj. III. 24 the Mit. tells us that certain texts of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga about varying periods of impurity for Brahmanas and others were not accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. According to him<sup>582</sup> *śamnyāsa* does not mean the giving up of all the obligatory duties laid down by *śāstra*, but the giving of *abrahmakaṛa*. He<sup>583</sup> allowed a brāhmaṇa to adopt even a kṣatriya boy. He explains away the well-known verse 'naṣṭe mṛte... patiranyo vidhīyate' by

579 मेधातिथिस्तु कर्मममासावासनया वेदस्य कार्यमेव तत्त्वरूपोर्धस्तं वेत्तीति कार्यतत्त्वार्थविदिति व्याचष्टे ।.

580 The verses are यो निक्षेपं याच्यमानः &c. and साक्ष्यभावे &c. मेधातिथि says on the first ह्यत्यस्तक्रम्यं श्लोकः समाम्नाये पठ्यते । प्रथमस्यार्थश्लोकं पठित्वा साक्ष्यभाव इति पठितव्यम् । ततः स याच्य इति । एवं पाठो युक्तः ।

581 केचिदाहुरमानवोयं श्लोकः .

582 अथाप्युच्येत कर्मसंन्यासिनो निवृत्तिमागंधस्थायिनो नैव केचिच्छास्त्रार्थविधयः सन्ति । नायं शास्त्रार्थः । अहंकारममकारत्याग एव संन्यासो वक्ष्यते नाशेषशास्त्रार्थत्यागः । मेधा० on मनु VI. 32.

583 सदृशं न ज्ञातितः किं तर्हि कुलानुरूपैर्गुणैः क्षत्रियादिरपि ब्राह्मणस्य दत्तको युज्यते । मेधा० on मनु 9. 168.



taking the word 'pati' in its etymological sense and says<sup>584</sup> that the verse suggests that in order to maintain herself in such calamities the woman may take service with another person as her protector.

Medhātithi quotes several verses from his own work called *Smṛtivilēka* on Manu II. 6 ( in all 24 verses ) and on X. 5. he says that he has dealt with the topic of mixed castes in *Smṛtivilēka*. That work therefore was either entirely in verse or contained numerous verses. The Parāśara-Mādhaviya (vol. I, part 2, pp. 183-186) has a long quotation in verse on the duties of *yatis* from a work called *Smṛtivilēka* and the same work several times quotes verses attributed to Medhātithi ( vol. I. part I p. 276 and part 2 p. 172 ). Hence the *Smṛtivilēka* cited by the Parāśara-Mādhaviya most probably is Medhātithi's work. Lollāṭa<sup>585</sup> an early writer quotes several verses of Medhātithi in his work on *śrāddha*. In the *Tīthinirṇaya-sarvasamuccaya* ( Bhadkamkar collection ) several verses of Medhātithi on obstacles to marriage such as death are quoted.<sup>586</sup> In the *Yatidharmasamgraha* of Viśveśvara-sarasvatī ( Ānandāśrama ed. p. 27 ) two well-known verses about ' *aṣṭāṅga-maithuna* ' ( viz. *smaraṇam kīrtanam keliḥ* &c. ) are ascribed to Medhātithi and another verse<sup>587</sup> is cited ( on the same page ) about the six duties of *yatis*. These quotations show that Medhātithi

584 तत्र पालनात्पातमन्यमाश्रयेत् सैरन्ध्रकर्मादनात्मवृत्त्यर्थम् । मेधा० on मनु. 5. 156.

585 पुत्राभावे सपिण्डा मानृसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च दयुः, तदभावे ऋत्विगाचार्याविति मेधातिथि-स्मरणात् । ( folio 4b of the ms. of *श्राद्धप्रकरण* by लोल्लटाचार्य in the आनन्दाश्रम library at Poona ); जातशौचमृताशौचविषयेऽवाह मेधातिथिः । पादप्रक्षालने श्राद्धे त्वनलस्थापनं कर्तौ । मधुपर्कं विवाहे वै आशौचेऽप्युष्वंमाचरेत् । ( *ibid.* folio 10a ).

586 वधूवरार्थं घटिते सुनिश्चिते वरस्य गेहेष्वथ कन्यकायाः । मृत्युर्वदि स्यान्मनुजस्य चित्त-  
( चित्त ! ) दानं कुर्यात्सलु जातमङ्गलम् ॥ ( folio 45 b ); वाग्दानानन्तरं यत्र कुलयोः  
कस्यचिन्मृतिः । तदा संवत्सरादूर्ध्वं विवाहः शुभदो भवेत् ॥ ( folio 46 a ); चोलै च  
व्रतबन्धे च विवाहे व्रतकर्माणि । भार्या रजस्वला यस्य प्रायस्तस्य च ( न ! ) शोभनम् ॥  
( folio 47 a ); पृथग्मातृजयोः कार्यो विवाहस्त्वेकवासरे । एकस्मिन्मण्डपे चैव पृथग्वे-  
दिकयोस्तथा ॥ ( folio 51 a ). The first two verses occur in गदाधर's com-  
mentary on the *पारस्करगृह्य* and the last three are cited in the *कुर्याच्चिन्ता-*  
*मणि* of शिवराम ( D. C. ma No. 221 of 1179-80, folios 54 b, 55a, 56 b. )

587 निष्सादनं जपो ध्यानं स्नानं शौचं सुराचनम् । कतंन्यानि षडेतानि यतिना नृपदण्डवत् ॥  
यतिधर्मसंग्रहः.



wrote an extensive work in verse on several topics of dharma. It is to be fervently hoped that this work of Medhātithi would be brought to light some day or other. Coming as it does from such an erudite and ancient writer, it would throw a flood of light on the development of dharmaśāstra.

As Medhātithi names Asahāya and Kumārila and most probably quotes the views of Śaṅkarācārya, he is later than 820 A. D. As the Mit. looked upon him as an authoritative writer, he must be earlier than 1050 A. D. Most probably he flourished between 825 and 900 A. D. Kullūka<sup>588</sup> on Manu III. 127 says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja (1050-1100 A. D.). Lollaṭa is mentioned as a predecessor in the Smṛtyartha-sāra of Śrīdhara, which was composed between 1150-1200 A. D. So Lollaṭa is much earlier than 1150 A. D. He looked upon Medhātithi as a writer whose work was as authoritative as a smṛti. A work called Prakāśa<sup>589</sup> which is quoted in the Kalpataru appears to have mentioned Medhātithi. Hemadri quotes at great length Medhātithi's comments in several places.<sup>590</sup> Hence the above date is amply corroborated. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that, though he names Asahāya, he does not mention Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci or Śrīkara. If by Miśra<sup>591</sup> in his comment on Manu XII. 118 he refers to Vācaspati-miśra, the author of the Bhāmati and other works, then he will have to be placed after 850 A. D.

#### 64. Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva.

The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 135) says that Dhāreśvara tries to reconcile the conflicting texts about the right of the widow to succeed to her husband's estate by saying that she succeeded if her husband was separate and if she was willing to submit to *niyoga*. On the same verse the Mit. says that following Manu 9. 217 Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grand-mother immediately after the mother as an heir and even before the father. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. says that certain texts of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga about impurity on death were not

588 मेधातिथिप्रभृतिभिर्गोविन्दराजादपि वृद्धतरैरनभ्युपेतत्वात् ।

589 Vide note 185.

590 Vide चतुर्वर्गं. III. 1. 1062-63 where मेधातिथि's comment on मनु III. 265 is cited.

591 प्रमाणद्वन्द्वराणामपि एकत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादेव याहिणः प्रत्यक्षस्थ मिश्रेः कृत एव क्लेशः ।



accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. Vide (sec. 60 on Viśvarūpa) about the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā on Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa. The Hāralatā<sup>592</sup> (p. 117) remarks (as does the Mit. on Yāj. III. 24) that Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu did not cite certain texts as Jātūkarṇa's and that therefore they were not authoritative.

That Dhāreśvara is to be identified with Bhojadeva of Dhārā, perhaps the most famous Indian prince as a patron of learned men, follows from several considerations. The Dāyabhāga<sup>593</sup> cites Bhojadeva and Dhāreśvara without making any distinction between the two. Some views that are ascribed to Dhāreśvara in one work are ascribed to Bhojadeva in another. The Vivādatanḍava of Kamalākara ascribes to Bhojadeva the same views as to the widow's rights as are ascribed to Dhāreśvara by the Mit. Mss. of the Rājamārtanḍa (commentary on the Yogasūtras) have colophons saying that the work was composed by Dhāreśvara Bhojārāja. Dhāreśvara is styled *acārya* by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24.) and *sūri* by the Smṛticandrikā (II p. 257). Works on numerous branches of knowledge were composed by (or in the name of) Bhoja of Dhārā. On poetics we have two extensive works of his, viz. the Sarasvatikāṇṭhābharaṇa and the Sṅgāraprakāśa. A verse at the<sup>594</sup> beginning of the Rājamārtanḍa tells us that Bhoja composed a work on grammar, a commentary on the Yogasūtra and a work on medicine called Rājamrgaṅka just as Patañjali wrote on these three subjects (vide Mitra's Notices of Mss, vol. I, p. 115 for the medical work of Bhoja called Rājamārtanḍa alias Yogasāra). He composed a work on astronomy called Rājamrgaṅka. A work of his on the Śaiva *āgama* called Tattva-prakāśa has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. There are several other works ascribed to him, which need not be

592 यानि जातुकर्णनाम्ना वचनानि लिखितानि तानि भोजदेव-विश्वरूप-गोविन्दराज काम-धेनुकद्रिरलिखितत्वान्मत्स्यपुराणविरोधाच्च निर्मूलायेव ।

593 दायभाग (p. 53, ed. of 1829) 'अयं वा धारेस्वपुरस्कृतो वचनार्थः । इच्छया विभाग-दानप्रवृत्तस्य पितुः पैतामहधने सदृशं स्वाम्यं पुत्रैः सह न तत्र स्वोपाजितधन इव न्यूना-धिकविभागमिच्छातः कर्तुमर्हतीति ।'; दायभाग (p. 280) 'अत एव भोजदेवेनापि कृतास्तदुद्दिष्टधिकारे बृहस्पतिरित्यभिधाय यथा पितृधने स्वाम्यमिति वचनं लिखितम् ।'.

594 शब्दानामनुशासनं विदधता पातजले कुर्वता वृत्तिं राजनृगाङ्गसंज्ञकमपि व्यातन्वता वैद्यके । वाक्चेतोवपुषा मलः कणभृतां भर्त्रेव येनोद्भूतस्तस्य श्रीरणरङ्गमहन्नृपनेर्वाचो जपन्त्युज्ज्वलाः ॥ Intro. 4th verse.



set out here. That he composed an extensive work on the principal subjects of dharmaśāstra follows from the numerous references to him contained in the Mit., the Dayabhāga, the Haralata and other works. The Śuddhi-kaumudī<sup>595</sup> (B. I. edition) of Govindānanda frequently speaks of a work called Rājamartanḍa of Bhoja on śrāddha. The Jayasimha-kalpadruma (p. 26) quotes Rājmārtanḍa and Bhojarājīya on the same page. Whether Bhoja composed on Dharmaśāstra one work or two (as he composed two on poetics), and whether his work was a commentary or an independent digest it is difficult to say. M. M. Haraprasādaśāstri in one of his reports threw out the suggestion that the Kamadhenu was the work of Bhoja, but this is entirely wrong, as the words of Śridatta in his Piṭṛbhakti<sup>596</sup> will show.

Besides the two points noted above (about widow's rights and about the grandmother), there are others on which the Mit. and Dhāreśvara disagreed: viz. Dhāreśvara held ownership to be known only from śāstra, while the Mit. held it to be *laukika* (vide Viramitrodaya pp. 528, 536); Dhāreśvara held that the word 'duhitarah' in Yāj. stands for *putrikā* in the order of succession (Smṛti-candrikā II. p. 295-96). On other points the views of Dhāreśvara coincide with those of the Mit., viz. on the usage of giving a special share to the eldest son having fallen into desuetude, on the daughter's son's right to succession, on the father's inability to give a greater or smaller share to his sons in ancestral property on a partition during his life-time. Vide my article on Bhojadeva in JBBRAS for 1925 pp. 223-224 for details of these and other views ascribed to Bhojadeva. A few other references may be noted here. The Nirṇayāmrta<sup>597</sup> (p. 68) quotes a Bhojarājīya text. In the Kālaviveka of

595 अत्र एव राजमर्तण्डे भोजराजः-आद्विघ्ने समुत्पन्ने मृतस्याविदिते दिने । अमावास्यां प्रकुर्वीत वदन्त्येके मनीषिणः ॥ p. 18. Vide also the आद्वक्रियाकौमुदी p. 480 for the same verse from the राजमर्तण्ड, which is perhaps more frequently quoted by गोविन्दानन्द than any other nibandha.

596 तदेतानि वाक्यानि राजालिखितत्वान्नादेयानिति केचित् । तदयुक्तं कामधेनावपि राज-निबन्धवच्छिष्टपरिग्रहात्संशयं नाहन्तीति चेत्, न राजालिखितत्वस्यादर्शनेनाप्युपपत्तेः । न हि यावन्ति स्मृतिवाक्यानि तावन्ति सर्वाण्येव राजा दृष्टानिति प्रमाणमस्ति । पितृभार्क (folio 38 of the D. C. ms No. 152 of 1892-95).

597 यत्तु भोजराज्ये-न दिवा न निशासु च विधिहता न च सप्तमीशल्यसमये । इदं सप्तमीशल्यनिषेधपरम् । निर्णयामृत.



Jimūtavāhana two verses about taking food at the time of eclipses are cited from Bhojadeva (p. 539). In several works certain views are stated to be those of a Bhūpālapaddhati or of Bhūpāla or of Rāja. The reference seems to be to a work of king Bhoja. For example, in the *Dānaratnākara* a Bhūpāla-paddhati and Bhūpāla are frequently quoted.<sup>598</sup> The *Samayapradīpa*<sup>599</sup> and *Ācārādarsa* of Śrīdatta speak of both Bhūpāla and Rāja. In other works also the views of Bhoja are often referred to as those of Rāja (the king *par excellence*). For example, the *Ekavālī*<sup>600</sup> (a work on Poetics) says that in the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* the king accepted only one *rasa*. The *Varṣakau-mudī* (p. 107) says that a certain verse is cited by the *Gaṅgāvākya-vālī* without naming the author, but as it is not cited by the Rāja and the rest, it is unauthoritative.

The several *tattvas* of Raghunandana mention two works of Bhojadeva or Bhojarāja. For example, the *Tithitattva* (*Jivananda* vol. I, p. 17) cites a text as quoted in the *Bhujabalabhīma* by Bhojarāja; similarly in the *Śrāddhatattva*, (*Jivananda* vol. I, p. 266) two texts are cited as quoted by Bhojadeva in *Bhujabalabhīma*. Raghunandana also mentions *Rājamārtanḍa* of Bhojarāja (vide *Āhnikatattva*, vol. I, p. 451). He often cites the *Rājamārtanḍa* and the *Bhujabalabhīma* on the same page without the author's name (e. g. vide *Udvāhatattva*, vol. II, p. 124). Raghunandana often speaks of a *Brhad-Rājamārtanḍa* along with the *Rājamārtanḍa* on the same or the next page (vide *Tithitattva*, vol. I, pp. 25-26 and *Jyotistattva* pp. 605 and p. 655). That the *Bhujabalabhīma* and the *Rājamārtanḍa* are two different works appears to be clear. Whether the *Brhad-Rājamārtanḍa* and the *Rājamārtanḍa* are distinct works is not quite clear. (Vide *Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss.* for

598 पयासनगतास्तद्वद् ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरान् । लोकपालान्संहितांश्च स्ववाङ्मनसमन्वितान् ॥  
इति श्लोकार्धपादौ भूपालपद्धतियोगिश्चरयोदष्टः । दानरत्नाकर (D. C. ms. No. 114  
of 1884-86) folio 34 b; vide folios 19a, 28a, 29a, 50 b for भूपाल.

599 नदेवं गोडीयवचनानि प्रमाणयतां तदनुसारेण व्यवस्थोक्ता । भूपालादिमते तु समय-  
कादर्थ्योर्वाचनिकी व्यवस्था तिथ्यन्तरेषु प्रधानकालानुरूपन्यायादुदयकालव्यापिन्यादश्च  
इति । समयप्रदीप (D. C. ms. No. 321 of 1875-76) folio 8 b; केचिच्च राजाद्य-  
लिखितवाक्यचलात् युगाद्येषु युगान्तेषु संक्रान्तिषु पिण्डं न मन्यन्ते । समयप्रदीप  
folio 54 a; इदं च बोधायनवाक्यं राजाद्यलिखितमपि बहुजनसंमतव्यलिखितम् ।  
वेद्यके दर्श (D. C. ms. No. 342 of 1875-76) folio 29 a.

600 राजा तु भृङ्गनरमेकमेव भृङ्गारप्रकाशे रसमुरीचकार । एकावलि p. 98 (B. S. series).



1919-22, p. 4562, No. 3079 for Bhujabalanibandha of Bhojarāja in 18 adhyāyas on astrological matters in relation to dharmasāstra such as *strijātaka*, *karnādivedha*, *vṛata*, *vivāhamelaka-dāśaka*, *grha-karmapraveśa*, *saṁkrāntisāna*, *dvādaśamāsakṛtya* ). The Bhujabalabhima is also mentioned by Śulapaṇi and by Rudradhara in his *Śrāddhaviveka*.

Bhoja of Dhāra, according to the Bhojaprabandha, had a long reign of 55 years. There are three certain dates of his. A grant of Bhoja is dated *samvat* 1078 (i. e. 1021-22 A. D.). *Vide* I. A. vol. VI, p. 53; *vide* also I. A. vol. 41, p. 201 for Bhoja's grant dated *samvat* 1076 Magha (Jan. 1020) and E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 320 for Betna plate of Bhoja dated 1076 Bhādrapada (September 1020 A. D.). His astronomical work, the *Rajamṛgāṅka*, takes *śaka* 964 (1042-43 A. D.) as its initial date.<sup>601</sup> Bhoja's uncle Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. and Muñja was succeeded by Sindhūrāja or Sindhula also styled *Navasāhaṅka*. An inscription of Jayasimha, the successor of Bhoja, is dated *samvat* 1112, i. e. 1055-56 A. D. (*vide* E. I. vol. III, pp. 46-50). Therefore Bhoja must have reigned between 1000 and 1055 A. D.

There is a work named *Dharmā-pradīpa* by Bhoja (Deccan College No. 26 of 1874-75). It is a work by another Bhoja later than 1400 A. D., as it quotes *Vijñāneśvara* and the *Madanapārijāta*. It was composed by an assembly of *pandits* at the bidding of king Bhoja of Āśapura, son of Bhāramalla. The ms. was copied in *samvat* 1695 (i. e. 1638-39 A. D.).

#### 65. *Devasvāmin*

The *Smṛticandrikā* tells us that *Devasvāmin* composed like Śrīkara and Śambhu a work in the nature of a digest of *smṛtis* (*smṛti-samuccaya*). *Vide* note 563 above. The commentary of Nārāyaṇa of the Naidhruva gotra, son of Divākara, on the Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra<sup>602</sup> says that it relies upon the bhāṣya of *Devasvāmin* on the same work. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, son of Narasimha, in his commentary on the Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra, tells us that he follows the bhāṣya of *Devasvāmin* thereon. It is hardly

<sup>601</sup> शाकी वेदतुलन्दानां रविप्रो माससंयुतः । अधो देवान्वितां द्विस्थस्त्रिवेदधनस्तयोर्हितः ॥  
राजमृगाङ्क (D. C. ms. No. 105 of 1873-74).

<sup>602</sup> आश्वलायनगृह्यस्य भाष्यं भगवता कृतम् । देवस्वामिसमाख्येन विस्तीर्णं तत्प्रसादतः ॥



likely that two writers of the same name flourished about the same time. Hence it may be assumed that Devasvāmin wrote bhāṣyas on the Āśvalāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras and a digest of smṛtis, where he discussed all topics of dharma, such as ācāra, vyavahāra, āśauca &c. The commentry of Bhaṭṭojī<sup>603</sup> on the Caturviṃśatimata refers to the view of Devasvāmin on śraddha and āśauca. Hemādri<sup>604</sup> (vol. III, part 2, p. 324) and Mādhava (on Parāśara, vol. I, part 2, p. 328) also quote Devasvāmin. The Smṛticandrikā quotes the views of Devasvāmin on vyavahāra and āśauca several times. For example, Devasvāmin<sup>605</sup> explained the word Yautaka differently from the Nighaṇṭu (which explained it as the wealth that was given to a woman when she was seated on the same seat with her husband at the time of marriage). Devasvāmin explained that the words of the Saṅgraha<sup>606</sup> that, when a son was born to one of several full brothers, he stood as a son to all and that the same rule applied to several co-wives when one of them had a son, meant that in both cases another son should not be adopted. Devasvāmin held the view (like Bhojadeva) that the word 'duhitṛ' in Yājñavalkya's verses on succession meant *putrikā*.<sup>607</sup> Devasvāmin explained

603 देवस्वामिमाधवपारिजातकारप्रभृतयस्तु मासिके आशौचेनोपहृते सूतकानन्तरशुद्धिदिन एव कर्तव्यं पुरस्तदहरेव वेति । चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यानं p. 135 (Benares ed.).

604 यदि पूर्वाह्णे पर्वसांध्यः समाप्येत तदा नितरामेव च शोभनं यदि पुनरपरात्रे रात्रौ वा तदहर्षोष्य श्वोभूते याग इति । हेमाद्रि (कालनिर्णय) III, 2, p. 324; vide pp. 496 and 565 of the same volume for mention of देवस्वामी.

605 देवस्वामी तु पितृगृहलब्धं भर्तृगृहलब्धपेक्षया पृथग्धनतया मातुर्यौतिकं मातृधनं मातुरे-वेत्याह तच्चिन्त्यम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 285; vide वीर० p. 696 'भर्तृगृहलब्धपृथग्धनतया पितृगृहलब्धं मातृधनं यौतुकम् । यौतुकावस्थाभिश्चनमप्यर्थः । यु मिश्रणा-भिश्चनयोरिति धातुपाठात् । युतसिद्धाविति प्रयोगाच्चेति देवस्वाम्याह तदसत् ।'.

606 The verses of the संग्रह are : यद्येकजाता बहवो भ्रातरस्तु सहोदराः । एकस्यापि सुते जाते सर्वे ते पुत्रिणः स्मृताः ॥ बहूनामेकपत्नीनामेव एव विधिः स्मृतः । एका चेत्पुत्रिणी तासां पिण्डस्तु स इष्यते ॥. The स्मृतिच० (II, p. 289) says 'तस्य पूर्वोक्तेन सहविरोधाय देवस्वामिना तात्पर्यार्थ उक्तः उभयत्र नान्यः प्रतिनिधिः कार्य इति घन्येन'. The same words occur in the स. वि. (para 392 and p. 305) and in the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 42).

607 एवं सोपपत्तिकं पत्न्यभावे दुहितृगामितां भवता बहस्पतिनैव यद् दुहितृगामि धन-मिति विधायकं वचनजातं तत्पुत्रिकाविषयमेव न पुनरपुत्रिकादुहितृविषयमिति धारेभर-देवस्वामिदेवरातमतं स्मृतितन्त्रत्वाभिस्तत्त्वाभिमानोन्मादकल्पितं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् । स्मृतिच० II. 295.



Manu<sup>608</sup> 9. 141 as saying that the adopted son (in the particular case mentioned by Manu) took all the wealth and the *gotra* of his adoptive father. Vide *Smṛticandrikā* (Mysore ed.) on *āśauca* p. 22. The *Vaijayanti* of Nandapaṇḍita (on *Viṣṇu* 22. 32) quotes the view of *Devasvāmin* that on the death of unmarried daughters mourning was to be observed for ten days.<sup>609</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes a verse from *Devasvāmin*<sup>610</sup> on *śrāddha* also.

In the *Prapañcahṛdaya* (Tri. S. series, p. 39) we are told that *Devasvāmin* composed a brief gloss on the 12 *adhyāyas* of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* and the four *adhyāyas* of the *Samkarṣakāṇḍa*, seeing that the *bhāṣyas* of *Bodhāyana* and *Upavarṣa* were vast. The Govt. collection of Mss. at Madras has *Devasvāmin's* *bhāṣya* on the *Samkarṣakāṇḍa* (vide Tri. Cat. vol. III, part I, Sanskrit C, p. 3841). There are not sufficient data available to establish the identity of this writer with *Devasvāmin*, the writer on *dharmaśāstra*.

As the *Smṛticandrikā* quotes *Devasvāmin* so profusely, he cannot be later than 1150 A. D. His earlier limit can be determined in several ways. *Gārgya Nārāyaṇa's* comment on *Āśvalāyanaśrauta* (II. 1. 14) is quoted by *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana*, who is himself quoted by *Hemādri*. Therefore *Gārgya Nārāyaṇa* could not have flourished later than 1100 A. D. (vide *Bhandarkar's* Report on search for mss., 1883-84, pp. 30-31). Therefore *Devasvāmin* probably flourished about 1000-1050 A. D., if not earlier. The fact that *Devasvāmin* held certain views similar to *Bhojadeva's* also corroborates the chronological position thus assigned to him.

## 66. *Jitendriya*

*Jitendriya* is one of those writers who at one time held an eminent position but in course of time sank into unmerited oblivion. The works of *Jimūtavāhana* bear abundant testimony to the fact that *Jitendriya* wrote an extensive work on *dharmaśāstra*. In his *Kāla-viveka* (p. 380) *Jimūtavāhana* says that *Jitendriya*<sup>611</sup> wrote on the

608 अत्र तृतीयपादार्थो देवस्वामिना विवृतः तदीयं सर्वं रिक्तं गोत्रं च हरेतेवेति ।

609 देवस्वामी त्वयत्तास्वपि दशाहमाह.

610 श्राद्धविघ्ने समुत्पन्ने अन्तरा मृतसूतके । अमावास्यां प्रकुर्वीत शुद्धिमैके मनीषिणः ।  
स्मृतिच० II. p. 385.

611 जितेन्द्रियशङ्खधराभ्युक्तसंभ्रमहरिवंशधवलयोग्लोके । कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना  
निसारतां याति ॥



topic of *kala* (i. e. on determining doubtful points about the months, the tithis, *samkrāntis*, &c. and the religious rites to be performed on them). In several passages of the *Kalaviveka* the very words of Jitendriya are quoted. Jitendriya said that a rite that occupies in performance only a short time must be performed at the principal time indicated for it<sup>612</sup> (and not at a *gauna* time). From another quotation it appears that Jitendriya controverted the views of a predecessor Sambhramabhaṭṭa.<sup>613</sup> Jitendriya is said to have enumerated the names of the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day from the *Matsyapurāṇa*<sup>614</sup>; vide pp. 257, 367 of the *Kalaviveka* for other places where the views of Jitendriya on *kala* occur. In the *Dayabhāga* of Jimūtavāhana also Jitendriya is frequently mentioned. The *Dayabhāga* says that, if a man takes another's gold believing it to be iron or takes what is another's believing (in good faith) that it is his own, Jitendriya held in his remarks on the section of *prāyaścitta* that he is not guilty of theft.<sup>615</sup> The peculiar doctrine of the *Dayabhāga* that the widow of a person, whether he was separate or a member of a joint family, succeeded to her deceased husband's estate had been already expounded by Jitendriya.<sup>616</sup> The view of Jitendriya was that whatever is acquired by a person without using means or materials jointly owned by all members of a family is his exclusive property and that *matra* (gifts of a friend) and *audvāhika* are

- 612 तथा जितेन्द्रियेणाप्युक्तं यत्पुनरल्पकालीनमेव एतत् स्वकाले समापयितुं शक्यते तत्रोत्कर्षहेतोः कर्मवेतस्यस्यासामर्थ्यस्याभावात्पुनरल्पकाल एव कर्मानुष्ठानमित्यन्तम् । कालविवेक P. 489.
- 613 अग्याम्यापि एवंविधानि संभ्रममहकल्पितान्युपेक्षणीयानि इत्येदन्तं, तदयमतिमन्दमो वादः कथं सुन्दरमतिना जितेन्द्रियेणाभिनन्दितः । कालविवेक P. 255.
- 614 अत एव जितेन्द्रियेण 'रोद्रेऽथैत्रश्च मैत्रश्च ... भटः पञ्चदश स्मृताः ॥' एतात्मस्य-पुराणोक्तानेकैकमुहूर्तपरिमितान् यावन्निश्चितक्रमसंज्ञानभिधाय दर्शितम् । कालविवेक P. 370.
- 615 अत एव प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डे जितेन्द्रियेण भणितं यदि स्वर्णमेव परकीयं लोहादिबुद्ध्या गृह्णाति असुवर्णं सुवर्णैर्बुद्ध्या आत्मीयसदृशं परकीयमेवात्मीयबुद्ध्या गृह्णाति सर्वत्र बाधहानिर्वाप्तिः सर्वत्र यथावस्तु परकीयबुद्धेरभावात् । दायभाग P. 350 (ed. of 1829, p. 224 of Jivananda).
- 616 अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्तत्वाद्यनपेक्षयैवापुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्न्याधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः । दायभाग P. 256.



only cited ( by Yāj. ) as examples of this proposition.<sup>617</sup> Jitendriya held the daughter's son entitled to succeed after the daughter, just as Viśvarūpa, Bhoja and Govindarāja did. In the Vyavahāramātrkā of Jimūtavāhana also Jitendriya's views are cited ( on pp. 302, 334 ). This shows that he wrote also on procedure in law courts. Jitendriya is also referred to in the Dāyatattva of Raghannandana.<sup>618</sup> But no other early writer quotes Jitendriya. Therefore it appears that Jitendriya was probably a Bengal writer and flourished about 1000-1050 A. D. and that he was completely eclipsed by the brilliant Jimūtavāhana.

### 67. Bālaka.

Bālaka like Jitendriya is no more than a name to us. Jimūtavāhana's works make frequent reference to him. He held the view that the daughter's son, not being expressly mentioned as an heir by Yāj., came in after those expressly mentioned from the widow to the brother.<sup>619</sup> The Dāyabhāga notices that Bālaka read a text of Āpastamba in a wrong way.<sup>620</sup> Bālaka said that the words of Śaṅkha 'svaryātasya-aputrasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam... jyeṣṭhā vā patni' apply either to a widow belonging to a caste other than her husband's or to a very young widow or in case her husband was undivided or re-united.<sup>621</sup> Bālaka says that when some property is acquired by one brother by means of learning, other brothers are not entitled

617 जितेन्द्रियेणापि बहुप्रकारं विमृश्योक्तं तदस्य यावदुक्तमपत्रस्य संक्षेपेणायमर्थः मयेतव्यः यत्किञ्चिद्वनमसाधारणोपायार्जितं तदसाधारणं प्रदर्शितमित्यन्तेन । दायभाग p. 189.

618 अत एव परस्वीयत्वेन विशेषतो जानतस्तदपहारे स्तेन्यं न तु स्वद्रव्यधर्मेण परद्रव्यव्यवहर्तुर्णीति जितेन्द्र- ( जितेन्द्रियः ) दायभागप्रायश्चित्तविवेकक्रमतम् । दायतत्त्व p. 182 ( vol. II of Jivananda's ed. ); compare the view of बालक set out below from the दायभाग ( note 623. ).

619 यस्तु बालकवचनं पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ धातरस्तथा इत्यादि नियतक्रमादधस्तन एव दोहित्रस्याधिकार इति तद् बृहस्पतिविरोधाद् बालवचनमेव । दायभाग p. 282.

620 इदं बालकेनाकुलीकृत्य पठितं यस्तु धर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठस्तं पितृसमभागं कुर्वीतेति तदनाकरम् । दायभाग p. 161. The sūtra is Āp. Dh. 8. II. 6. 14. 15 'यस्त्वधर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठोपि तमभागं कुर्वीते.'

621 यच्च बालकेनोक्तं— असवर्णाविषयं वा युवत्यभिप्रायं वा अविभक्तसंसृष्टविषयं वा सङ्गदिवचनं इति तेनाव्यवस्थितशास्त्रार्थकथनेनात्मनो बालरूपत्वमेव प्रकटकृतं सम्बेदादेकतरानुष्ठानानुपपत्तेः । दायभाग p. 262. Here there is a play on the word बालक.



to that wealth.<sup>622</sup> The *Dāyabhāga* refers to a passage from *Bālaka* in which the latter relies on the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* example of *mudga* and *māṣa*.<sup>623</sup> In the *Vyavahāramātrkā* of *Jīmūtavāhana* (p. 346) it is stated that *Bāla* held the same views as those of *Śrīkara-miśra* on a certain point. In the *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa* of *Bhavadeva* a writer named *Vāloka* is mentioned (vide *JASB* 1912 at p. 336). This seems to be a Bengali scribe's way of pronouncing the name *Bālaka*. *Bālaka* is mentioned in *Raghunandana's Vyavaharatattva* (p. 47) also as holding the view with *Śrīkara* and others that adverse possession for twenty years conferred ownership in the case of immovable property.<sup>624</sup> *Śīlapāṇi* in his *Durgotsaviveka* twice quotes the views of *Bālaka* and once refutes the latter.<sup>625</sup> Hence it appears that *Bālaka* was an eastern or Bengal writer, composed a work on several branches of *dharmaśāstra* (such as *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*) and flourished before 1100 A. D.

#### 68. *Bālarūpa*.

In the *Smṛtisāra* of *Harinātha* (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a ff) there is a long passage setting out the views of *Bālarūpa* on the question of the succession to a childless man. In the *Vivāda-candra*<sup>626</sup> of *Misaru-miśra* the opinions of *Bālarūpa* (*Bālarūpamata*)

622 बालकेनाप्युक्तं न ह्येकेन धात्रा विद्यादना लब्धेऽपरवामधिकारसंभवः प्रमाणभावादि-  
त्यन्तेन । दायभाग p. 190.

623 अतो यद्बालकवचनं यथा मुद्रापचारे मापप्रतिनिधौ मुद्रानां मापानां च यज्ञसंबन्धे—  
अयस्त्रिया वे माषा—इति माषा निषिद्धाः, तथात्मीयानात्मीयहरणेऽपि अनात्मीयापहारो  
निषिद्धः, नद्बालवचनमेव पूर्वव्याहृतस्य स्तेयपदार्थस्यैवाभावात् । दायभाग p. 356.

624 तस्माद्याज्ञवल्क्यादिवचनाद्विशतिषण्दशवर्षादिकालेभ्यो एव स्वत्वं जनयति तथा काल-  
प्राप्त्यन्तेन बीजमङ्कुरं जनयति तरवश्च कुसुममिति स्वामिना चापरित्यक्तोऽपि शास्त्रोक्त-  
कालीनभोगोक्तवाम्यमन्यस्य भवति यथा जयंन राज्ञः परराष्ट्रणे इति । एवमेव  
श्रीकरयालकजोग्लोकभवदेवमहेशूलपाणिकुल्लुकभट्टचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रनव्यवर्धमानोपाध्याय-  
प्रभृतयः । व्यवहारेऽपि तादृगेव । व्यवहारात्स्व p. 223 ( *Jivananda* vol. II ).

625 इति आश्विनाधिकारियविष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनमात्रदर्शिना बालकेनात्र विषये पूर्वदिने नवमी-  
कृत्यं युग्मादिति यद्वक्तुं भगवत्याः प्रवेशादिविसर्गान्ताश्च याः क्रियाः 'इत्यादि  
वचनेन विरोधात्तद्वेद्यम् । दुर्गोत्तरविवेक p. 16 ( *Sanskrit Sahityapariśad* ed. ).  
Vide p. 9 also for reference to बालक's view on देवीपूजा.

626 ब्रह्मिणामभावे तदन्वयस्तत्पुत्रादिर्भिजेदित्यर्थः । मानुष्यव्य इति बालरूपकृतः ।  
विवादचन्द्र ( D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84 ) folio 33a ; बालरूपमते तु संसृष्ट-  
सद्बोद्धरत्वमपि संसृष्टविभागग्रहणे हेतुः । *ibid.* folio 35a.



that the words of Yāj. ( II. 117 *tābhya rte'nvayaḥ* ) mean the offspring of the mother and on the succession to reunited coparceners are cited. In the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati<sup>627</sup> the views of Bālarūpa are frequently cited. Relying on the words of Parāśara, Bālarūpa held that an unmarried daughter was entitled to preference over a married one as an heir to a sonless man. As regards the verse of Hārīta that if a young widow was *karkaṣā* ( quarrelsome, 'suspected of unchastity' according to others ), then she was to be given maintenance alone ( out of her husband's estate ), Bālarūpa's view was that it refers to the widow of a re-united coparcener.<sup>628</sup> Bālarūpa was of opinion that *atmabandhus*, *pitybandhus* and *mātṛ-bandhus* succeeded in the order stated.<sup>629</sup> The *Kālādarśa* of Ādityabhāṭṭa names Bālarūpa among the authorities on which it relies. This shows that Bālarūpa wrote not only on *vyavahāra* but also on *kāla*.

As Harinātha and the *Vivādacandra* mention Bālarūpa he is certainly earlier than about 1250 A. D. The important question is whether Bālaka and Bālarūpa are identical. I think, though with some hesitation, that they are identical. The difficulty is caused by the fact that Harinātha speaks of 'the author of Bālarūpa,' which implies that Bālarūpa is a *work* and not an *author*, while the others speak of Bālarūpa as an *author*. The *Dayabhāga* always speaks of Bālaka and never of Bālarūpa, while the Mithilā writers, Misaru-misra, Vācaspati and Harinātha, speak of Bālarūpa and not of Bālaka. Bālaka is not mentioned by any writer belonging to a province other than Bengal. It is not likely that there were two early authors belonging to the same locality on *vyavahāra* bearing two names so nearly the same as Bālaka ( or Bāla ) and Bālarūpa. Moreover if we read one quotation from the *Dayabhāga* between the lines ( vide note 621 ) where Jimūtavāhana makes fun of Bālaka by charging him with having exposed his *Balarūpatva* ( being Bālarūpa, being childish ) it appears that the *Dayabhāga* looked upon Bālaka and Bālarūpa as identical. If so Bālaka or Bālarūpa

627 अपुत्रस्य कुमारी रिक्थं गृह्णीयात्तदभावे चोद्यते इति पराशरवचनात्तथैवात्र क्रम इति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 153.

628 संसृष्टिभार्यापरमिति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 152.

629 एतेषां क्रमेणाधिकारः । बालरूपोप्येवम् । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 153.



becomes an ancient writer, who flourished certainly before 1100 A. D. As he held the same views as Śrīkara and an antiquated view about the rights of the daughter's son he must not be later than 1050 A. D.

### 69. Yogloka

Yogloka like Jitendriya and Bālaka is a writer about whom we know only from the works of Jimūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He is the last of the series of writers enumerated in one place by the Kālaviveka as having dealt with the subject of *kāla* (vide note 611 above). The Vyavahāra-mātrkā of Jimūtavāhana very frequently<sup>630</sup> cites the views of Yogloka and generally twits him with thinking himself as being a logician or a new-fangled (*nava-tārkikam-manya*) logician. Both in the Kālaviveka and the Vyavahāramātrkā Yogloka is generally cited for being refuted (e. g. pp. 457-58, 465, 483 of the Kālaviveka). It is only very rarely that Jimūtavāhana agrees with Yogloka (as on p. 369 of the Kālaviveka). From certain passages of the Kālaviveka it follows that Yogloka composed two works, one called Brhad-Yogloka (larger work) and the other styled Svalpa-Yogloka (a smaller-work).<sup>631</sup> It appears that Yogloka was later than Śrīkara and accepted certain illustrations given by the latter.<sup>632</sup> The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana informs us that like Śrīkara and Bālaka, Yogloka held the view that twenty years' adverse possession of immoveables conferred ownership (vide note 624 above). The same work tells us that the Māithilas followed the view of Yogloka that the verse of Kātyāyana (*yadyekadeśa-vyāptāpi... nṛpām*) was intended to apply to a case where a litigant threw down the challenge that if even one out of several

630 Vide pp. 291, 293, 295, 310, 313, 315, 347.

631 योगलोकेन तु स्वल्पबृहद्ग्रन्थभेदेन द्वयमेवोक्तं बलबलनिरूपणाक्षमत्वात् । कालविवेक  
p. 365 : तस्मान्मूर्त्तिधार्मिककल्पितं योग्लोकस्य बृहद्ग्रन्थे प्रक्षिप्तम् । अस्यैव स्वल्प-  
ग्रन्थे अन्येषु च निबन्धेषु दर्शनाद् योग्लोकीयबृहद्ग्रन्थपुरातनपुस्तीश्वभावात् ।  
तस्मात्स्वयमेवेतद् योग्लोकेनापि बृहद्ग्रन्थे लिखितम् । कालविवेक p. 273; vide  
also pp. 177, 221 490 for references to योग्लोक.

632 यत्तु ब्रह्मलोदाहरणं तार्किकमन्यस्य योग्लोकस्य मदीयेयं क्रमागतं भूरिति भाषायां  
मदीयेयं दशवर्षमुज्जयमानत्वात् इति श्रीकरोदाहरणस्वीकरणं तदसंगतम् । व्यवहारमन्तृका  
p. 303.



items of property charged were brought home to him as having been stolen by him, he would restore all the items claimed.<sup>613</sup>

The foregoing establishes that Yogloka wrote at least on *kāla* and *vyavahāra* and composed two treatises on *kāla*.

Jimūtavāhana<sup>614</sup> says that a predecessor of his styled Dikṣita criticized a certain reading of Yogloka's, i. e. Yogloka preceded Dikṣita, who was a predecessor of Jimūtavāhana. Jimūtavāhana further refers to ancient (*purātana*) mss. of Yogloka's work. Hence Yogloka must have preceded Jimūtavāhana by at least a hundred years. He is later than Śrikara (note 632 above). Therefore he must have flourished between 950-1050 A. D.

### 70. *Vijñāneśvara*

The *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara occupies a unique place in the Dharmaśāstra literature. Its position is analogous to that of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in grammar or to that of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammata in Poetics. It represents the essence of dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it for about two thousand years and it became the fountain head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis and developments. Under the decisions of the Courts in British India, the *Mitākṣarā* is of paramount authority in several matters of Hindu Law (such as adoption, inheritance, partition etc.) throughout India except where, as in Bengal, the *Dāyabhāga* prevails.

The *Mit.* professes to be a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. In the colophons of several mss. it is described as *Rju-mitākṣara*, *Pramitākṣarā* or simply *Mitākṣarā*. These names are probably due to some of the verses appended at the end of the commentary.<sup>615</sup> The *Mit.* is not only a commentary explanatory

633 व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 217 ( *Jivananda* vol. II ) ' न च यथेषां मध्ये एकमपि मया गृहीतं विभावयसि तदा सर्वमेव दातव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञाविषयत्वमेकदेशविभाजितत्वं वक्ष्यत्येतो जोग्लोकमतानुसरिमैथिलमतं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् । '.

634 श्रावण इति तु पठितं योग्लोकेन तद्वहुष्यदर्शनं भवतीति दीक्षितेनोक्तम् । कालविवेक p. 280.

635 इति याज्ञवल्क्यमुनिशास्त्रगता विवृतिर्न कस्य विहिता विदुषः । अमिताक्षरापि विपुलार्थवती परिबिम्बति श्रवणयोरमृतम् ॥ गम्भीराभिः प्रसङ्गामिर्वाग्मिर्नृस्ता मितक्षरा । अनल्पाध्याभिरल्पाभिर्विवृतिर्विहिता मया ॥



of the verses of Yājñavalkya, but it is in the nature of a digest of smṛti material. It brings together numerous smṛti passages, explains away contradictions among them by following the rules of interpretation laid down in the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system, brings about order by assigning to various dicta their proper scope and province (*viśayanvayavasthā*) and effects a synthesis of apparently disconnected smṛti injunctions.

The Mit. quotes a host of smṛti writers<sup>636</sup> and six predecessors, who were commentators and authors of digests on dharmaśāstra, viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Śrīkara, Bhāruci and Bhojadeva. Besides it quotes Vedic works (like the Kāthaka), the Brhadāranyakopaniṣad, the Garbhopaniṣad, the Jābālopniṣad, the Nirukta, Bharata (author of Nāṭyaśāstra), Yogasūtra, Pāṇini, Sūruta, the Skandapūrāṇa, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Amara, Guru (i.e. Prabhākara).

The author styles himself Vijñānayogin in the concluding verses of his commentary and later writers frequently refer to him in that way. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and was son of Padmanābhabhaṭṭa. He was a *paramahansa* (i. e. an ascetic) and was the pupil of Uttama. He tells us that when he wrote the Mitākṣarā, king Vikramārka or Vikramādityadeva was ruling in the city called Kalyāṇa<sup>637</sup> (now in the Nizam's dominion). The verses at the

636 The स्मृति<sup>१</sup> and स्मृतिकार<sup>२</sup> quoted by name are: अङ्गिरस्, बृहदङ्गिरस्, मध्य-  
मङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, उपमन्यु, उशनस्, कश्यपश्मिन्, कश्यप,  
काण्व, कात्यायन, काष्ठाजिनि, कुमार, कृष्णद्वैपायन, कतु, गार्ग्य, गृहपरिशिष्ट,  
गोमिल, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतिमत, च्यवन, छागल (or छागलेय), जमदग्नि, जातू-  
कण्य, जाबाल, (or-लि), जैमिनि, दक्ष, दीर्घतमस्, देवल, धौम्य, नारद, पराशर,  
पारस्कर, पितामह, पुलस्त्य, वैद्वघ, पैटीनसि, मचेतस्, बृहस्पचेतस्, बृहस्पचेतस्, मजापति,  
वाष्कल, बृहस्पति, बृहस्पति, बोधायन, ब्रह्मगर्भ, ब्राह्मवध, भारद्वाज, भृगु, मनु,  
बृहस्पन्तु, बृहस्पन्तु, मरीचि, मार्कण्डेय, यम, बृहस्पन्तु, यज्ञवल्क्य, बृहद्व्यासवल्क्य,  
बृहद्व्यासवल्क्य, लिखित, लौगाक्षि, वसिष्ठ, बृहद्वसिष्ठ, बृहद्वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, बृहद्विष्णु,  
बृहद्विष्णु, वैयाघ्रपाद, वैयाघ्रपायन, व्याघ्र (or व्याघ्रपाद), ध्यास, बृहद्व्यास, शङ्ख,  
शङ्खलिखित, शाण्डिल्य, शातातप, बृहच्छातातप, बृहद्व्यासातप, शुनःपुच्छ, शौनक,  
षट्त्रिंशन्मत, संवत्, बृहद्वसन्त, सुमन्तु, हारीत, बृहद्वारीत, बृहद्वारीत.

637 नासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरं नो दृष्टः श्रुत एव वा क्षितिपतिः  
श्रीविक्रमाक्षोपमः । विज्ञानेनस्पष्टं न भजते किंचायद्व्योपमश्चाकल्पं स्थिरमस्तु  
कल्पललितकल्पं तदेतन्नयम् ॥ 4th verse at the end.



end containing the personal history appear to be genuine. They occur in the oldest Mss. of the Mit. such as the Government of Bombay Ms. dated *śakasamvat* 1389.

The author of the Mit. was a profound student of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā system. Throughout the Mit. discussion of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā *nyāyas* and their application to dharmaśāstra are sown broadcast. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 (whether it is a *niyama* or *parisanukhyā*), I. 86, II. 114, II. 126, II. 265 &c., may be consulted. The Mit., as the very name implies, is generally concise and to the point. But in his desire to make his work a repository and synthesis of varied *smṛti* dicta the author does not mind if he has occasionally to expand his commentary to enormous lengths. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 and 290 occupies several pages of closely printed text.

As the *Mitākṣarā* names Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dharmēśvara, it must have been composed after 1050 A. D. The *Smṛticandrikā*<sup>638</sup> of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (which as will be seen later on was composed about 1200 A. D.) several times criticizes the views of the Mit., viz. the latter's remarks that the giving of an additional share to the eldest son is disapproved of by the people, the reasons given for preferring the mother to the father and the definition of *daya*. Vijñāneśvara is named in the *Kalpataru* of Lakṣmidhara<sup>639</sup> (composed in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century). This shows that the Mit. was composed before 1120 A. D. A greater approximation can be arrived at in several ways. The *Kalpataru* mentions

638 यत्पुनर्विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं सत्यमयं विषमो विभागः ... हेयः । एतदपि बाह्यात्रेणैतदुद्धारविषयविभागादौ लोकविद्वेषोस्ति प्रस्युत विद्यागुणपुण्यकर्मसंपन्नज्येष्ठादौ भागाधिक्ये लोकानुरागो दृश्यत इति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 266 ; 'न च दायशब्देन यद्वन्नं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव ... तदुच्यत इति दायदिशब्दनिरूपणार्थं मिताक्षरायामुक्तं युक्तम्' स्मृतिच. II. p. 267 ; 'पिता सपत्नीपुत्रेष्वपि साधारणो माता तु न साधारणीति प्रत्यासत्त्यतिशयोक्तीति विप्रलम्भसदृशमिदं न हि जननीजनकयोर्जन्यं प्रति सनिकर्षतारतम्यमस्ति ।' स्मृतिच० II. p. 297.

639 'क्षत्रधर्मस्तु ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणं दासकमाणि न कारयेदिति विज्ञानेश्वरस्वरसः' folio 380 of the Benares Sanskrit College transcript of कल्पतरु (on व्यवहार).



Vādibhāṣyāṃkāra<sup>640</sup> who, the *Vīramitrodaya*<sup>641</sup> tells us, was an admirer and follower of Vijñāneśvara and yet found fault with his explanation of Yāj. II. 51 ( rikthagrāha ṇam &c. ). Therefore the Mit. must have been composed at the latest before 1100 A. D. Among the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the only king named Vikramārka or Vikramāditya during whose reign Vijñāneśvara could have flourished is Vikramāditya VI who reigned for over fifty years from about 1076 to 1127 A. D. Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I, part 2, pp. 446-453, I. A. vol. 48 p. 6 ( for pedigree of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa with dates ), I. A. vol. 12 p. 212 ( for an inscription of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla dated *śaka* 1047 ) and I. A. vol. 22, pp. 296-298. From all these considerations it follows that the Mit. was composed between 1070-1100 A. D.

Out of the numerous commentaries on the Mit. those of Viśveśvara, Nandapaṇḍita and Bālabhaṭṭa are the most famous. Vide sections 93, 105, 111. Considerations of space preclude any detailed statement of the doctrines peculiarly associated with the name of Vijñāneśvara. There are however some which must be mentioned. He laid down ( on Yāj. I. 52 ) that wherever the word *sapinda* occurred, it denoted either directly or mediately connection with particles of one body ( i. e. blood-relationship with an ancestor ). He also strictly adheres to the principle that propinquity is the guiding principle in matters of inheritance and succession. He divides *dāya* into *apratibandha* and *sapratibandha* and affirmed that sons, grandsons and great-grandsons acquired by birth ownership in ancestral property. On all these matters he is diametrically opposed to Jīmūtavāhana.

Aufrecht in his great catalogue makes conflicting statements about a work called Āśaucadaśaka. On I. p. 55 he notes that Āśaucadaśaka is a work of Harihara with a commentary by Vijñāneśvara and again on I. p. 571 he ascribes Āśaucadaśaka-ṭīkā to Vijñāneśvara. On I. p. 762 he ascribes the Āśaucadaśaka and Daśaślokiivaraṇa to Harihara and appears to distinguish him from that Harihara who

640 शोभ्यस्य जननी तातः पुत्रो वा तत्सहोदरः । भार्यापुत्रवती धर्म्या ज्ञातयः परिकीर्तिताः ॥  
इति वादिभयंकरे बृहस्पतिदत्तनात् । *ibid.* folio 230.

641 विज्ञानेश्वरानुयायी यथात्र वादिभयंकररुदाह । अहो वत जगत्ख्यातविज्ञानेश्वरयोगिनः ।  
पूर्वापरविरोधेन नामुक्तानामद्वयम् ॥ श्रीरामचन्द्राय p. 350 ( Jīvaṇḍa ).



composed a bhāṣya on Pāraskaragrhyasūtra. On I. p. 795 he corrects himself by saying that Harihara wrote only the commentary on the Āśaucadaśaka and that the latter is identical with the Daśaśloki-vivarapa. On III. p. 121 he is doubtful whether the Āśaucadaśaka is a work of Vijñāneśvara. In the Deccan College collection there is an ancient Ms. (No. 196 of 1884-1887) of the Āśaucadaśaka.<sup>642</sup> It was copied in *samvat* 1578 Mārgaśīrṣa (i. e. December 1522 A. D.). It distinctly says that Vijñāneśvarayogin composed in ten Śārdūla-vikṛitā stanzas a work on *āśauca* and that Harihara composed a commentary on it. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is an old Ms. of the Āśaucadaśaka, the colophon of which ascribes the work to Vijñāneśvara. Vide I. O. cat. p. 565, No. 1749 for a ms. of Āśaucadaśaka with Harihara's commentary dated *samvat* 1589 (1532-33 A. D.) That the Āśaucadaśaka was a very popular work follows from the several commentaries thereon that are available even now. Raghunātha<sup>643</sup>, son of Mādhyava and nephew of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, composed a commentary on the Daśaśloki in śake 1500 (D. C. No. 82 of A. 1882-83). There is another commentary on the same work by Bhaṭṭoji (D. C. No. 99 of 1582-83). Harihara quotes in his bhāṣya, besides several well-known smṛtikāras, a work called Viśvādarśa (folio 4b).<sup>644</sup> Harihara, the commentator of the Pāraskaragrhyasūtra, is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara in several mss. Harihara in his bhāṣya on Pāraskaragrhyasūtra quotes Vijñāneśvara and Kalpataru. The Viśvādarśa praises Vijñāneśvara very highly.<sup>645</sup> Therefore it appears that

642 The ms. begins: अथ विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितमुनिज(न)वाक्योर्मिताक्षरामध्यात् । आशौचदशकवृत्तिं वदति हरिहरो हरिं नन्वा ॥ अत्र तावद्विज्ञानेश्वरयोगीन्द्रश्चतुर्वर्णी-त्मकस्य जन्मनि सूतो भवं सूतकं मरणे शवे भवं शावं सूतकशावसिद्ध्यर्थं दृष्टदशकं शार्दूलविक्रीडितेन चकार तत्राद्यं वृत्तमाह मातुर्गर्भविपत्स्वधे &c. The colophon at the end is इत्याशौचदशकभाष्यं श्रीहरिह(र)विरचितं समाप्तम् ।

643 Rṇunāth criticizes विज्ञानेश्वर 'यत् विज्ञानेश्वरेण प्रतिलोमानां त्वाशौचाभाव एवेत्युक्तं तद्वचनविरोधादुपेक्षणीयम् । प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इत्येतत् पाकयज्ञायामिषायम्' folio 19b.

644 संप्रति विशेषो विश्वादशीत् 'प्रसङ्गीणां त्रिरात्रं पितृविपदि भवेत्'.

645 यथा वै विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितेयापि महतो महोभर्तुः कीर्तिस्त्रिजगति यथा पुण्यकदिति । यथा (तथा 1) श्रीमन्नागार्जुनतनुज धन्य प्रणिगृहं स्फुरद्विद्यादर्शं स्फुरतु तव कीर्तिः सुकृतिनः ॥ IV. 52; श्रीरामस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य च यथा रामायणे भारते कीर्तिर्भाति यथा च मुञ्जतपतेः सा कारिका भूषणम् । श्रीमद्वन्य मिताक्षरादिषु यथा श्रीवृद्धभर्तु-स्तथा विश्वादशैरनियन्धने तव शुभश्लोका जयन्त्युजिताः ॥ ms. of विश्वादश (in Bhadkamkar collection),



Vijñāneśvara composed the Āśaucadaśaka *alias* Daśaśloki and that Harihara, who was either Vijñāneśvara's pupil or not very far removed from him (as he is quoted by Hemādri) composed a commentary thereon. The first verse of the Daśaśloki is cited below as a specimen of the concise style attempted by the author.<sup>646</sup>

Aufrecht (II. p. 50 and I. p. 236) credits Vijñāneśvara with a bhāṣya on Trīṃśat-śloki, a work in thirty Sragdharā stanzas on *aśauca*. This work together with the commentary was printed in *pothi* size at Benares in *sathvat* 1918 (1861-62 A. D.). The printed text contains<sup>647</sup> the same colophon at the end and date as the D. C. ms. No. 217 of 1879-80, which was copied in *sathvat* 1711 *Caitra* (i. e. April 1655 A. D.). It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Vijñāneśvara wrote a bhāṣya on the Trīṃśat-śloki. In the bhāṣya Vijñāneśvara and the Mitākṣarā are cited by name.<sup>648</sup> The manner of referring to them rather suggests that the commentary on the Trīṃśat-śloki was composed by some person other than Vijñāneśvara, who, however, drew largely on the Mit. There is a ms. of the Trīṃśat-śloki with a commentary in the Bhau Daji collection which is ascribed to Hemādri on the cover (vide BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 209, No. 667).

In the Madras Govt. mss. library there is a ms. of the Vyavahāra-śiromaṇi of Nārāyaṇa, who says that he learnt dharmasāstras under Vijñāneśvara (adhitya dharmasāstrāṇi Vijñāneśvara-sadguroḥ). The work deals with the *vyavahāra* portion and was composed for the benefit of the un-initiated (bālabodhārtham). The ms. contains the portion dealing with the king's duty to look into the disputes of people, the time for doing that, sabhā, definition of praḍ-vivāka (judge), the plaint and its defects, āsedha (restraint of the

646 मातुर्गर्भापत्त्वघं त्रिदिक्कं मासत्रयेतो यथा मासाहं त्रिषु सूतकावधिरतः स्नानं पितुः सर्वदा । ज्ञानीनां पतनादि जातमरणे पित्रोर्दशाहं सदा नाम्नः प्राक् तदपैति सूतक-वशाद्भ्रातुर्दशाहं परम् ॥

647 The colophon is इति विज्ञानेश्वरकृते त्रिंशच्छ्लोकीयभाष्यं संपूर्णम् ।

648 त्रिरात्रं दशरात्रं वा ... सूतकं मातुरेव हि ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यातसमये विज्ञानेश्वराचार्यैः स्पष्टीकृतम् ॥ p. 3b of the printed text and 2b of the ms. The verse referred to is याज्ञ. III. 18. On verse 14 of the त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी we have 'एतच्च आचार्यविष्णुभाष्यायान् ... न च तैः सह संविशेत् ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यातमिताक्षरायां स्पष्टीकृतम्' p. 9b of the printed text and 5a of the ms.



defendent ), means of proof the eighteen titles of law, *riṇādāna*, *nikṣepa*, *sambhūya-samutthāna*, *dattapradānika*, *abhypetya-aśuśrūṣā*, *vetanasya-anapākarma*, *asvāmivikraya*, *vikriyāsaṃpradāna*, *kṛtvā-nuśaya*, *samayasyānapākarma*, *simāvivāda*, *stri-puṇisayoga*, *dāyavi-bhāga*. The work breaks off in the middle of the explanation of the verse 'patni duhitarāścaiva'. He closely follows the *Mitākṣarā* in all that he says; but in one place he expressly differs from his teacher, viz. whereas the *Mitākṣarā* mentions four different times for partition, *Nārāyaṇa* says that there are really two times of partition, when the father desires partition and when the son or sons desire it.<sup>648a</sup> On *sambhūyasamutthāna* he quotes a passage from *Kauṭilya* ( the ms. uses this form ), which agrees closely with the printed text ( vide *Arthaśāstra* III. 14, p. 186, ed. by Shama Sastri ).<sup>648b</sup>

### 71. *Kāmadhenu*

This was an ancient digest on the various branches of *Dharmaśāstra*. Unfortunately no ms. of this work has yet come to light. The *Kalpataru* of *Lakṣmīdhara* refers to the view of *Kāmadhenu* and others that what was bestowed upon a slave (*dāsa*) by his master through favour was also under the control of the master.<sup>649</sup> The *Hāratalā* which was composed in the third quarter of the 12th century several times mentions the views of *Kāmadhenu*.<sup>650</sup>

648 a अनया चातुर्विध्यमस्मद्बृहचरणैर्मिताक्षराया प्रतिपादितं पितुरिच्छायां पुत्रेच्छायां च विभागः संभवति नान्यथेति कालद्वयमेव विभागस्येति तु युक्तम् । न च पित्रन्तरकाल एक इति त्रैविध्यमिति वाच्यं पित्रन्तरकालेपि पुत्राणामिच्छामावे विभागस्येवाभावेन उक्तकालद्वय एवानन्तरकालस्याप्यन्तर्भावात् ।

648 b अत्र विशेषमाह कौटल्यः । अग्निष्टोमादिषु दीक्षणीयाया ऊर्ध्वं य आपन्नः पञ्चमंशं लभेत सोमविक्रयादूर्ध्वं चतुर्थं प्रवर्ग्योद्गासनादूर्ध्वं तृतीयमग्निष्टोमीयादूर्ध्वं पादोनं माष्य-दिनादूर्ध्वं समयेनीतासु दक्षिणासु भवतीति ।

649 On the verse of कल्याण 'दासस्य हि धनं यत् स्यात् स्वामी तस्य प्रभुर्मतः' the कल्पतरु says 'यदा प्रसादे स्वामिना दासस्य कृते दत्तं तत्र दासधनेपि स्वामी प्रभुरिति प्रकाशहलायुधकामधेनुपारिजातप्रभृतयः ।' folio 876 of the कल्पतरु ( Benares College transcript ).

650 a. g. on p. 41 'अत एव जातमृते मृतजाते वा कुलस्य भिरात्रामिति हारीतवचनं कामधेनुकृता गर्भस्त्रादाशौचप्रकरणे लिखितम् ।'. Vide pp. 117, 174, 200 also for other references to the कामधेनु and note 596 above.



Śrīdharācārya, in his *Smṛtyarthaśāra*,<sup>651</sup> enumerates the Kāmadhenu among the works and writers who dwelt upon the teachings of the Smṛtis. The *Vivādratnākara*<sup>652</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara speaks of the Kāmadhenu several times. In the *Śrāddhakriyā-kannuḍī* certain verses from the Kāmadhenu are cited in connection with the rites on certain *tithis* of the month of Āśvina (p. 261). Śīlapāṇi in his *Śrāddhahiveka* names as his authorities the Kāmadhenu and other digests after the smṛtis.<sup>653</sup> The *Samayapradīpa*<sup>654</sup> of Śrīdatta notices that the Kāmadhenu read 'dvitīyā caitramāsasya,' while the *Kalpataru* read 'tṛtīyā.' The same reading of the Kāmadhenu is noticed in the *Smṛtisāra* of Hariuātha (I. O. cat., No. 634, folio 79b). In the *Rājanītiratnākara* the Kāmadhenu is quoted on the definition of 'rāja' and on the two varieties of rulers (pp. 2 and 5). In *Hemādri* there is a quotation from *Smṛtikāmadhenu* (vol. IV, p. 992) about the freedom in *kali* from incurring sin on account of contact with great sinners.

The question arises who is the author of the Kāmadhenu. If we rely upon a highly paronomastic passage of the *Vyavahāraratnākara*<sup>655</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara, Gopāla was the author of the Kāmadhenu. In the *Rājanītiratnākara* (p. 81) Gopāla is said to have held, with

651 कामधेनो प्रदीपेद्यो कल्पवृक्षलतासु च । शम्भुद्रविडकेदारलालयैश्च भाषितम् ॥

मन्वायनेकस्मृतिषु व्याख्यातृप्रतिपादितम् । स्मृत्यथंस्तरं वक्ष्यामि सुत्तानुष्ठानसिद्धये ॥

Intro. verses 4-5 (Ānandāśrama ed.); 'प्रदीपे' is a wrong reading for 'प्रदीपे'.

652 यं कामधेनुरनुयाति सकल्पवृक्षो(क्षा?)यं सेवते निजफलाय स पारिजातः । न वैरिगोत्रभिदमुच्चसहस्रदण्डं चण्डेश्वरं तुल्यितुं कतमे भवन्तु ॥ विवादरत्नाकर (verse at the end); there is a play on the words कामधेनु, कल्पवृक्ष

(कल्पतरु) and पारिजात which are names of works on धर्मशास्त्र also; vide विवादरत्नाकर pp. 78, 80, 135, 498, 651 for other references to the कामधेनु.

653 The *Śrāddhahiveka* begins विलोक्य धर्मशास्त्राणि कामधेनोवादि संयहान् । विवेकः पार्वणादीनां क्रियते शूलपाणिना ॥

654 अत्र च कामधेनो द्वितीया चैत्रमासस्येति लिखितं कल्पतरौ तृतीयेति लिखितं तदत्र पाठद्वये ऽप्येतिः शास्त्रं मधो तृतीयेति पाठाच्चेन्न तृतीयैव ग्राह्या । समयप्रदीप D. C. ms. No. 471 of 1875-76, folio 53b.

655 यन्व्याध्यातसेचनात्सफलतां पुष्पाति कल्पद्रुमः सयः पल्लवमातनोति नितरां श्रीपारिजातोपि सः । गोपालस्य च कामधेनुरमणं काम्यार्थदुग्धं स्वयं संदुग्धे स्वयमेव कस्य भवने सेव्यो न रत्नाकरः ॥ व्यवहाररत्नाकर (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 66). कल्पद्रुम (कल्पतरु), पारिजात, कामधेनु and रत्नाकर have two senses,



Lakṣmīdhara and Śrīkara,<sup>656</sup> the view that on the state wealth poor and helpless people have a claim and that the state perishes if the supreme authority is wielded by many (and not by one). The same work (p. 84) cites the opinion of Gopāla that the coronation rites mentioned in works on *rājanīti* are merely illustrative and that according to the particular usages of countries and families a king may be proclaimed without those rites by merely being seated on a throne.<sup>657</sup> The *Pitṭbhakti* of Śrīdatṭa expressly mentions that it is based on the works of Gopāla and others. The *Viramitrodaya* cites the view of Gopāla that *vyavāhara* comes under what is called *jalpa* in the technique of the Nyāya system and that the view of Miśra that *Vyavāhara* is comprised under the term *rāda* of the same system is wrong. Whether the Gopāla mentioned by Mitramiśra is the same as the author named by Candēśvara it is difficult to say. But it seems to me that they are identical. Aufrecht in his great catalogue (I. 93) ascribes the authorship of the *Kāmadhenu* to Śaṁbhū. Whence he derived this information is not clear. The authors and works cited by him do not, so far as I know, ascribe the *Kāmadhenu* to Śaṁbhū. It is true that Śaṁbhū is credited by the *Smṛticandrikā* with a digest on *dharmaśāstra* (vide note 563 above) and the *Smṛtyarthasāra* also names him as one of the authorities on which it relies. Hemādri<sup>658</sup> also tells us that Śaṁbhū was a *nibandha-kāra* and refuted the views of Medhātithi on Manu III. 125. The *Smṛticandrikā* frequently cites the views of Śaṁbhū on *vyavāhara* and generally refutes them. For example, on the word 'pitarau' occurring in Yaj. II. 135 Śaṁbhū remarked that no difference should be made between the parents (father and mother) as heirs, since whoever out of the two took the wealth of their son it would come

656 Vide note 565 above.

657 गोपालमते स्वभिषेकादिपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि तदव्यवहारः-  
दिति ।

658 यत्तु गोपालेन तत्त्वनिर्णयेषु कथात्वाद्वादत्वमेवास्येति मिश्रमतत्वेनोपन्यस्य जयभङ्ग-  
फलकत्वात् स्थापनावसानत्वाच्च जल्प एवायमिति तन्निरस्तं तद् द्वयमप्ययुक्तम् ।  
वीर० p. 3.

659 द्वौ देवे ... कमुभयत्र वा ॥ चद्व्येकैकमुभयत्र वेत्यर्थं विधिरेव न भवतीति तेनैवाकं  
तत्तु शम्भुभूतिभिर्निबन्धकारैः पणकृतमिति अभिमतमिति द्वयते । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1.  
p. 1148 : तदेवं तावद् दक्षिणामौ हामरनदभावं नृपासनमाविर्षति शम्भुशङ्खधरमृतयः  
चतुर्वर्ग III. 1. p. 1331.



to both.<sup>660</sup> Vide also *Smṛticandrikā* II, pp. 205, 216. Therefore Śambhu also, being mentioned by the *Smṛticandrikā* and the *Smṛtyarthasāra*, is certainly earlier than 1150 A. D. In this state of the authorities I am doubtful whether Śambhu was the author of the *Kāmadhenu*. I am inclined to hold that he was not the author of that work and that Gopāla was the author. This conclusion is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the *Smṛtyarthasāra* mentions both *Kāmadhenu* and Śambhu as authorities on which it relies. If Śambhu had been, in the opinion of the *Smṛtyarthasāra* the author of the *Kāmadhenu*, the mention of both would have been superfluous. Mr. Jayasval (in JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts 3-4, p. VII) ascribes the *Kāmadhenu* to Bhoja, but this is wrong (vide p. 277, note 576).

As the *Kāmadhenu* is named as an authority by the *Kalpataru* and the *Hārālātā* it is certainly not later than 1100 A. D. It cannot be very much earlier since it is not mentioned by *Medhātithi* and the *Mitākṣarā*. It may therefore be assigned to the period between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

## 72. Halāyudha

The *Kalpataru*<sup>661</sup> of Lakṣmidhara in its *vyavahāra* section quotes the views of a jurist Halāyudha several times. The *Vivādaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara mentions Halāyudha dozens of times. In the *Smṛtisāra* of Harinātha<sup>662</sup> Halāyudha-nibandha on possession is quoted. The *Smṛtisāra* also says (folio 140 a) that Halāyudha favoured *niyoga* by the widow of a son-less deceased person and deprived the widow of succession to her deceased husband if she did not submit to *niyoga*. This was the view of Dhāreśvara also. According to Halāyudha<sup>663</sup> parents succeeded before brothers to a deceased person

660 यत्कृतं सम्मुना अव्यक्तधनत्वाद् दम्पत्योर्येन केनचित्पुत्रमाणमुभयार्थमिति न विशेषो वक्तव्य इति तदयुक्तम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 298.

661 Vide note 649 above; and folio 380 (of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

662 अत्र हलायुधनिबन्धे स्वरसः । आगमस्मरणाहंकाले सागमेव भुक्तिः प्रमाणं त्रैपुरुषिक-भोगे तु आगमस्मरणे भुक्तिः प्रमाणं स्मृतिकाले क्रिया भूमेः ... पुरुषागता इति कात्यायनवचनात् । हानिप्रतिपादकानां च वाक्यानां प्रमाणपरिपालनकर्तव्यताशेषत्वात् । स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 107 b).

663 याज्ञवल्क्येन पितरौ भ्रातरौ इति भ्रातृसद्भावेऽपि पित्रोरधिकार उक्तः स पितृपितामहार्जित-धनविषयः । यापितृद्वयविरोधार्जितं तत्पित्रोः सद्भावेऽपि भ्रातृणामेव । स्मृतिसार folio 140 b.



if the property in the hands of the deceased was ancestral, but that if it was acquired without detriment to ancestral property then brothers succeeded even before parents. Halāyudha is cited in the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* also, e. g. Halāyudha<sup>664</sup> held the view that the verse of Yāj. ( II. 126 ) was intended to convey that where joint property was concealed by a member and was discovered after partition, he did not incur the guilt of theft. This same view was held by Jitendriya and others. Raghunandana quotes Halāyudha in his *Divyatattva*, *Dayatattva* and *Vyavaharatattva*. The *Vira-mitrodaya*<sup>665</sup> also quotes Halāyudha.

The foregoing shows that the work of Halāyudha, the jurist, was a very valuable one. This Halāyudha must have flourished before 1100 A. D., since the *Kalpataru* ( 1125-1150 A. D. ) looked upon him as an authority. As Halāyudha is not mentioned by any of the early commentators like Medhātithi and by the *Mit.* and as he held opinions similar to those of Dhāreśvara, Jitendriya and others, he cannot well be placed earlier than 1000 A. D. Therefore he flourished between 1000 and 1100 A. D. He was probably a Maithila or Bengali writer, as, among the comparatively early writers on dharma, it is the writers of the north, particularly of Mithila and Bengal, that rely upon him as a great authority.

The name Halāyudha ( an epithet of Balarama, the brother of Kṛṣṇa ) was a common one in India. It seems to have been borne by several eminent writers and this fact has created a great deal of confusion. There is one Halāyudha who was the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* ( edited by Aufrecht ), the *Kavirahasya* ( edited by Sourindra Mohan Tagore in 1879 and by Heller in 1900 ) and probably the *Mṛtasamjivani*, a commentary on the *Chandaḥ-sūtra* of Piṅgala. In the *Kavirahasya* he gives the various forms of roots in the several conjugations and connects all verses with Kṛṣṇa, the

664 अन्योन्यापहृतं . . . स्थितिः ॥ अत्राविमर्शत्वादेव विभागे श्रेष्ठे वचनारम्भेन चौर्य-  
दोषामात्रं ज्ञापयतीति हलायुधः । *Vivādacintāmaṇi* p. 143. *Vide* दायतत्त्व ( p. 182  
*Jivananda*, vol. II ) for the same view of हलायुध.

665 'अक्षः पादस्तम्भयोर्द्वयं निहितस्तुलाधारपट्ट इति मितः क्षरा । दादधर्मभोजकः कीलक  
इति हलायुधः ।' वीर० p. 254; वीर० p. 572 says हलायुध read in मनु  
9. 207 स निर्वास्यः for स निर्वास्यः ( निर्वाज्यः ).



emperor of the Deccan ( Dakṣiṇāpatha ).<sup>666</sup> This Kṛṣṇarāja was most probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 940 A. D. to 959 A. D. ( vide JBBRAS, vol. 18, page 239 ; Bom. Gazetteer I., part 2, p. 210 ; I. A. vol. 11, p. 109 and Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 8-9. ). In the colophon to the *Mṛtasañjivani* the author is described simply as bhaṭṭa-Halāyudha. In that commentary verses are quoted as illustrations wherein Muñja alias Vākpatirāja is highly extolled.<sup>667</sup> Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. Hence Halāyudha, the author of the commentary on Piṅgala, must not have flourished much earlier than the latter half of the 10 century. It is not unlikely that Halāyudha after being at the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas migrated to Avanti when the star of Muñja, who was himself a scholar, rose on the horizon of central India and when the fortunes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas waned. But this Halāyudha who hailed from the Deccan cannot be the first Halāyudha who appears to have flourished in Mithilā or Bengal.

There is another Halāyudha, author of a famous work called *Brahmaṇa-sarvasva* printed at Benares in samvat 1935. But this was not available to me and hence I used a Ms. of it in the Deccan College collection ( No. 9 of A 1883-84 ). He gives some account of himself and his family in the introductory verses. He belonged to the Vatsya gotra and was a son of Dhanāñjaya who is described as *dharmādhyakṣa* ( judge ). Lakṣmaṇasena, the king of Bengal, gave him *dharmādhikāra* ( i. e. made him judge ).<sup>668</sup> He had two elder brothers<sup>669</sup> Paśupati and Īśāna of whom the former composed *Śraddha-kṛtya-paddhati* and *Pākayajña-paddhati* and the latter the

666 अस्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नावित्रे दक्षिणापथे । कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्य-  
दीक्षितः ॥ verse 6 ( Heller's ed. ). Verse 164 ( Heller ) describes him as  
राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्बद्धः.

667 a. ४. जयति भुवनेकवीरः सरायुधतुलितविपुलचलविभवः । अनवरतवितवितरणनिर्जित-  
चम्पाधिपो मुञ्जः ॥ स जयति वाक्यतिराजः &c.—मृतसञ्जीवनी 4th chap.

668 बाल्ये ख्यापितराजपण्डितपदः श्वेताशुचिम्बोज्ज्वलच्छात्रोत्तिकमङ्गमहत्तनुपदं दत्त्वा नवे  
यौवने । यस्मै यौवनशेषयोम्यमसिलस्मापालनारायणः श्रीमौल्यस्मणसेनदेवनृपतिर्धर्मा-  
धिकारं ददौ ॥ verse 12 : vide also Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss. p. 138,  
extract No. 356.

669 भ्राता पद्वतिमयजः पशुपतिः भ्राद्रादिकृत्ये व्यधादीशानः कृतवाम् द्विजाह्निकविभो  
ज्येष्ठोपरः पद्वतिम् । verse 24.



Dvijāhnikā-paddhati. He tells us in the Brāhmaṇasarvasva that he composed Mīmāṃsāsarvasva, Vaiṣṇavasarvasva, Śaivasarvasva, Paṇḍītasarvasva.<sup>670</sup> Unfortunately no Ms. of any of these works has so far been discovered. The chief object<sup>671</sup> of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva is to explain the meaning of the *mantras* used by Brāhmaṇas in daily observances from the brushing of the teeth to going to sleep and in the *samśkāras* on birth, marriage, death etc. He wrote for the Vājasaneyā Kāṇva Śākhā and acknowledges<sup>672</sup> his debt to Uvāṭa who wrote a bhāṣya on the Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā in Avanti while Bhoja ruled the earth (mahit Bhoje praśāsati). In some introductory verses and the several colophons of the sections of the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva Halāyudha styles himself *avasathika*, *mahādharma-dhyakṣa* or simply *dharmādhyakṣa*, *dharmādhikārin* and his brother Paśupati also is styled *avasathika*. It is very difficult to say what is the exact meaning of this last word. It probably means one who regularly performs all the *grhya* rites.<sup>673</sup> Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922, pp. 5165 for a ms. of Paṇḍita-sarvasva which deals with the usages of varṇas and āśramas, tithi, śuddhi, the time for śrāddhā, jyotiḥśāstra, marriage, gifts, prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā &c. But whether it is Halāyudha's work it is difficult to say from the extracts given.

The time when Halāyudha the author of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva flourished can be easily settled as he was the dharmādhyakṣa of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The Adbhutasāgara was begun in *śake* 1090<sup>674</sup>

670 मीमांसासर्वस्वं वैष्णवसर्वस्वमकृतं शैवसर्वस्वम् । पण्डितसर्वस्वमसौ सर्वस्वं सर्वधीराणाम् ॥  
verse 19.

671 दन्तधावनमारभ्य यावदन्त्येष्टिमीरिता । मन्त्राणां तावता तस्मिन् व्याख्यानमुपदर्शितम् ॥

672 व्याख्यातो मनिशालिनायमुवताचार्येण वेदः परम् । अस्पष्टं तदपीत्यनेन विबुधा विस्मय-  
मसिद्धेः पदैः । सन्ध्यादिद्विजकर्ममन्त्रवचसां व्याख्यानमेतत् कृतम् &c.

673 Compare पारस्करगृह्य I. 2. 1-2 'आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले । दायकाल एकेषाम् ।'

674 शाके स्तनवसेन्द्रवदे आरोभेद्रुतसागरम् । गौडेन्द्रकुञ्जरालानस्तस्मद्यद्गुर्महीपतिः ॥  
अन्धेस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनवं साध्याज्यरक्षामहादीक्षापर्वणि दीक्षणान् निजकृतेर्निष्पत्ति-  
मन्थयत्यसः । नानादानमिनाम्युससश्चलन्तः (!) सूर्यात्मजासङ्गमं गङ्गनद्यां विरचय्य  
निर्जरापुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥ श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनमूपतिरिश्लाघ्यो धकुयोगतो निष्पन्नो-  
द्रुतसागरः कृतिरसौ बलालमूर्तीभुजः ॥ &c. folio 3a of D. C. ms. No. 231 of  
1887-91.



( i. e. 1168-69 ) by Ballāla-sena and it was ultimately finished by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. That these verses are not spurious follows from a reference in the *Toḍarānanda-saṁhitā-saukhyā* about the position of the constellation of the Great Bear according to the *Adbhutasāgara* in the *śake* year 1082 ( 1160-61 A. D. ) while Ballālasena was ruling.<sup>675</sup> The *Saduktikarpāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa<sup>676</sup>, who was a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena, furnishes us with the exact year of the accession of Lakṣmaṇasena viz : that *śake* 1127 corresponded with the 27th year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign, i. e. he began to reign in 1178-79 A. D. Therefore the literary activity of Halāyudha, the author of the *Brāhmaṇasārvasva*, lies between 1175-1200 A. D. There is, I am aware, a very heated controversy about the dates of Ballālasena and his son Lakṣmaṇasena, but I am inclined to hold, particularly on account of the explicit reference contained in the body of the *Adbhutasāgara*<sup>677</sup> itself and in the *Toḍarānanda*, that Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne about 1178-79 A. D. The *Brāhmaṇasārvasva* and the *Paṇḍitasarvasva* of Halāyudha are quoted by Raghunandana in the *Āhnika* ( pp. 389, *Jivānanda*, vol. I ), *Prāyaścitta* ( pp. 531, vol. I for *Paṇḍitasarvasva* ) and other *Tattvas*. Sourindra Mohan Tagore ( introduction to *Kavirahasya* p. I-II ) says that Ādiśūra brought to Bengal five *Brāhmaṇas* from Kanoj of whom Bhatia Nārāyaṇa was the most famous and was the author of the *Prayogaratna* and also of the *Vepasāhita* and that Halāyudha was 16th in descent from that Nārāyaṇa. These traditions of the matchmakers of Bengal and panegyrists of big families are entirely worthless for literary and chronological purposes,

675 'अश्विन्यादाभिप्रायेण चाद्रुतसागरं मुज्जवसुदशमित १०८२ शाके श्रीमद्वल्लालसेन-  
राज्यादौ वर्षेकषष्टिभोगा मुनयस्त्वामन् विशासाम् तस्य चाभिप्रायायम्' folio 39b of  
टोडरानन्दसंहितासौख्य D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92.

676 शाके समविंशत्यधिकशतानेपेतदशशते शरदाम् । श्रीमद्वल्लालसेनस्त्रिपिपस्य स्तेकविंशब्दे ॥  
सवितुर्गत्या फाल्गुनविशेषु परार्थहेतवं कुतुकात् । श्रीधरदत्तेनैवं सदुक्तिकर्णामृतं चक्रे ॥  
Vide *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1927, vol. III, p. 186; vide also *JASB* 1921, p. 7, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 48 ( for 1919 ) at 171-176 and *Ind. Ant.* 1922, p. 146, 158 for discussion of the date of लक्ष्मणसेन. Vide E. I., vol. XV, p. 278 for the views of Mr. R. D. Banerji who holds that लक्ष्मणसेन ascended the throne in 1110-19 A. D.

677 In the printed edition of the *अद्रुतसागर* ( at p. 235 ) we have अतस्तत्र तेन-  
तद् गन्यारम्भशकाद् वर्षाधिपगणनं सनवदशशेषशाके &c. ( published in 1905 by  
Prabhakarī and Co. ).



particularly for events of comparatively early times. In their zeal to extol their patrons' families to the skies they were most unscrupulous and threw to the winds all chronology. The *Prayogaratna* was composed at Benares by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa whose family migrated from Paithan in the 16th century, while the *Veṇṇisaṁhāra* was composed about a thousand years earlier. Yet both works are fathered upon Nārāyaṇa, the ancestor of the rich and influential Tagore family.

There is yet another Halāyudha. On the *Śrāddhakalpasūtra* of Kātyāyana a commentary called *Prakāśa* was composed by Halāyudha, son of Saṅkarṣaṇa (vide BBRAS cat. No. 518, p. 170). In this commentary he refers to Karka, Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Govindarāja, Lakṣmaṇopādhyāya, Mitrakṣarā, Śaṅkhaḍhara and Paśupati. He is therefore later than 1150 A. D. He cannot be identified with the author of the *Kavirahasya*, as the latter flourished much earlier under the Rāṣtrakūṭas. Nor can he be the same as the jurist Halāyudha, since the latter is named in the *Kalpataru*, which in its turn is quoted in the *Prakāśa*. The *dharmādhyakṣa* of Lakṣmaṇasena was a son of Dhanañjaya, while the author of the *Prakāśa* was a son of Saṅkarṣaṇa. The *Śrāddhakaṣikā* of Kṛṣṇa (Gujarati Press ed. p. 430) on the *Navakaṇḍika* or *Śrāddhakalpasūtra* of Kātyāyana says that first Karka<sup>678</sup> explained the *sūtra* in pregnant words and then Halāyudha explained it and yet it remained as difficult as before. Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the *Nirṇayasindhu* and the *Śrāddhamayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha. Therefore Halāyudha, the author of the *Prakāśa* on Kātyāyana must have flourished before 1509 A. D. and later than 1150 A. D.

Vide J. A. S. B. 1915 pp. 327-336 where M. M. Chakravarti brought together interesting information about Halāyudha.

### 73. Bhavadevabhāṭṭa

The *Vyavahāratattva* of Raghunandana and the *Viramitrodaya* tell us that Bhavadevabhāṭṭa composed a work called *Vyavahāratilaka* on judicial procedure. The *Vyavahāratattva*<sup>679</sup> tells us that Bhavadeva

678 कर्को व्याख्यदिदं गभीरवचनैः सूत्रं यतोऽस्मादमुद् द्रुवोऽयं च ततो हलायुध इति व्याख्य-  
न्तथाप्यरुक्नुम् ॥

679 'अस्तव्यस्तपदव्यापि अनन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्यवहारतिलके भवदेवभट्टः' । व्यवहार-  
तत्त्व ( p. 207, vol. II, Jivananda ) : भवदेवेन तु अस्तव्यस्तपदव्यापि पाठं  
लिखित्वानन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्याख्यातं व्यवहारतिलके । वीर० p. 85.



read 'astavyastapadavyāpi' instead of 'yadvyastapadamavyāpi' in Kātyāyana's verses enumerating the blemishes of *uttara* (defendant's reply). The Vyavahāratattva<sup>680</sup> mentions Bhavadevabhāṭṭa's discussion and illustration of a reply (*uttara*) with a weak plea (*kāraṇa*). The same work informs us that Bhavadeva held the same views on adverse possession as Śrīkara, Bālaka and others did (vide note 624 above). The Vivādacandra of Misarumiśra<sup>681</sup> several times refers to the views of Bhavadeva. The Viramitrodaya<sup>682</sup> gives in great detail the remarks of Bhavadeva on the well-known text of Sumantu about killing an *ātātāyin*. The Sarasvativilāsa<sup>683</sup> and the Vaijayanti of Nandapaṇḍita quote the very same views of Bhavadevabhāṭṭa on Sumantu's text.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that Bhavadeva's Vyavahāratilaka must have been a valuable work on judicial procedure. Unfortunately that work has not yet come to light.

Bhavadeva also wrote several other works.

In the Deccan College collection there are two Mss. (No. 9 of 1895-98 and No. 263 of 1887-91) of a work of Bhavadeva variously named Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarma-paddhati or Daśakarmadipikā. M. M. Chakravarti in his informing article on Bhavadeva (J. A. S. B. 1912, pp. 333-348) says that the work has often been printed. I was not able to secure a copy. That work<sup>684</sup> deals with

680 दुर्बलकारणोत्तरं यथा ममेयं भूः कर्मागतत्वादिति वायुके ममेयं भूदर्शवर्षभुज्यमानत्वादिति प्रत्युत्तरं तत्तु धनमात्रप्रयुक्तं पश्यतोद्युवतो हानिधनस्य दशवार्षिकीति याज्ञवल्कीयं बजिं किं तु नैतद्युक्तं परेण भुज्यमानाया भूमौर्विशतिवार्षिकीति भूमिमात्रविषयकं तत्परार्धनापादितत्वादिति भवदेवमट्टः । व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 208.

681 यस्य दृश्येत सप्ताहादुक्तसाक्ष्यस्य साक्षिणः । अत्र यद्यपि भवदेवेन कृतदिव्यस्योति लिखितं तथाप्युक्तसाक्ष्यस्येवमिधानादकृतदिव्यस्यापि द्रष्टव्यं कृतदिव्यस्येति प्रायोवाद् । विवादचन्द्र (folio 51a of D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84); 'भवदेवेन तु न रोगाभिज्ञातिमरणं शुद्धिं तस्य विनिर्दिशेदिति लिखितम् ।' *ibid* (folio 55 b).

682 अत्र भवदेवमट्टः । न च सुमन्तुवचनेन नाततायिवधदोषोन्मत्र गोब्राह्मणादित्यनेन विरोधः सूत्रच्छेदापरिज्ञानात् । तथाहि सूत्रत्रयमिदम् । आततायिवधे नेत्येकम् । दोषोन्मत्रत्रयपरम् । गोब्राह्मणात्ज्ञानात् प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यादित्यन्यत् । वीर० p. 22.

683 Vide स. वि. p. 154 (Mysore ed.) and वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 5.189 (I. O. cat. No. 915 folio 50a).

684 It begins चतुर्वन्दनसदस्यचतुर्वेदकुटुम्बिने । द्विजानुष्ठेयसत्कर्मसाक्षिणे ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ गृहसुश्रार्थमालोक्य छन्दोगानामयं क्रमात् । कृता श्रीभवदेवेन कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धतिः ॥



the ten principal rites and ceremonies to be performed by Brāhmaṇas who study the Sāmaveda. The principal subjects are :—The *Homa* to the nine planets (*Navagraha-homa*), *mātrpūjā*, *pāṇigrāhaya* and other essential rites of marriage, *homa* on the fourth day after marriage, *garbhādhāna*, *puṇisavana*, *śimantonayana*, *soṣyantihoma* (*homa* when a woman is on the point of delivery), *jātakarma*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *cūḍākaraṇa*, *upanayana*, *samāvartana* (the student's returning from the teacher's house after finishing his studies), *Śalākarma* (first entrance in a new house).

Another work of Bhavadeva, who is styled *Bālavalabhi-bhujāṅga* therein, is the *Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa* (I. O. cat. No. 1725 p. 554, Mitra's notices, vol. IX, No. 3138, pp. 214-15). In that work he mentions over 25 *smṛtikāras*, the *Matsya* and *Bhaviṣya* purāṇas, *Viśvarūpa*, *Śrikara* and *Bāloka* (? *Balaka*). This work was held in high esteem, as the *Smṛtiratnākara*<sup>685</sup> of Vedācārya places Bhavadeva after Manu among the authorities on *prāyaścitta* that he follows. The *Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda (B.I. series) quotes a text from Bhavadevabhāṭṭa on the *prāyaścitta* for eating in a solar or lunar eclipse (p. 106).

There is yet another work of Bhavadevabhāṭṭa called *Tautātita-matātīlaka*, a ms. of which exists in the India Office (cat. No. 1591). It is doubtful whether that ms. contains the whole of the work. That work is concerned with elucidating the doctrines of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* system from the standpoint of Kumārilabhāṭṭa (who is also called *Tautātita*). From the colophons at the end and elsewhere it appears that the work was intended to explain Jaimini I. 4 and II. 1, but in the body of the work contained in the Ms. only sūtras from the first *pāda* of the 2nd *adhyāya* are dwelt upon. Bhavadeva is styled *Bālavalabhibhujāṅga* here also and invokes a terrific curse<sup>686</sup> upon those who would borrow from his work without acknowledg-

685 मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्रार्थं भवदेवादिसंमतम् । प्रायश्चित्तमहं वक्ष्ये विज्ञाय पापनिवृत्तौ ॥  
स्मृतिरत्नाकर (I. O. cat. p. 473).

686 The colophon at the end is इति श्रीबालवलभीभुजङ्गपरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य  
कृतो तौतातितमतिलके द्वितीयस्याध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः । यो नाम कश्चिदिह  
संविदितं प्रमेयं ग्रन्थान्तरे लिखति वा वदति स्वयं वा । मत्कृततामननुकीर्त्य स  
कीर्तिलोपाग्निः संततिर्जगति जन्मशतानि भूयात् ॥



ing their debt. The work opens with the well-known sūtra 'bhāvārthaḥ karmasābdāḥ &c. (Jaimini II. 1. 1). It goes on explaining the principal topics of Jaimini's 2nd adhyāya, first pāda. The sūtras explained are II. 1. 1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40 46-49. It mentions the bhāṣyakāra (Śabara), Vārtika (folio 12 a), Gurumata (17b), Prabhakara (21b), Vārtikakārapāda (22 b, in the plural). It frequently quotes kārīkās from the Tantravārtika with the words 'taduktam.' Hemādri<sup>687</sup> quotes Bhavadeva's explanation of the words of Kumārila allowing an option between *jāghanya* and *ajya* and disapproves of it. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 5527 for the same work.

Unexpected light is thrown on the personal history of Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa by an inscription found in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District of Orissa edited by Kielhorn in E. I. vol. VI, p. 203, which eulogises Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, Bāvalabhibhujāṅga applied to the latter.<sup>688</sup> The eulogy is composed by a person called Vācaspatikavi. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvarna gotra of the Kauthumi school of the Sāmaveda. The family belonged to Siddhalagrāma in Rāḍhā (west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges). Bhavadeva's remote ancestor Bhavadeva obtained in gift the *agrahāra* of Hastinibhīṭṭa from the Gauda king. The father of Bhavadeva was Govardhana, a warrior and a scholar. His mother was Sāṅgokā, daughter of a Vandhyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa. With the advice of Bhavadeva king Harivarmadeva is said to have reigned long in prosperity. Bhavadeva is stated in the above mentioned inscription to have composed works on *horā* (astrology), *smṛti*, and *mīmāṃsā*. Bhavadeva is eulogised as a great builder. He constructed a reservoir of water in Rāḍhā, he set up a stone image of Nārāyaṇa and founded a temple in which he placed images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta, ann Nṛsiṃha. He also gave

687 तथा च जाघन्याधिकरणसिद्धान्ते जाघन्याज्ययोर्विकल्पे वार्तिककृतेके भवदेवेनोक्तम् ।  
इदं त्विह वक्तव्यम् । कथं सामान्यविहितेन ज्येन विशेषविहितजाघन्यविकल्पः सर्वत्र  
सामान्यविशेषशास्त्रयोर्चाव्यबाधकभावेच्छेदं सङ्गत् । नेतत् । द्वयोरपि विशेषशास्त्रात् ।  
&c. चतुर्वर्गः ( कालनिर्णय ) p. 120 Vide also p. 404 for another reference  
to भवदेव.

688 इत्येव सल्लु बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति नाम नारतं केन । मीमांसयापि सपुलकमाकर्णित-  
वर्णितोद्गीतम् ॥ verse 24.



to Harimedhas female attendants, dug a tank and laid out a garden. Neither Kielhorn nor Chakravarti has attempted any explanation of the epithet *Balavalabhībhujaṅga*. I hazard an explanation. Bhavadeva probably made some innovation in the structure of the roofs or balconies of the temples he built and he was therefore styled a lover (a gallant or paramour) of little (*bala*-small sized or girlish) *valabhīs*. From the nature of the character Kielhorn conjectured that the inscription belonged to the 12th century A. D.

The date of Bhavadeva can be approximately settled to be about 1100 A. D. as he is quoted by Hemādri, the Vivādacandra of Misaru and the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha. He is certainly earlier than 1200 A. D. A period of at least half a century must have elapsed before a Bengal writer like Bhavadeva came to be looked upon as an authority on *mīmāṃsā* by Hemādri who wrote in distant Berar. It appears that he was quoted in the *Karmopadeśinī* of Aniruddha (I. O. cat. No. 1853, p. 474). But that Ms. is bound up with another work by a later author and the reference in the cat. is not quite clear. If we rely on the *Viramitrodaya*, a work called *Pradipa* criticised the views of Bhavadeva on the verse of Yaj. II. 24 (about adverse possession for 20 and 10 years). Bhavadeva held that twenty years' enjoyment of immovable property by a stranger implied that the real owner meant to abandon it for the benefit of the stranger enjoying it, that such abandonment for the enjoyment of another leads to the inference of the extinction of previous ownership and that the property being abandoned by the owner in favour of the stranger who takes hold of it, ownership also (of the stranger) arises. The *Pradipa*<sup>689</sup> points out that it does not invariably follow

६८९ भवदेवस्तु ... तस्मादेवं वाच्यं यद्यं यथोक्तो भोगः पूर्वस्वामिनो भोक्तुद्देशेन त्यागात् तत्स्वत्वध्वंसमर्थापयति अनुमापयति वा । ... तथा च तदुद्देशेन त्यक्ते तत्परिसङ्गान्- देव परस्य तत्र स्वत्वमप्युपपद्यते । ... अत्र प्रदीपकृतः । यत्र हि मत्स्वत्ये- ( ह्ये ! ) दानीं नात्र फलसम्मादना तदधुना तावत्पर एव भुक्त्वा ( भुंक्तं ! ) पश्चादेतत्सत्काशा- त्सफलोपभोगां भुवं गृहीष्यामीत्यभिसंधाय भूम्यादिस्वामी तत्र परोपभोगं क्षमते तच्चापि विंशत्यभ्यधिको भोगोऽस्ति स्वामिनस्तदुद्देशेन त्यागश्च नास्तीति व्यभिचारान्ते- दशभोगस्य पूर्वस्वामिस्वत्वत्यागे प्रामाण्यम् । किं च भूस्वामी सचेताः किमिति वृथैव तत्र स्वत्वं जहात् । न ह्यत्र दृष्टमुद्देशं नाप्यदृष्टं धर्मशास्त्रोक्तैकतर्कव्यताविरहान् । ... नापि यदुद्देशेन यत्पश्यते तत्तस्य स्वामिति नियमः । उद्देश्येनागृहीति व्यभिचारात् ।  
वीर० p. 212-14.

M. D. 39.



that, because a stranger is allowed to enjoy land, the owner intends to abandon the land for the stranger, nor is it an invariable rule that what is abandoned for another becomes the property of that other. It will be shown later on that the Pradīpa must have been composed before 1150 A. D. Hence it follows that Bhavadeva flourished about 1100. He cannot be very much earlier than that, as he is not mentioned by any writer of the 11th century and as he not only mentions Kumārila and Prabhākara, but also writers who criticised Prabhākara's views.

There were several other later persons named Bhavadeva who wrote on topics of Dharmasāstra such as Bhavadeva, author of *Dānadharmaprakriyā* (middle of 17th century), and Bhavadeva, the author of *Smṛticandrikā*, who flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

On Bhavadeva's *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* there is a commentary called *Samsārapaddhatirahasya*.

#### 74. Prakāśa.

A work called *Prakāśa* has been quoted by very early *nibandha-karas*. The *Kalpataru* quotes the interpretation of *Prakāśa*, *Halāyudha* and *Kāmadhenu* on a verse of *Kātyāyana*.<sup>690</sup> The *Vivādaratnākara* of *Caṇḍeśvara* cites the views of *Prakāśa* scores of times (e. g. p. 131, 145, 456, 460, 462, 471, 485, 504 etc.). Frequently *Prakāśa* is coupled with *Pārijāta* (e. g. p. 497). On page 518 of the *Vivādaratnākara* a remark of *Prakāśa* wherein both *Asahāya* and *Medhatithi* are named is cited.<sup>691</sup> The *Dānaratnākara* of *Caṇḍeśvara* quotes a passage of *Saṁvarta* with *Prakāśa*'s explanation of it.<sup>692</sup> In the *Śrāddhasaukhya* of *Todarānanda* *Prakāśa*'s explanation

690 Vide note 521 above. On *पणे जितः*, one of the 15 kinds of *dūsas* enumerated by *नारद*, the *कल्पतरु* quotes the remarks of the *प्रकाश* 'यद्यस्मिन्विवाहे पराजितो भवामीत्यादिपरिमाणेन दासीभूतः द्यूतजित इति प्रकाशपारिजातौ।' (folio 368 of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

691 *पित्रा दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमात्रोपलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथिरिति* (० श्री इति) *प्रकाशकारः* । वि. र. (on *मनु* 9. 198). Vide p. 509 of *वि. र.* where *प्रकाश* cites *मेधातिथि* alone 'पत्युर्नुज्ञानेनाव्यदत्तोऽप्यलङ्कारो यो मण्डनार्थं धृतः सोऽपि दायार्थेन हर्तव्य इति मेधातिथिरिति *प्रकाशः*.'

692 'संवर्तः । सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम् । द्वादशक्षितिर्गौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥ गोषोऽत्र गायः प्रकरणात् । गौरी अष्टवर्षा कन्येति *प्रकाशः* ।' *दानरत्नाकर* (D.C. ms. No. 114 of 1884-86 folio 52 b).



of the word 'Yānevata' occurring in a passage of Śaṅkha about the fruits allowed in śrāddha is quoted.<sup>691</sup>

These quotations establish that Prakāśa was a work that not only dealt with vyavahāra, but also with such topics as *dāna*, *śrāddha* etc.

Whether the Prakāśa was an independent work or a commentary is somewhat doubtful. But from a passage of the Vivādaratnākara it seems to follow that it was a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. There we are told that the Kalpataru<sup>694</sup> read 'abhiñānata' for 'aviñānata' in Yāj. II. 258, but that since that reading is opposed to Yājñavalkya-prakāśa, Halāyudha and Pārijāta it must be, regarded as a wrong reading. As it is a reading of Yāj. himself that was being discussed, it would be somewhat strange if it were said that it was opposed to Yāj. and Prakāśa and therefore it is necessary to suppose that Yājñavalkyaprakāśa is one work.

The Vivādacintāmaṇi in several places gives the explanation of Prakāśa.<sup>695</sup> The Smṛtisāra<sup>696</sup> gives at great length the explanation of Prakāśa on the controversial verses of Yāj. (II. 138-139). The Viramitrodaya<sup>697</sup> quotes at length Prakāśa's explanation of Manu (9. 207) and disapproves of it on the ground (among others) that the verse can more clearly be explained so as to convey

693 'आम्नाम्यानेवतानिस्सृष्टीकाभयदाहिमान् । . . श्राद्धकालोपादयेत् ॥ यानेवतः काश्मीरे वोढ इति प्रसिद्धः । प्राचीनामलकमिति प्रकाशकारः ।' श्राद्धसौख्य folio 42 a ( D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87 ).

694 कल्पतरौ तु अविजानतेति स्थाने अभिजानतेति पाठो दर्शितः स तु याज्ञवल्क्यप्रकाश-इलायुध-पारिजातविरोधात् प्रमादपाठ इति लक्षितः । वि. र. p. 198.

695 विद्ययापि साधारणधनानुपश्लेषणं यदर्जितं तदेवाविभाज्यमिति प्रकाशकारः । तन्न उभयोपादानार्थक्यात् । वि. चि. p. 135 ; 'परिसंख्यानचलत्पितृभ्रातृपितृव्येरेव विभागपूर्वकं धनमेलनं संसर्ग इति प्रकाशः ।' वि. चि. p. 157 ; vide pp. 130, 140 also.

696 प्रकाशे तु मृतस्य संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्ट्यपहरेत् गृह्णीयात् । विभागकाले अज्ञातगर्भायां पितृभार्यायां पश्चादुत्पन्नस्यासंसृष्ट्येव दद्यात् । सोदरस्य तु संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्टी सोदरो गृह्णीयान्न भिन्नोदरः संसृष्ट्यपीति पूर्वोक्तस्यापवादः । अन्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी धनं गृह्णीयादिति शेषः । नान्योदर्यधनं हरेदिति संसृष्ट्यपीत्यनेन संबध्यते &c. स्मृतिसार ( I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 148 b ).

697 Vide वीर. p. 572 ; the same also occurs in वि. चि. p. 130.



a meaning similar to that of Yāj. II. 116. The Prakāśa is mentioned in the Dāyatattva ( vol. II, p. 173 ) and in the Śuddhitattva ( vol. II, p. 288 ).

As the Prakāśa is quoted in the Kalpataru it is certainly earlier than 1125. It mentions Medhātithi. Besides the Mit. does not refer to it. There is room for thinking that it follows the Mit. Yāj. II. 116 is, according to the Vivādaratnākara,<sup>698</sup> explained by the Prakāśa in almost the same words as the Mit. It is possible that both borrow from the same original. At all events the Prakāśa must have been composed between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

Hemādri frequently cites a work called Mahārṇavaprakāśa.<sup>699</sup> According to the latter the sandal unguents, flowers, incense, lamp presented in śrāddha are to be offered to the Brāhmaṇas invited and not to the *pitṛs*. In another place Hemādri quotes the explanation of the word ' *nimantrana* ' <sup>700</sup> given by the Mahārṇavaprakāśa. In some places Hemādri refers to a work called Smṛtimahārṇava or simply Mahārṇava.<sup>701</sup> It appears to me that all these three are the names of the same work. The question then arises whether the Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa is the same as the Prakāśa mentioned by the Kalpataru and Caṇḍeśvara. In the present state of our knowledge it appears that they are identical. The Madanapārijāta ( p. 93 ) quotes a verse from the Smṛtimahārṇava about *upākarma*.

#### 75. Pārijāta.

Several works bear the appellation Pārijāta such as the Vidhānapārijāta ( composed in 1625 A. D. ), the Madanapārijāta ( about 1375 A. D. ) and the Prayogapārijāta ( between 1400-1500 ). But

<sup>698</sup> अत्रापि प्रकाशः किञ्चिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कर्तव्यः तत्पुत्राणां विवादनिरूप्यर्थमिति । वि. र. p. 485 ; यत्किञ्चिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कार्यः पित्रा । तत्पुत्रादीनां दायजिघृक्षा मा भूदिति । मिताक्षरा.

<sup>699</sup> किं गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपाच्छादनानि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयान्युत पितृभ्य इति । तत्र तावद्वचना-र्थदर्शनन्यायोपलब्धेर्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयानिति महर्णवप्रकाशकारो मन्थते । चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 1031.

<sup>700</sup> निमन्त्रणं नाम देवपितृकार्यार्थोऽप्रत्यासूयेषो नियोग इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः । अध्येषणपूजकमभ्युपगमसंपादनमिति मेधातिथिमहर्णवप्रकाशकारो । चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 1131 ; vide also p. 1151 for another reference to महर्णवप्रकाश.

<sup>701</sup> तथा च स्मृतिमहाणवे आह बुधः । गर्भाष्टमे वर्षे वसन्ते ब्राह्मण आत्मानमुपनाययेत् । चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 112 ; on pp. 183, 545 of the same only महर्णव occurs.



there was an ancient work called *Pārijāta* quoted by even some of the earliest *nibandhakaras*. The *Kalpataru* several times quotes the views of a work called *Pārijāta*. The *Prakāśa* and *Pārijāta* are frequently mentioned<sup>702</sup> together in the *Kalpataru* and the *Vivādaratnākara*. The latter regarded the *Kalpataru*, *Pārijāta*, *Halāyudha* and *Prakāśa* as its most eminent predecessors.<sup>703</sup> The *Dānaratnākara*<sup>704</sup> quotes several times the views of *Pārijāta* on gifts. The *Smṛtisāra* of *Harinātha* sets out at length the order of succession to a sonless man according to the *Pārijāta* ( vide I. O. Ms. No. 301, folio 134 a ). One of the striking opinions of the *Pārijāta* was that the widow of a sonless man should raise offspring by *niyoga* and give the wealth of the deceased to the son so born.

From the above it appears that the *Pārijāta* was an independent work on *vyavahāra*, *dāna* and other topics. Being quoted by the *Kalpataru* it was earlier than 1125 A. D. and as it held views similar to those of *Bhojadeva* and *Halāyudha* on the widow's rights and as it is not quoted by the *Mit.* or other earlier works it must be assigned to a date between 1000-1125 A. D. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 356 the learned judges hold that the *Pārijāta* frequently cited as an authority by the *Vivādaratnākara* is the *Madanapārijāta*. But this is entirely wrong. The latter work, it will be shown ( vide sec. 93 ), was composed about 1375, while the *Vivādaratnākara* was composed about 1320 A. D. Hence the *Pārijāta* of the *Vivādaratnākara* is the ancient work mentioned in the *Kalpataru*.

#### 76. *Govindarāja*.

The commentary of *Govindarāja* on the *Manusmṛti* was published by *Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik* and a portion of it was published by

<sup>702</sup> कात्यायनः । विष्णुब्रह्मसंज्ञेन चैव नमनत्वपरिमर्दनम् । प्रायो दासीसुताः कुर्युः कक्षादि-  
ग्रहणं च यत् ॥ नमनत्वपरिमर्दनं परिधापनम् । नमनत्वे परिमर्दनं संवाहनमिति पारि-  
जातः । कल्पतरु folio 368 ( Benares S. College Transcript ) ; vide notes  
649 and 690 above.

<sup>703</sup> कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे । यत्सारमस्मादाधिकं च यत्-  
द्वधाति रत्नाकर एक एव ॥ verse at the end of वि. र.

<sup>704</sup> कल्विभ्यस्तु दक्षिणामात्रम् । भूपालसागरपारिजातादयोप्येवम् । दानरत्नाकर folio  
28 a : अथवा तुलापुरुषवर्द्धं गुरवे निवेद्याधमृत्विभ्यो दद्यादिति पारिजातः । *ibid*  
folio 28 b ( about कामधेनुप्रदान ).



Dr. Jolly in the *Manuṭikāsamgraha*. In his commentary<sup>705</sup> on Manu III. 247 and 248 he tells us that he has treated at greater length the subject of those verses in his own work called *Smṛtīmañjarī*. Kullūka<sup>706</sup> in his comment on Manu IV. 212 twits Govindarāja with having explained 'ugra' in one way in his commentary on Manu and in a different way in his *Mañjarī*. A Ms. of a portion of the *Smṛtīmañjarī* exists in the India Office (cat. p. 471).

From these two works a brief account of the personal history of Govindarāja can be extracted. The colophons at the end of the *Manuṭikā* describe Govindarāja as the son of bhaṭṭa Mādhava. The first verse<sup>707</sup> of the *Smṛtīmañjarī* and one at the end (though somewhat corrupt) give the information that he was the son of Mādhava and grand-son of Nārāyaṇa and appears to have lived on the holy banks of the Ganges.<sup>708</sup> Those who like Sarvadhikari identify Govindarāja with Govindacandra, prince of Benares, are therefore entirely wrong since he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a Kṣatriya. The first verse<sup>709</sup> of his *Manuṭikā* contains an obeisance to god (or Śiva) and states that he had received the śāstra of Manu in an unbroken tradition of teacher and pupil and that he had examined previous commentaries of Manu.

705 'साधितं चैतस्सविस्तरं स्मृतिमञ्जर्यामुपपञ्जिकायां च । इह तु ग्रन्थकारभयान्न प्रतार्यते (प्रस्तार्यते !)' on मनु III. 247 ; 'इति सपिण्डीकरणसावित्तारिकेपि स्मृतिमञ्जर्यामुपपञ्जिकायां विस्तरतो निरूप्यते' on मनु III. 248.

706 गोविन्दराजो मञ्जर्यामुप राजानमुक्त्वा । मनुवृत्तौ च श्रद्धायां क्षत्रियोत्पन्नमभ्यधात् ॥

707 स्मृतिविरचितैस्तेष्वधिक्यैर्विस्तृक्किपराङ्मुक्षीमसिलकललब्ध्यालुसार्धमतो व्रतसंहतिम् । अल्लिखदसिला गोविन्दारख्यभिरं गुरुसंश्रयाबुपचिततनुर्हानामोदः स माधवनन्दनः ॥ स्मृतिमञ्जरी 1st verso.

708 स्मृतिमञ्जरी folio 150 b 'स्ववाहिनीपुल्लिनलाञ्छनलब्धकीर्तिनाराम्यस्य तनयात्मज उषिचकाय । वाप्यावलीमसिलसच्चरणावतंसाद् (तंसां ?) गोविन्दराज इह माधव इह भूमिः ( ! इह माधवमुरारयः ) ॥'.

709 संसाराव्यगतागतकुमत्तृषापीयूषमीशं शनैर्ग्यात्वानर्गलसंप्रदायगुरुतः प्राप्ते मनोः शास्त्रे । दृष्ट्वा ग्रन्थरुदाशयाननुसृतिं व्याख्यान्तराणामिमां टीकां शास्त्ररुदाशयानुसरिणीं गोविन्दराजो व्यधात् ॥



The Smṛtis mentioned by him in the two works of his are given below.<sup>710</sup> Besides he mentions the Vāyupurāṇa (on Manu III. 232) and Purāṇa in general (on Manu I. 74 and 80). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras, also the Bahvṛcagṛhyapariśiṣṭa, the Yoga-sūtra. He says (on Manu 2. 23) that Mleccha countries like Āndhra and others were not fit for performing sacrifices. He appears to have held like Medhātithi the view that *mokṣa* was to be attained by a combination of *jñāna* and *karma*.<sup>711</sup> As compared with the bhāṣya of Medhātithi his commentary is very concise. Kullūka largely drew upon Medhātithi and Govindarāja, mentions them hundreds of times, criticizes<sup>712</sup> both of them and particularly holds up Govindarāja to ridicule often enough.<sup>713</sup> Kullūka notes that Govindarāja in opposition to Medhātithi and Bhojadeva arranged Manu 8. 181-184 differently (putting 8. 182 as the last of those four verses). In the printed edition there is no comment of Govindarāja on the verses of the 9th chapter from verse 72. But it appears that the Dāyabhāga had that part of the commentary, as it quotes the views of Govindarāja on the rights of the daughter's son which could have appeared only on Manu IX. 130-136.

A few words may now be said about the Smṛtimanjari, Mss. of which are rare. At the end of the India office Ms. a summary of the contents of the whole work is given (for which see footnote

710 अङ्गिरस्, आपस्तम्ब, उशनस्, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, काश्यप, गौतम, बतुर्विंशतिमत, देवल, नारद, पराशर, पैठीनसि, प्रचेतस्, बृहस्पचेतस्, बृहस्पति, मौधायन, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, बृह्मशातातप, यद्विंशन्मत, संवर्त, सुमन्तु, हारीत.

711 On मनु 2. 28 गोविन्दराज says 'ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयान्मोक्षावाप्ते'.

712 Note the following where गोविन्दराज is criticized by कुल्लुक. मनु. II. 1, 22, 127; III. 11, 53, 127, 129, 285; IV. 7, 162; VI. 14, 79, 86; VII. 94, 211; VIII. 37, 142-143, 184, 333; IX. 68, 136, 141, 162, 206; X. 3; XI. 82, 180; XII. 86.

713 On मनु II. 125, III. 50 and VIII. 37 गोविन्दराज is held up to special ridicule. इन्त गोविन्दराजेन विशेषमविवृण्वता । व्यकमङ्गनिकृतभृतौ स्वदारसुरतं यते ॥ on मनु III. 50 ; स्वेषु तिष्ठन्निवति पद्धितयं न विवक्षितम् । इमां गोविन्दराजस्य राजाह्ना नाद्रियामहे ॥ on मनु V. 104. It should be noted that the printed text of गोविन्दराज on मनु V. 104 is corrupt as it reads 'स्वेषु तिष्ठन्तु विवक्षितम्'.



below ).<sup>714</sup> It appears that the *Smṛtīmañjari* dealt with all principal topics of dharmaśāstra such as the *śāṅkārās*, the daily duties viz: bath, *saṁdhyā*, *brahmayajña*, the duties of the student, householder, the forest hermit, and the *śāṁnyāsīn*, the duties of the four *varṇas*, gifts, the purifications of various materials, foods forbidden and allowed, impurity on birth and death, *śapīṇḍas* and *śāṁāncakās*, funeral rites, *śrāddha* and its various details, *prāyaścitta*. The ms. in the India office deals with the *adhikāri* for *prāyaścitta*, the *parṣat* ( i. e. the assembly of learned men who are to determine what *prāyaścitta* is to be prescribed ), the means of atoning for sins and violations of religious duties, the *prāyaścittas* for the *mahāpātakas* ( viz. the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, drinking wine, theft of gold, incest ) and for other lesser and similar sins, meaning of the word *prāyaścitta*, *prāyaścittas* for killing men of *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* classes and for killing women, *prāyaścittas* for the killing of a cow and of various beasts and birds, *prāyaścittas* for eating forbidden or polluted food and for selling articles forbidden to be sold, secret *prāyaścittas*. The India Office Ms. which deals only with *prāyaścittas* contains 152 folios. This gives us an idea as to how extensive the whole work must have been

714 अस्व सुमतिपत्तये काण्डानि लिख्यन्ते । तत्रादौ परिभाषाकाण्डं गर्भाधानादि उप-  
नयनादि । मन्थोपासनविधिः । अन्ये ब्रह्मचारिधर्माः । अध्ययनादि । पुनरन्ये ब्रह्मचारि-  
धर्माः । ब्रह्मयज्ञाविधिः । विवाहादिगृहस्थधर्माः । शूद्रधर्माः । वृत्त्युपदेशाः । स्नानविधिः ।  
यमनियमकाण्डम् । प्रास्थानिकम् । दानविधिः स्वापविधिः प्रोषितमर्तृकाधर्माः । द्रव्य-  
शुद्धिः मूत्रादिशौचं आचमननिमित्तानि द्विराचमननिमित्तानि आचमनापवादाः ।  
आचमनविधिः । अत्रैव प्रतिषेध्याः । कमण्डलुचर्चा । अन्यदाचमनगतम् । स्नानशुद्धिः ।  
सचेलानि । मक्षालनादिशौचम् । इति कायिकम् । सौवर्णादिशौचं वेलादिशौचं तथा  
सिद्धान्तादि भूम्यादि उदकादि अशुद्धपवादाः । भोजनविधिः । भक्ष्यामक्षयप्रकरणम् ।  
भेतशुद्धिः । ब्राह्मणाशौचं क्षत्रियायाशौचं जननाशौचं, अनुज्जातायाशौचं स्त्रियाशौचं  
सपिण्डसमानोदकत्वं धीजसंख्यायाशौचं देशान्तरमृताशौचमाचार्याशौचमनेकाशौच-  
संनिपातायाशौचम् । निर्हरणादि । अनुगमनायाशौचम् । उदकक्रियादि पिण्डदानादि ।  
अस्थिसंक्षयः । उदकादिनिषेधः । स्पर्शाशौचम् । यमनियमाः । श्राद्धप्रकरणम् ।  
कालादि । ब्राह्मणपरिक्षा । भोजनीयाः । वर्णाभिमन्त्रणादि । देशः कालः । अभ्येवेति-  
कर्तव्यता । ब्राह्मणसंख्या । पुनरन्येति कर्तव्यता । अमावस्यादिश्राद्धम् । एकश्रोत्रं  
सपिण्डीकरणम् । आव्दिदं मातृश्राद्धम् । अन्ये श्राद्धधर्माः । वृद्धिश्राद्धम् । वानप्रस्थ-  
काण्डं प्रयोजितकाण्डम् । शूद्रधर्मकाण्डम् । अनुलोमप्रतिलोम । तद्दृष्ट्युपदेशकाण्डम् ।  
मायश्चित्तकाण्डम् ।



embracing as it did the entire field of dharmaśāstra. In the body of the work contained in the Ms. frequent references occur to other parts of<sup>715</sup> the Smṛtimañjari such as saṁskarakāṇḍa, the abhakṣya-kāṇḍa, the śrāddhakāṇḍa. One interesting fact about Govindarāja is that, though a northerner, he permitted<sup>716</sup> marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter and said that the prohibition against marrying a girl of the maternal uncle's *gotra* applies only to the son of a *putrikā*. The Ms. in the India Office is an ancient one, being copied in *sathvat* 1467, Āśvina dark half, Saturday (i. e. October 1411 A. D.) during the reign of Mahārāja Udayasinha at Vasurāvi (modern Vasravi in the territory of the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda).

Dr. Jolly (Manuikāsaṁgraha, preface page 1 and R. u. S. p. 31) and Dr. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. cxxvii) assigned Govindarāja to the 12th or 13th century. But this date is not correct, as the following discussion will show. Kullūka (vide note 588 above) expressly says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja. Though Medhātithi is nowhere expressly named in his commentary by Govindarāja,<sup>717</sup> the latter appears to have several times criticised

715 परिवित्यादयः संस्कारकाण्डे व्याख्याताः । folio 41 a : वात्याः संस्कारकाण्ड उक्ताः । folio 106 a ; सारसादयो भक्ष्यकाण्डादौ व्याख्याताः folio 58.

716 मातुलस्य सुतामूढा मातृगोत्रा तथैव च । समानप्रवरां चैव द्विजश्रान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥  
नियोगोत्पादितमातुलसुताग्रहणार्थं मातुलस्य सुतामित्येतत् । अन्यथैतन्मातृगोत्रा तथैव चेत्त्यनेनैव गतार्थं स्यात् । अत्र मातृगोत्रपरिणयननिषेधः पुत्रिकापुत्रविषयः । यतः पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापहारका इति । तथा पञ्चमी मातृबन्धुभ्य इत्येवमादि-वाक्यानां परस्परविरुद्धानि च वाक्यानि श्राद्धप्रकरणे उक्तानि । शिष्टैश्चानुष्ठितत्वात् । folio 95 a.

717 On मनु III. 126 गोविन्दराज says 'यत् न त्वेकैकं सर्वेषां पिण्डे व्याख्यातामिति गृह्य-दर्शनात्, निमन्त्रयेत् अथवान् (मनु III. 187) इति चहाभिधानात्, एकैकमुभयत्र वा इत्यस्य विस्तरप्रतिषेधादथवात्स्वमाह तदसत्,' मेधातिथि does quote the passage of the आश्वलायनगृह्य and the verse of मनु (III. 187); on मनु I. 103 गोविन्दराज says 'यथार्थवादाधत्तत्वस्य श्लोकस्य कैश्चिदुक्तं तदसद्व्यर्थमतीतिः (1) । यत्तु अधीयींश्च यो वणाः (मनु X. 1) इत्यादि स वेदविषयोनुवाद इति व्याख्या-स्यामः,' मेधातिथि does take the verse as an अर्थवाद and says 'नात्र कैश्चिद्विधिरास्ति', on मनु XI. 178 मेधातिथि says 'वृषत्यत्र चण्डाल्यभिप्रेता' and गोविन्दराज says 'यत्तु चण्डाल्यत्र वृषलीति व्याचक्षते तदसत्'. Vide also गोविन्दराज on मनु 2. 201. 3. 160, 4. 119, 4. 222, 5. 134, 8. 293, 10. 28.



Medhātithi. Another important circumstance is that though the Mit. mentions Medhātithi and Bhojadeva as great authorities it is silent about Govindarāja. Hence it follows that Govindarāja could not have flourished earlier than Bhojadeva, i. e. earlier than about 1050 A. D. In the Hāratalā of Aniruddha (which as we shall see later on must have been composed about 1160 A. D.) Govindarāja is quoted several times and is looked upon as a great authority like Viśvarūpa, Bhojadeva and Kāmadhenu.<sup>718</sup> This shows that Govindarāja could not have flourished later than 1125 A. D. The Dayabhāga<sup>719</sup> (in *Dubīṭradbhikara*) disapproves of the view of Govindarāja who placed the daughter's son before a married daughter as an heir. In his Kālaviveka<sup>720</sup> also Jīmūtavāhana refers to Govindarāja in the same breath with Bhojarāja and Viśvarūpa. In his Vyavaharamātṛkā<sup>721</sup> he refers to Mañjarīkāra as having held the same view as Viśvarūpa. Mañjarī here must be taken to be the Smṛtimañjarī of Govindarāja, since Jīmūtavāhana in his other works refers to Govindarāja, since Kullūka also speaks of the Mañjarī of Govindarāja (vide note 706 above) and since there is no other known ancient work of that name on dharmasāstra. This shows that the Mañjarī comprised a discussion on *vyavahāra* also. Hemādri<sup>722</sup> tells that the author of the work called Paṇḍitaparitoṣa refuted the views of Govindarāja on the performance of śrāddha on the 13th tithi by a man having a son. This shows that Govindarāja must have preceded Hemādri (who wrote in the latter half of the 13th century) by at least a century or more. The Smṛtyarthasāra<sup>723</sup> of Śrīdhara relies on the views of Govindarāja in its section on

718 Vide note 592 above : ' इति गोविन्दराजलिखितवृद्धप्रचेतोवचनात् ' हारलता p. 166;

तद्गोविन्दराजविश्वरूपकामधेनुकारेण लिखितमिति अमूलमेव प्रतिभाति । हारलता p. 174.

719 तथा गोविन्दराजेन मनुटीकायां-अपुत्रपौत्रसंताने पौत्रा दौहित्रका मताः-एतद्विष्णुवचन-चलेन ऊढातः प्रागेव दौहित्रस्याधिकारो दर्शितः । स चास्मभ्यं न गेचते । दायभाग.

720 यद्यपि भोजराजविश्वरूपगोविन्दराजैर्हंयतया न लिखितानि तथाप्युपन्यस्य व्याख्यायन्ते । कालविवेक p. 304.

721 मञ्जरीकारस्यापि विश्वरूपसमानलक्ष्यतया समानमेव दूषणम् । व्यवहारमातृका p. 347.

722 पण्डितपरितोषकारस्त्वेवं गोविन्दराजमतं प्रतिचिक्षेप । ... तस्माद्विचारितमनोहरे गोविन्द-  
राजव्याख्याने नानावाद्ः कार्यः । चतुर्वर्ग ० III. 2. p. 481.

723 संन्यासस्य विधिं कृत्स्नं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः । गोविन्दराजस्य मतं बोधायनमतं यथा ॥  
स्मृत्यधेनुर । p. 96.



sarṇnyāsa. A greater approximation as to the date of Govindarāja can be made if it can be held that a passage of the Kalpataru<sup>724</sup> refers to Govindarāja by the word 'Vṛttikāra' where he quotes the explanation of the word 'anapasara' occurring in Manu 8. 198 given by Bhāguri, Medhātithi and Vṛttikāra. Govindarāja does explain that word in that way. If Govindarāja is mentioned in the Kalpataru, the former must be earlier than 1100 A. D. Even if he be not mentioned as Vṛttikāra by the Kalpataru still he must have flourished before 1140 A. D. as he is named by the Hāralatā. Hence the period of Govindarāja is between 1050 to 1100 or 1140 A. D. Govindarāja will have to be pushed back between 1050-1080 A. D. if Jimūtavāhana flourished between 1090 to 1140 A. D., as is held by many. But as the latter's date is a very controversial subject, no argument is based on his date in the preceding discussion.

### 77. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara

This work exercised great influence over the early writers of Mithilā, Bengal and northern India in general. It was a very extensive work, but unfortunately no complete Ms. of the whole work has yet been found, nor has any portion of it been printed.

The work was divided into several kāṇḍas. The Mss. generally point out the position of each kāṇḍa in the whole work, i. e. the rājadharmakāṇḍa is described as the 11th kāṇḍa and vyavahāra as the 12th. The whole work is described as Kṛtyakalpataru or simply Kalpataru and some times it is paraphrased into Kalpadruma or Kalpavṛkṣa (as in the Vivādaratnākara, note 652 above). The most complete Ms. at present known is that in the library of the Maharana of Udaipur (Peterson's First Report 1883, pp. 108-111) which contains 12 kāṇḍas (the first being incomplete) and has 1108 folios. I was able to see three kāṇḍas, viz : Rājadharmā, Vyavahāra and Dāna.

In the colophons and introductory verses the author is said to be Lakṣmīdhara, son of Bhāṭṭa-Hṛdayadhara and to have been the minister for peace and war of king Govindacandra. The intro-

<sup>724</sup> अनपसरः अपसरत्यनेन स्वामिनः सकाशाद्नर्मितं प्रतिग्रहादिधनगमेषापोसरः स न विद्यते यस्य स तथा । एतच्च भागुरिमेधालिधिवृत्तिकारणां मतम् । कल्पतरु folio 332 ( of the Benares S. College transcript ). This very passage of the कल्पतरु is quoted in the वि. र. p. 104, thereby showing that it is a genuine text.



ductory<sup>725</sup> verse to the Rājadharmakāṇḍa says that it was the skilful statesmanship of Lakṣmīdhara that enabled Govindacandrā to vanquish his opponents. The colophon at the end of the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa conveys the information that Lakṣmīdhara was directed by king Govindacandra to compose the work. The work is in the nature of a digest. It brings together various passages of smṛtis, purāṇas and other works on the several topics of *dharma* with brief explanations and comments. Though the work is much vaster than the Mit. it is inferior to the latter in acumen, erudition, comprehensive grasp of principles and powers of exegesis. The kāṇḍas are arranged in the following order in the Mss. so far found :— (1) Brahmācārī, (2) Grhastha, (3) Naiyatakāla (or-kālikā), (4) Śrāddha, (5) Dāna, (6) Pratiṣṭhā, (7) wanting, (8) Tīrtha, (9) wanting, (10) Śuddhi, (11) Rājadharmā, (12) Vyavahāra, (13) Śānti (or Śāntika-pauṣṭika), (14) Mokṣa. M. M. Chakravarti suggests (JASB. 1915 pp. 358-359) that the 7th and 9th were probably Pūjā-kāṇḍa and Prāyaścitta-kāṇḍa. In the several Tattvas of Raghunandana ten of these kāṇḍas are named, viz. brahmācārī, naiyatakālikā, śrāddha, dāna, pratiṣṭhā, tīrtha, prāyaścitta (in Prāyaścitta-tattva p. 522, vol. I), vivāda (in Prāyaścitta-tattva p. 533, vol. I), śāntika-pauṣṭika (in Malamāsātattva p. 796, vol. I) and uttaramimāṃsā, i. e. mokṣa (in Ekādaśitattva p. 9, vol. II).

The Vyavahāra portion of the Kalpataru contained the usual topics, viz : the king's duty to look into the litigation of the people, the judge, the constitution of the *sabha*, meaning of vyavahāra, the plaint (*bhāṣa*), the reply (*uttara*), the means of proof, enumeration of the titles of law, the various kinds of punishments, units of measures etc., *ṛyādāna*, surety, sale without ownership,

725 न्याये कर्मणि यज्जागृणवतां गेहेषु यद्वाप्तिनो राज्ञां मूर्धनि यत्तदं व्यरचयद्भोविन्दचन्द्रो नृपः । तत्सर्वं सलु यस्य मन्त्रमहिमाश्रयं स लक्ष्मीधरः काण्डे शंसति राजधर्मनिचयानेकादशे पुण्यधीः ॥ Intro. verse to I. O. ms. 852 : ' इति श्रीभोविन्दमहाराजसान्धिविब्रह्मिकश्रीलक्ष्मीधरभट्टविरचिते कृत्यकल्पतरौ राजधर्मकाण्डः संपूर्णः ' colophon to above; नानाशास्त्रवचोविचारचतुरे प्रज्ञायलरथापितं व्याख्यादिव्यवहारमागंविशदास्तास्ताः प्रगल्भा गिरः । यस्याकरार्थं (?) विपश्चितां प्रतिसमं रोमाश्रमातन्वते काण्डे स व्यवहारमत्र तनुते लक्ष्मीधरो द्वादश ॥ Intro. verse to ms. of व्यवहारकाण्डः, इति महासाम्बिकविब्रह्मिकेण भट्टहृदयधरात्मजश्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरेण विरचितं कृत्यकल्पतरौ व्यवहारकाण्डादिकं समाप्तम् ।



partnership and the other titles of law. In the Rājadharmakāṇḍa, the topics discussed are : eulogy of the institution of king, coronation, councillors, forts, palaces, the government of the country, treasury, punishments, allies, guarding the heir-apparent, settling of policy, the six expedients, marching against an enemy, festivals like Kaumudī and raising the *dhvaja* ( banner ), *pūjā* on Mahānavamī, gifts and letting loose of cows and bulls. In the Dānakāṇḍa the usual subjects are discussed, such as what should be donated and what not, the persons fit to receive gifts, the *mahādānas*, the lesser *dānas* &c. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. VI, p. 247 for the nitya-kālakriyā-kāṇḍa ( 3rd ) and vol. VIII, pp. 296-297 for the Mokṣa-kāṇḍa.

The Kalpataru generally quotes only the *smṛti* writers, the epics and the purāṇas. It is only in the vyavahāra-kāṇḍa that several *nibandhas* and their authors are quoted. Among these are Medhātithi, a *bhāṣya-kāra* on Śāukha-Likhita, Prakāśa, Pārijāta, Vijñāneśvara, Halāyudha, Kāmadhenu. Dr. Jolly ( R. u. S. p. 35 ) had noticed that Lakṣmīdhara quotes only Medhātithi and did not know that he names so many authors.

The date of Lakṣmīdhara can be settled within very narrow limits. He quotes Vijñāneśvara and therefore he must be later than 1100 A. D. The Kalpataru is quoted by the Karmopadeśint of Aniruddha written about 1160 A. D. ( vide I. O. cat. p. 474-75 ). Hence it must have been written between 1100 and 1150 A. D., and probably in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century. A Ms. of the Kalpataru found in Nepal is dated *samvat* 1233 i. e. 1176-77 A. D. ( Vide M. M. Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Mss. p. 106 ). The same date is arrived at in another way. He was the minister of king Govindacandra. This must be Govindacandra, the Gahadavāla or Rathor emperor of Kanoj, whose inscriptions range from 1104 A. D. to 1154 A. D. and who reigned from about 1114 to 1156 ; vide I. A. vol. 14, p. 103 ( of *samvat* 1161 ), E. I. vol. II. p. 559, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 104-109, E. I. vol. V. pp. 16-20, E. I. vol. VIII. p. 149 ff ( for five copper-plates the last of which is dated *samvat* 1207, i. e. 1150 A. D. ), E. I. vol. IX. p. 319 ( for the Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevī ), I H Q. vol. V. p. 86 ff.

The influence the Kalpataru exercised on succeeding generations was very great. The most eminent Bengal writers, such as Aniruddha, Ballālasena, Śulapāṇi and Raghunandana quote him with



respect. In Mithilā his influence was felt perhaps even more than in Bengal. The Vivādaratnākara<sup>726</sup> of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the work hundreds of times and practically plagiarises much that was valuable in it. In fact he quotes the Kalpataru oftener than any other *nibandhakāra* and expressly names it as the first of his predecessors on whom he relies ( vide note 703 above ). The Smṛtisāra<sup>727</sup> of Harinātha quotes him frequently and so does the Ācārādarsa of Śrīdatta. It made a deep impression even in Western and Southern India. Hemādri refers to it and the Sarasvatī-vilāsa<sup>728</sup> quotes the work frequently and applies the highly honorific epithet 'bhagavān' to Lakṣmīdhara. As better and more compact digests came to be composed in later times, the Kalpataru fell more and more into obscurity. It is for this reason that Mss. of the work are rare. Yet even the Dattakamīmāṃsā,<sup>729</sup> the Viramitrodaya<sup>730</sup> and the Tōḍarānanda<sup>731</sup> make frequent mention of its views.

#### 78. Jīmūtavāhana

Jīmūtavāhana is the first of the triumvirate of Bengal writers on *dharmaśāstra*, the other two being Śulapāṇi and Raghunandana. Only three works of his are known and they have all been printed viz: the Kālaviveka ( B. I. series, 1905 ), the Vyavahāramātrkā ( published in the memoirs of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. III., No. 5, pp. 277-353, edited by the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji ), the Dāyabhāga ( published several times ). It appears that these works

726 वि. र. p. 130 refers to the गृहस्थकण्ड of the कल्पतरु.

727 Vide I. O. cat. No. 301 where the स्मृतिसार ( folio 145 b ) sets out कल्पतरौ अपुत्रधनाधिकारः.

728 Para 709 ( Foulke's edition ) ' एतच्च लक्ष्मीधराचार्यमतमतिगम्भीरं दिङ्मात्रमुदाहृतम् ' ; vide para. 628 for भगवौलक्ष्मीधरः ; vide pp. 346, 421 of the Mysore edition.

729 On the verse of मनु ' माता पिता वा &c. ( 9. 168 ) the दत्तकर्ममोसा says ' यच्च शुद्धोपि किल पुत्रो भवतीत्यभिप्राय इति कल्पतरुव्याख्यानं तत्सजानीयेष्वयं प्रोक्तस्तनयेषु मया विधिगिन्युदाहृतयोगीश्वरवचनविरोधात् &c. '

730 Vide बीर, pp. 303, 531, 606, 641 &c. for reference to the views of the कल्पतरु.

731 ' व्यतीपातो गणितागतचन्द्रसूयक्रान्तिसाम्यकाल इति कल्पतरुः । योगविशेष इति मिताक्षर । ' श्राद्धसौख्य ( D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87 ).



were intended to form part of a vast treatise on dharmaśāstra called *Dharmaratna*, as stated in the *Kālaviveka*.<sup>732</sup> In this work I have used the edition of the *Dāyabhāga* printed in 1829.

The *Kālaviveka* as its name implies contains discussions as to the appropriate seasons, months and times for the performance of religious rites and duties, the determination of intercalary months, the question whether the month for certain festivals and rites was to be solar or lunar, the proper time for the cessation and starting of Vedic studies (Utsarjana and Upākarma), the rise of Agastya, the four months during which Viṣṇu was supposed to sleep on the ocean, the times for various festivals including the *Kojāgara* and the *Durgotsava*, the eclipses. The work is named *Kālaviveka* not only in the colophon, but also in the body itself.<sup>733</sup> Some of the sections of the work also are styled *viveka* (e. g. *Amāvāsya-viveka* pp. 354-365, *dvirāśādhaviveka* pp. 169-174). The object with which the work was composed is stated in the 2nd verse<sup>734</sup> as follows:—‘*Kāla*’ (the topic of proper times for religious duties) has not been understood by some writers; it has been based upon ancient texts and compressed into narrow compass by others; therefore it is dealt with by me in such a way as to be easily understood even by dull-witted persons.’ M. M. Chakravarti (JASB 1915 p. 314) draws from this the conclusion that ‘no previous treatise specially dealing with *Kāla* alone was known to the author’. This is not a sound conclusion. All that *Jimūtavāhana* claims is that he has made the subject of *Kāla* extremely easy. As a matter of fact in one verse he brings together seven predecessors<sup>735</sup> who dwelt upon *Kāla* in their works. As long

732 बहुविधविवादनिमित्तस्तं यत्तु रवेः शशाङ्कन्य । तद्भर्मन्तदीपालोकात्सकलं विलोकयन् ॥  
इति पारिभाषीयमहमहोपाध्यायजीमूतवाहनकृतौ धर्मरत्ने कालविवेकः समाप्तः । last  
verse and colophon of कालविवेक; similarly the colophon of the दायभाग  
is ‘इति पारिभाषीय ... धर्मरत्ने दायभागः समाप्तः’.

733 ‘कृतमलगतामलकमिव कालं चालोपि यक्षितं येन । जीमूतवाहनकृतः कालविवेकः परं  
जयति ॥’ p. 380.

734 कालः कैश्चिद्वुद्धः (० बुद्धः!) कैश्चित्संक्षिप्तश्च वचननिबद्धः । इति मन्दमतीनामपि  
सुबोधकरणो मया क्रियते ॥ 2nd verse of कालविवेक. The 2nd pāda has 19  
mātrās. Should we read वचनबद्धः?

735 जितेन्द्रिय-शङ्खधरा-धूक-संभ्रम-हविर्वा-धवल-योग्लोके । कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निः-  
सारतां याति ॥ कालविवेक p. 380.



as the works of all these writers are not recovered it is impossible to assert that Jimūtavāhana had before him no previous work dealing specially with *Kāla*. Besides the astronomical and astrological works of ancient writers such as those of Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta, the ancient smṛtis and purāṇas, the important works and authors mentioned are enumerated in the note below.<sup>736</sup> Most of these *nibandhakāras* are quoted by him in his two other works also. Yogiśvara<sup>737</sup> seems to be an author different from Yājñavalkya who also is styled Yogiśvara, since the view ascribed to him is not found in Yāj. In some copies of the Mit. also an author<sup>738</sup> Yogiśvara is named who explained the conflicting texts about a widow's right to succeed to her husband. But Yogiśvara in the Mit. is probably a misprint or copyist's error for Dhāreśvara as some Mss. read Dhāreśvara. In the *Kālaviveka* Jimūtavāhana makes frequent and effective use of *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* maxims<sup>739</sup> and shows that he had made a profound study of that system. In the *Durgotsaviveka*<sup>740</sup> of Śūlapāṇi the *Kālaviveka* is quoted. It is also quoted in the *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati, in the *Śrāddhakaumudī* (p. 328) and *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda and in several *Tattvas* of Raghunandana, e. g. *Mālamāsa* p. 773, vol. I and *Ekādaśī* pp. 49, 341, vol. II.

736 अन्धूक, अमरकोश, उत्पल, (p. 254), गोविन्दराज, जितेन्द्रिय, दीक्षित, (p. 92), धवल, पञ्चिकाकामिश्र (p. 63), माजदेव (p. 290), भवधन (p. 423), भागुरि (p. 14), योगेश्वर (p. 200), योगलोक, धर्मिककालपाद (p. 79), विष्णुरूप (p. 304), शङ्करगीता (p. 477), शङ्करधर, पद्मशिखर, संभ्रमभट्ट, स्मृतिमीमांसा, स्मृतिसमुच्चय (p. 102), हरिवंश.

737 'कन्यायां श्रावणद्वये प्रथमे शक्रोत्थानं द्वितीये तु दुर्गाया इति योगेश्वरेण व्याख्यातो द्विषाणकल्पः स पुनरनुपपन्न इति मन्यामहे ।' कालविवेक p. 200 : vide p. 237 also 'तत्र योगेश्वरमते वृश्चिके चोत्थानप्रसक्ते' from which जैमूतवाहन differs.

738 एवमादीनां विरुद्धार्थानां वाक्यानां योगेश्वरेण (v. l. धातेश्वरेण) व्यवस्था दर्शिता । पत्नी गृह्णीयादित्येतद्वचनजानं विभक्तधानृत्स्वीविषयम् । सा च यदि नियोगार्थिनी भवति । मित्ता० on याज्ञ II. 135.

739 e. g. on p. 13 देशभेदेन चान्द्रे सौमे च प्रयोगदर्शनात् विशेषानवधारणात् । न च यव-पराहवत् प्रयोगान्निर्णयः । उभयोरपि तद्विशेषात् । This refers to जैमिनि I. 3. 8-9.

740 कन्यासंस्थे रवौ वसन्तशुक्लमास्य नन्दिकाम् । नन्दिका प्रतिपदिनि जैमूतवाहनः । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक (p. 6 Sanskrit Sahityaparīṣad ed.) ; vide कालविवेक p. 513 for this. The वषाक्रियाकौमुदी p. 51 quotes a text from कालविवेक which occurs on pp. 443 and 447 of the latter.



The Vyavahāramātrkā as its very name implies deals with the elements of vyavahāra (i. e. judicial procedure). It speaks of the eighteen titles of law, the derivation of the word prādvivāka (judge), the persons fit to be appointed judges, different grades of courts, duties of *sabhyas*, four stages of vyavahāra, pūrvaapakṣa (plaint), pratibhū (surety), blemishes in a plaint, *uttara* (reply of the defendant), four kinds of *uttara*, blemishes in *uttara*, *kriyā* (proof or burden of proof), divine (*daiṇi*) and human (*manuṣi*) proof (viz : ordeals, inference, witnesses, documents, possession), persons incompetent to be witnesses. Ordeals have not been dealt with by the author. The first verse of the work<sup>741</sup> styles it Vyavahāramātrkā. The last verse<sup>742</sup> but one suggests the name Nyāyamātrkā which practically is a synonym of Vyavahāra-mātrkā and the colophon at the end of a ms. in the Deccan College collection calls it Nyāyaratnamālikā.

About twenty smṛtikāras<sup>743</sup> are mentioned in the Vyavahāramātrkā. Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati and Nārada are the three smṛtikāras most frequently quoted, nearly two-thirds of the quotations in the entire work being derived from them. Among the *nibandhakāras* the following are named :— Jitendriya, Dikṣita, ( p. 302 ), Bāla ( p. 346, the same as Bālaka ), Bhojadeva ( pp. 284, 305 ), Mañjarikāra ( i. e. Govindarāja ), Yogloka, Viśvarūpa, Śrikara ( pp. 292, 334 or Śrikaramiśra p. 342 ). About Viśvarūpa he says<sup>744</sup> ' I have put forward this conclusion of the ancient writers, I have

741 व्यवहारमातृकैषा सकलविवादेषु धर्मवादाधर्मः । लोकद्वयेषु रक्षति सुतमिव युष्मत्पया माता ॥

742 परिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः धीमाश् जीमूतवाहनः । विदुषां परितोषाय निममे न्यायमातृकाम् ॥

743 They are उशनस्, कात्यायन, बृहत्कात्यायन, कौण्डिन्य, गौतम, नारद, पितामह, प्रजापति, बृहस्पति, मनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, लिखित, बृहद्दक्षिण, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, बृह-शातातप, संवर्त, हरित.

744 मया प्राचां निबन्धधृणमियं वापि ( वाणी ! ) पुरस्कृता । दूषणं विश्वरूपादेर्निराकृत्य प्र-  
खितम् ॥ p. 352. M. M. Chakravarti is not right in taking ( JASB 1915 p. 317 ) ' prācām ' to mean ' eastern ' in this verse, as in the previous verse also जीमूतवाहन refers ' to all munis ' and ' former works ' ' इति सकलमुनीनां मुक्तिवाक्यं विमुक्ष्य स्वरसन इह सोर्थो गम्यते न्यायतश्च । स पुनरुप-  
निबन्धो ( हो ! ) गृह्णात बुद्धिमद्भिर्भवति यदि न जाड्यं श्रद्धया प्राकृतेषु ' ॥



refuted the objections of Viśvarūpa and others and dealt with them at length.' Yogloka and Śrīkara are generally quoted for being refuted and the former is frequently jeered at as 'tārkikam-manyā' or 'nava-tārkikam-manyā'. In this work Jimūtavāhana displays great familiarity with the ancient dialectics. In some cases what the printed text exhibits<sup>745</sup> as prose really constitutes verses. Sir Asutosh Mukerji is not accurate when he says in the preface that 'Jimūtavāhana refers to a number of jurists not mentioned by any other author, e. g. Jitendriya, Yogloka, Bālaka, Viśvarūpa, Śrīkara and Mañjarikāra.' It has been shown above that both Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara have been mentioned by the Mit. which is certainly earlier than Jimūtavāhana and by a host of other writers who were either earlier than or contemporaries of Jimūtavāhana. The Vyavahāramātrkā is quoted in the Vyavahārtattva<sup>746</sup> ( pp. 199, 214, vol. II ) and the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana.

The Dāyabhāga is the most famous of Jimūtavāhana's works. In matters of Hindu law such as inheritance, partition, *strīdhana*, re-union, it is of paramount authority in modern British Indian courts in Bengal, except in those cases where the Mitākṣarā is applicable. The names of more than a dozen commentators of it are known and Pandit Bharatacandra Siromani published it with seven commentaries ( 1863-1866 ). It was translated into English by Colebrooke. In many editions ( such as that of Jivananda ) it is divided into sections though there were no divisions in the original work. The contents of the Dāyabhāga are :— Definition of dāya ; father's power over ancestral property ; partition of father's and grand-father's property ; division among brothers after their father's death ; definition, classification and devolution of *strīdhana* ; persons excluded from inheritance and partition on the ground of disabilities ; property which is impartible ( in its very nature or because it is self-acquired ) ; order of succession to one dying sonless ; re-union, partition of coparcenary property concealed but discovered afterwards, *indicia* of partition.

745 e. g. on p. 348 the words 'तस्माद्वकाशकुसुमसमान एव प्रमाणभावोऽस्याः । मुक्ते-  
दूरनिर्गतं लिखितादिभ्यो बलीयस्त्वम् ॥' constitute an Āryā. Similarly on  
p. 349 the words ' तस्मादस्मान्निगियमुक्ता भुक्तः प्रमाणात् धान्नैः । ... स्ववचनमात्रा-  
धीनस्त्वत्फलत्वात्प्रमाणं सा ॥' make two Āryās.

746 'मुक्तिमार्गः स च लोकव्यवहारः इति व्यवहारमार्तृका' व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 199, vol. II.



Some of the peculiar doctrines of the *Dāyabhāga* which are of fundamental importance and which sharply distinguish it from the *Mit.* are : sons have no interest in ancestral property by birth, sons can claim partition only after extinction of their father's ownership ( i. e. after his death or on his becoming *palita* or a *satinyāsin* ) or partition can take place between father and sons if the father so desires, a widow succeeds to her husband's interest on his death even if he be joint with his brother, the right to take a deceased person's estate is regulated by the spiritual benefit conferred by the person claiming as heir ( by means of the offering of *pinḍas* ) and not by the principle of consanguinity ( as in the *Mit.* ).<sup>747</sup>

Besides the *smṛtikāras*,<sup>748</sup> the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* the following authors are referred to by name in the *Dāyabhāga* :—*Udgrāhamalla*, *Govindarāja* ( as author of *Manuṭikā* ), *Jiten-driya*, *Dikṣita*, *Bālaka*, *Bhojadeva* or *Dhāreśvara*, *Viśvarūpa* and *Śrīkara*. *Udgrāhamalla* is referred to on the distribution of *stridhana* and it is said that *Udgrāhamalla* ( i. e. his view ) is throttled<sup>749</sup> by the text of *Devala*. It appears therefore that *Udgrāhamalla* was not a *smṛti* writer, but a *nibandhakāra*. *Dikṣita*<sup>750</sup> is credited with the view that, among daughters, those who have sons or are likely to have sons are preferred to those who are either barren, widowed or who give birth to daughters alone and the *Dāyabhāga* approves of this view. There is one more writer who is referred to twice with great respect as *Niravadyavidyodyota*.

747 Note the following ' तदेवं पितृस्वत्वापगम एकः कालोऽपरश्चानपगत एव पितुः स्वाम्ये पितुरिच्छयेति कालद्वयम् । ' *दायभाग* p. 38 ; अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्तत्वायनपेक्ष-  
येवापुत्रस्य मर्तुः रुत्सधने पत्न्यधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदर्णीयः । p. 256 ; उप-  
कारकत्वेनैव धनसंबन्धो मन्वादीनामभिमत इति मन्यते इति निरवद्यविद्योद्योतेन योतितो-  
यमर्थो विद्वद्भिरादर्णीयः । p. 336.

748 The *स्मृतिकार* named are : *उशनस्*, *कात्यायन*, *बृहकात्यायन*, *गौतम*, *दक्ष*, *देवल*,  
*नारद*, *पैठीनसि*, *बृहस्पति*, *मनु*, *बृहस्पन्*, *यम*, *याज्ञवल्क्य*, *विष्णु*, *व्यास*, *शङ्खलिसित*,  
*बृहशानानप*, *झरीत*.

749 एतावताप्युद्वाहमलस्य देवलवचनं गलहस्तः यथा सामान्यं पुत्रकन्यानां मृतायां स्त्रीधनं  
क्षियाम् । *दायभाग* p. 127.

750 अतः पुत्रवती संभावितपुत्रा चाधिकारिणी । वन्म्यात्वविधवात्वदुहितृप्रसूत्वादिना विपर्यस्त-  
पुत्रा पुनरनधिकारिण्येवेति दीक्षितमतमादर्णीयम् । *दायभाग* p. 271.



Whether this is a mere description or title (‘the refulgence of whose learning is spotless’) or whether the author’s name was Uddyota and *niravadyavidya* (‘whose learning is spotless’) is an epithet, it is difficult to say. For a correct knowledge of the origin and development of the theory of spiritual benefit propounded in the *Dayabhāga*, it would be extremely desirable to know who this writer was, as *Jimūtavāhana* tells us that that view was brilliantly set forth by *Niravadyavidyodyota*. The same writer is also quoted on the well known verse of *Yājñavalkya* ‘*bhūryā pitāmahopātā &c.*,’ which is the sheet-anchor of *Vijñaneśvara*’s theory about the son’s rights by birth in ancestral family property.<sup>751</sup>

*Jimūtavāhana* gives very little information about himself. In the colophons of his works he is described as *Paribhadriya Mahāmahopādhyāya* and at the end of the *Vyavahāramātrkā* (vide note 742 above) he tells us that he was born of the *Paribhadra* family (*kula*).<sup>752</sup> It is said that this name of the family still survives in the *Parihal* or *Pari Gai*, a section of *Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas* (*Ghose’s Hindu Law*, 3rd edition, pp. xvi-xviii and *JASB* 1915 p. 320). It is also said that *Edumīśra* in his *Kulakārikā* tells us that *Jimūtavāhana* was chief judge in the reign of *Viṣvak-sena* of Bengal and that he was 9th in descent from *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*, one of the five *Brāhmaṇas* brought by *Ādiśūra*. The information supplied by the match-makers of Bengal is, as shown above, not worth reliance, unless corroborated by independent evidence. It is also said that for fourteen generations the *Brāhmaṇas* of *Parigrāma* have been degraded and so *Jimūtavāhana* would not have paraded the fact that he was *Paribhadriya* if at the time when he wrote his subcaste had been degraded (*Intro. to Kālaviveka* p. viii). The fact that *Jimūtavāhana* was a native of *Rāḍhā* is testified by his statement in the *Kālaviveka* that *Agastya* (*Canopus*) rose in *Ujjayini*

751 यत्तु याज्ञवल्कीयवचनं-भूया . . . भयोः-तस्य निरवद्यविद्योद्योतेन शोतितस्तत्त्वतो-  
मर्थः । यत्र द्वयोर्भ्रात्रो जीवित्पितृकयोः प्राप्तभागयोरेकः पुत्रानुत्पाद्य विनश्यन्त्यो जीवति  
अनन्तरं पिता मृतस्तत्र पुत्र एव तद्धनं प्राप्नोत्यतिसंनिकषात् । तदर्थं सदृशं स्वाम्यमिति  
वचनम् । p. 50.

752 In some editions of the *Dayabhāga*, the last verse is पाणिभद्रकूलोद्भूतः श्रीमान्  
जीमूतवाहनः । *Dayabhāga* चकारेम विदुषा संशयच्छिदे ॥



when four days of the month of Bhādrapada remained, but that in Rādhā Agastya rose when seven days of the month were yet to run.<sup>751</sup>

Extremely divergent views have been held as to the date of Jimūtavāhana. He has been assigned to various dates from the 11th to the 16th century. In L. R. 41 I. A. at p. 298 it is said by their Lordships of the Privy Council that the Mit. was earlier by five centuries than Jimūtavāhana. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) assigns him to the 15th century. For a statement of the various dates and their examination the article of M. M. Chakravarti in JASB. for 1915, pp. 321-327 and Mr. Panchanan Ghosh's learned article in 26 Calcutta Law Journal (journal portion p. 17 ff.) may be consulted. Since Jimūtavāhana mentions Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva and Govindarāja, he cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century. Since he is quoted by Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati-miśra and Raghunandana, he cannot be later than the middle of the 15th century. The Kālaviveka furnishes important data. On a ms. of the Kālaviveka there is a note made about the birth-date of the son of a certain Ghaṭakasiṃha with the horoscope of the child. The year specified therein is *śake* 1417, i. e. 1495 A. D. It follows from this that the Ms. itself must have been copied sometime before this and the original work must be much earlier still. So the Kālaviveka cannot be placed at any rate later than about 1400 A. D.

In the Kālaviveka Jimūtavāhana tells us that his predecessor Andhuka<sup>752</sup> exhibited a certain astronomical matter in *śake* 952 (i. e. 1030 A. D.) and that he declared an intercalary month in *śake* 955.

Similarly Jimūtavāhana expatiates upon several<sup>753</sup> minute astro-

753 तथाहि गढादिषु समदिनावशिष्टे भाद्रे तस्योदयः । उज्जयिन्यां च दिनचतुष्टयावशिष्टे ।  
कालविवेक p. 290 ; vide p. 291 also.

754 एवंविध एव कार्तिके द्वापञ्चाशदधिकनवशतसंख्याते शकाब्दे अन्धुकादिर्देशितवान् ।  
कालविवेक p. 51 ; तथाहि पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिकनवशतसंख्यके शकाब्दे तुल्यसंक्रान्तिमा-  
वास्यायां भूता . . . अन्धुकेन लिखितः । कालविवेक p. 119.

755 ननु सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्भिन्नगतिस्थित्येषा अमावास्या दृश्यते । तथा च चतुर्दशोत्तमसहस्र-  
शकवत्सरे सिंहस्थे रवौ द्वित्रिदण्डान् चतुर्दशी परतोऽल्लेषानक्षत्रं समदण्डान् परतो मघा



nomical and astrological details which were observed in the *śake* years 1013 and 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A.D.). It is impossible to suppose that an author would enter into such minute details about a time which was anterior to his own by centuries. Generally astronomical works take for their calculations starting points or years which were within their own experience or very nearly so. Therefore it appears to be a sound conclusion to hold that the *Kālaviveka* was composed soon after *śake* 1013 or 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A.D.). Hence it follows that the literary activity of Jimūtavāhana lay between 1090 and 1130 A.D. The *Kālaviveka* seems to be his first work. The *Vyavahāramātrika* would naturally come before the *Dāyabhāga*. He seems to have contemplated writing<sup>756</sup> on *ṛṇādāna* also, as he says in the *Dāyabhāga* that a certain matter would be expounded by him in *ṛṇādāna*.

The most cogent argument that can be advanced against the above early date assigned to Jimūtavāhana is that neither Jimūtavāhana nor any of his compositions is mentioned by Bengal writers and works on *Dharmaśāstra* belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries such as the *Hāralatā*, the commentary of Kullūka etc. No satisfactory explanation can be offered of this silence. But is is a very precarious thing to conclude from this silence that Jimūtavāhana's works did not exist during those centuries. It is safer to base conclusions about his date on the positive evidence contained in his works rather than rely upon the negative argument from silence in later works. When some of his commentators say that he criticises the views of Caṇḍeśvara, Miśra and others we should not take them seriously. The commentators had no idea of the exact chronological position of writers long anterior to them. All they mean is that Jimūtavāhana criticises views that were shared also by Caṇḍeśvara and others. Another important question is whether Jimūtavāhana who is certainly a little later than the Mit.

तेनाश्लेषासमयेऽमावास्यायां कर्कटे चन्द्रः सिंहे चादित्यः । कालविवेक p. 21; तथा त्रयोदशोत्तरशकाब्दशेषे मीनस्थे सूर्ये पूर्वोत्तरफाल्गुनीष्यान्ता पूर्णिमा तदनन्तरं मेघसूर्ये हस्तचित्राभ्यां शुक्ला पूर्णिमा हस्तयोगात्फाल्गुनोप्यसौ त्रयोदशोत्तरसहस्राब्दयिकुम्भादित्यात्मभूति चतुर्दशोत्तरसहस्राब्दान्तमानभोगपर्यन्तेन मासद्वयलोपः । कालविवेक p. 45.

756 Vide also pp. 41, 46-49.

756 एतच्च विस्तरेण (कणा-) दाने वक्ष्यते । दायभाग p. 45.



criticizes it. The Vivāda-tāṇḍava of<sup>757</sup> Kamalakara says that Jimūta-vāhana held that the view about the equal ownership of father and son in ancestral property was put forward for precluding the possibility of the uncle taking the whole estate of a man dying (in union) leaving a son or a predeceased son's son or for precluding the possibility of an unequal distribution of ancestral property by a father among his sons and that Jimūtavāhana took up this position, being blinded by his hatred of the Mit. The Viramitrodaya<sup>758</sup> also says that Jimūtavāhana criticizes the Mitākṣara definition of *vibhaga* and the view of the Mit. about the times for partition. The Vyavahāra-mātrka<sup>759</sup> also appears to criticize several times views which were held by the Mit. and the correspondence is very striking. On this point this much may be said that the points selected for attack by Jimūtavāhana do occur almost in the same words in the Mit. but, since the Mit. is not expressly mentioned and since it is likely that other writers like Asahāya and Bhāruci whose works have not yet been discovered might have contained the very same words that are found in the Mit., it is somewhat hazardous to assert that Jimūta-vāhana criticizes the Mit. alone and no other work. All that one can advance is that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Jimūtavāhana criticizes the Mit.

For Raghunandana one of the famous commentators of the Dayabhāga, vide sec. 102 below.

757 यत्तु जीमूतवाहनः—मृतपितृके पौत्रे पुत्रे च सति संनिकर्षात् पितृव्यस्यैव सर्वधनप्राप्ति-  
निराकार्य समस्त्वाम्योक्तिः पुत्राणां विषमविभागनिवृत्त्यर्था वा न तु पितुः समभागार्था  
पुत्रस्वातन्त्र्यार्था वा तेन यैतामहेपि पितुर्भागद्वयमिति । तस्मिन्मिताक्षरामध्येषजान्वयकृतम् ।  
folio 109 of the Mandlik collection ms. in the Fergusson College, Poona.

758 'यच्च जीमूतवाहनेनैव मिताक्षरोक्तं विभागो नाम द्रव्यसमुदायविषयणामनेकस्याम्यार्ता  
तदेकदेशेषु व्यवस्थापनामिति विभागशब्दार्थः इति दूषयित्कोच्यते' वीर० p. 547 ;  
'अत्र पित्र्युपरम एकः कालो निवृत्ते चापि गजसीति द्वितीयो जीवति चेच्छतीति तृतीय  
इति मिताक्षरायां जीमूतवाहनेनोक्तं दूषणम् ।' वीर० p. 552.

759 व्यवहारात्मका p. 296 'तदेव ( वं १ ) स्वयमेव अप्रसिद्धादेष्याद्भूतत्वात् यदस्यैः कल्पितं  
अप्रसिद्धमिति मदीयं शाखाविषयणमनेन गृहीतं निराधायमस्मदीयगृहीततो दीपः प्रकाश-  
मेतद्गृहे करोति ... तन्नास्तां दूषणान्तरं किं तु शास्त्रायन्यथाकल्पनमशास्त्रद्वितीत्वमेव  
तेषां कल्पयति । ;' compare मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. II. 6 'अप्रसिद्धं मदीयं शा-  
खाविषयं गृहीत्वा न प्रयच्छतीत्यादि निराधायमस्मद्गृहे दीपप्रकाशेनायं स्वगृहे व्यवहर्तनी-  
त्यादि.' It is to be noted that these examples occur in अपराकं also.



## 79. Aparārka

On the smṛti of Yājñavalkya Aparāditya wrote a voluminous commentary styled *Aparārka-Yājñavalkya-dharmaśāstra-nibandha* (published in two volumes by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1903 and 1904). In a verse<sup>60</sup> at the end and in the colophons the author is called *Aparāditya*, a Śilāhāra king, born in the family of Jimūta-vāhana of the Vidyādharma race. In the introductory<sup>61</sup> fifth verse also the author is styled 'an ornament of the family of Jimūta' and is highly eulogised for his devotion to Śiva and his brilliant intellect.

Aparārka's work, like the *Mitākṣarā*, though professedly a commentary on *Yāj.*, is really in the nature of a digest. It is far more voluminous than the *Mit.* It quotes profusely from the *Gṛhya* and *Dharma sūtras* and the metrical *smṛtis*. Several features distinguish it from the *Mit.* The *Mit.* is generally very chary of quoting from the *purāṇas*, while *Aparārka* contains long extracts sometimes extending over pages from several *purāṇas*, viz, the *Ādipurāṇa*, the *Ādityapurāṇa*, the *Kūrma*, the *Kālikapurāṇa*, *Devī*, *Nandi*, *Nṛsiṃha*, *Padma*, *Brahma*, *Brahmaṇḍa*, *Bhaviṣyat*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Matsya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Linga*, *Varāha*, *Vamana*, *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Śivadharmottara*, *Skanda*. The index at the end of the printed *Aparārka* gives the names of the various *smṛtikāras* quoted in the work. Another feature not found in the *Mit.* is that *Aparārka* quotes long passages of the *dharmaśāstras* and explains them at length, e. g. on *Yāj.* III 294 ( p. 1205 ) he quotes *Gautama* ( Dh. S. 20. 2-9 ) and then offers a lengthy explanation ; on *Yāj.* III. 294-295, he quotes long passages of *Vasiṣṭha* ( Dh. S. 15. 11-14 and 17-21 ) and gives detailed explanations of them. It is probable he had not before him commentaries on these *dharmaśāstras*. On p. 11, he

760 राष्ट्रं यस्य निरङ्कुशा वसुमती कोशः समृद्धः सुदृच्छको दुर्गमनागमं क्षतपरा सेना हिता  
मन्त्रिणः । शास्त्रार्थमृतचर्चणापर्वतमतिविश्वैकनाथोप्यसौ शौर्यैर्दियंस्यशोधनोऽमुमपरादित्यो  
निबन्धं व्यधात् ॥ इति श्रीविद्याधरवंशप्रभवंश्रीशिलाहारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनाम्यवप्रसूत-  
श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवविरचिते याज्ञवल्कीयधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धेऽपराके प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणम् ।

761 भक्त्या यस्य सविश्मयः स्मररिपुर्बुद्ध्या च वाचस्पतिर्विक्रान्त्या द्विषतां गणः शुचितया  
मास्वान्धमिवैन मूः । जीमूतान्वयभूषणं स विपुलां योगीश्वरेणादिते शास्त्रे वाक्य-  
न्यायानां वितनते व्याख्या सतां संमताम् ॥



gives brief summaries in the style of the Śāṅkarabhāṣya of the tenets of the Śaiva, Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra, Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems. He does not appear to have been an ardent admirer of the Advaita Vedānta though he refers to the Śārirakamīmāṃsā.<sup>762</sup> In one place he sets out the arguments of those who hold that correct knowledge alone leads to *mokṣa* and of those who hold that a combination of correct knowledge and works is essential for *mokṣa* and leaves his readers to choose for themselves whatever view they take.<sup>763</sup> It is remarkable that, while even the Mit. names at least six *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci, Śrikara, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara, Aparārka observes a studied silence in the matter of citing the names of his predecessors. He employs such vague expressions as *kecit*, *anye*, *apare*, though he cites views that were ascribed by the Mit. and others to Dhāreśvara and others, e. g. on pp. 741-42 he says<sup>764</sup> that the text of Yāj. 'patni duhitarah' according to some refers to the widow who submits to *niyoga* (this is the view of Dhāreśvara); on p. 744 he refers to the view of some that the word *dubhiḥ* in Yāj. means only the appointed daughter (*putrika*). This last was the view of Viśvarūpa and Śrikara. On p. 761 he refers to the reading of some in Yāj. II. 150 as 'sāmantāsthavirāgaṇāḥ' which is found in Viśvarūpa (II. 154) and not in the Mit. Aparārka names (p. 926) a Vāgbhaṭa-smṛtisaṃgraha and a Smṛtīmīmāṃsā of Jaimini (p. 206) from which two verses are quoted, variant readings therein are noticed and detailed explanations thereof are offered. He refers to several works and authors on astronomy and astrology such as Garga, Kriyāśraya (p. 872), Sāravali. On pp. 570 and 572 of the printed text occur two references to a *pustaka* of rājanaka Śitikanṭha.<sup>765</sup> That was probably a marginal

762 शास्त्रं च तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः संभूतः-इत्यादिकमेकाकिन एव परमात्मनः सकलकार्यकारितामाचरे । तस्य च तर्कविरोधः शारीरकमीमांसाभ्यासशालिनाम-परिहर एव । p. 975 on याज्ञ. III. 68.

763 Vide pp. 1029-1034 on याज्ञ. III. 205. On p. 1034 he says 'तदनयोर्मतयोरे-न्याय्यं तदुभास्यम्'.

764 अत्र केचिदाहुः-या देवरादन्यस्माद्वापि सपिण्ढाद्गुरुभ्यश्चरादिवचनात्पुत्रमिच्छति तद्विषयं पत्नी दुहितर इत्यादि वचनमिति । . . . एतेन यदुक्तं केनचित् पत्नी दुहितर इत्यत्र दुहिन्शब्देन पुत्रिकोच्यत इति तन्निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।

765 इति राजानकशितिकण्ठपुस्तके विशेषः । p. 572.



note in a ms., the copyist or owner of which found on comparison with another ms. belonging to rājanaka Śitikantha additional matter. Aparārka quotes from Bhaṭṭa ( i. e. Kumārilabhaṭṭa ).<sup>766</sup> Aparārka does not appeal as frequently to the doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā as the Mit. does and he does not generally enter into acute discussions of Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its application to Dharmaśāstra as the Mit. does. It must be said that Aparārka is much inferior to the Mit. in lucid exposition, in dialectic skill, in subtlety of argument and in the ordered presentation of heterogenous material.

Some of the views that are usually associated with Jīmūtavāhana were propounded by Aparārka also. Aparārka bases the right to take a deceased person's property on the superior spiritual benefit conferred by the claimant on the person deceased.<sup>767</sup> In several other respects also Aparārka differs from the Mit., though in general the two closely agree. For example, Aparārka prefers the father over the mother as an heir ( p. 745 ); Aparārka explains the word 'apratīṣṭhitā' in Gautama's text ( 18.22 ) as 'one who is issueless or is indigent or a widow,' while the Mit. explains it to mean only 'indigent.'

Whether Aparārka knew the Mit. is a vexed question. Some scholars while holding that Aparārka does criticize the Mit. explain away the non-mention of the Mit. by saying that Indian etiquette required a royal author not to mention the name of the servant of another king, while the existence of the master himself was ignored ( Dr. Jolly in Journal of Indian History vol. III p. 17 ). It is doubtful whether any such etiquette ever existed and further Aparārka studiously avoids the express mention of every ancient commentator. Works of royal authors, such as the Madanpārijāta or the Sarasvativilāsa, do not appear to have followed the etiquette. In

<sup>766</sup> ततश्च यदुक्तं भट्टेन तस्माद्दुष्कृते तिष्ठन् मधुमांसादि वर्जयन् । जिज्ञासेतां वैरुद्धत्वाद्दर्शनमित्यवगम्यते ॥ इति तदनेन विरुध्यते p. 76.

<sup>767</sup> तत्र प्रत्यासन्नः पूर्वं धनभाक् । यदाह मनुः । अनन्तरः सपिण्डादस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेदिति । . . . संप्रदानकारकीभूतानां पित्रादीनां त्रयाणां चोदकादिदाता यश्च तन्तस्तित्येभ्योपि तेषामेवोदकादिदाता स तस्य प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः । तदत्र तु सोदरो द्यातातिशयेन प्रत्यासन्नः समानसंप्रदानोदकादिदानत्वात् । तत्पौत्रस्तु ततोपि व्यवहितः पितृपितामहपिण्डयोर्मित्रसंप्रदानकत्वात् । तत्पौत्रस्त्वत्यन्तव्यवहितः पिण्डत्रयेपि संप्रदानमेदात् । pp. 744-45.



my opinion the Mit. was known to Aparārka. Aparārka reads Yaj. III. 17 as 'Vaitānopāsanaḥ kāryaḥ kriyāśca śruticoditāḥ,' explains the first word as a karmadhāraya compound, gives the explanation of this verse offered by others, disapproves of it and then says that others read 'śruticodanāt' for 'śruticoditāḥ'.<sup>768</sup> Viśvarūpa reads 'vaitānikāśrayaḥ... śrutidarśanāt' and offers no comment on this verse beyond the word 'spāṣṭārthametāt' (it is III. 15. in the Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. does contain the reading referred to by Aparārka and the śruti passage 'yāvaj-jivam' etc. Aparārka refers on Yaj. III. 254 to the reading 'samām'<sup>769</sup> adopted by some, says that the latter explain the verse as prescribing the penance for three years and observes that the verse of Manu (IX. 92) does not apply, as the latter say, to him alone whose palate has merely come in contact with liquor (without his having actually swallowed it). Viśvarūpa (III. 248) does not explain the verse as prescribing a three

768 अत्र केचिद् व्याचक्षते-विताने वेदे भवाः वेतानाः तथा उपासने गृह्ये भवा ओपासनाः । वेतानाश्चोपासनाश्च वेतानोपासनाः क्रिया इति । तदेतद्व्याख्यानमनुपपन्नम् । वेतानोपासन्य इति हि तदा शब्दः स्थानं पुनर्वेतानोपासना इति । ... यच्च तैः श्रुतिचोदनादिति पाठं कृत्वा हेतुपरत्वेन व्याख्यातं तदपि न युक्तम् । एवं हि ते मन्यन्ते । यस्माच्छ्रुत्या यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्, यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासान्या यजेत, इत्यादिकयावश्यकार्यतया विहितत्वान्न स्मृत्या दाक्ष्यमाशौचेपि तन्निवर्तनं विधातुमिति । अपरार्क p. 391: compare the मितक्षरा 'वेतानोपासनां विस्तारस्तत्र भवा वेतानाः वेतामिसाध्या अग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासायाः क्रिया उच्यन्ते । ... उपासनो गृह्यामिस्तत्र भवा ओपासनाः सायंप्रातर्होमक्रिया उच्यन्ते ता वेतानोपासना वैदिक्यः क्रियाः कार्याः । कथं वैदिकत्वमिति चेत् । श्रुतिचोदनात् । तथाहि यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयादित्यादिश्रुतिभिरग्निहोत्रादीनां चोदनः स्पष्टैव ॥'.

769 'केचिदत्र समाशब्दं बहुवचनान्तं वर्षत्रयपरत्वेन व्याचक्षते । ... अस्मादेव च सुरापानपनुत्यर्थमिति वचनात् रुतसुरापानस्येतद् व्रतमिति गम्यते न पुनस्तालुमात्रसंयुक्तसुरस्येति ।' अपरार्क p. 1072; compare the मितक्षरा 'अथवा पिण्याकं पिण्डतं त्रिसमाः वर्षत्रयपर्यन्तं रात्रौ भक्षयेत् । ... यत्तु मनुवचनं कणान्वा ... सरुन्निशि । सुरापानपनुत्यर्थं बालवासा जरी च्वजी ॥ इति ततालुमात्रसंयोगे सुराया अबुद्धिपूर्वं द्रष्टव्यम्'. The printed text of याज्ञ. in the मितक्षरा reads पिण्याकं ... भक्षयेत्त्रिसमा निशि'; the printed अपरार्क reads भक्षयेत्समा निशि, while विश्वरूप reads भक्षयेत् समा निशि. The remarks of अपरार्क show that he had a ms. of a com. where the reading was भक्षयेत् समा निशि.



years' penance nor does he refer to the contact of wine with the palate. The Mit. however contains both these particulars. On p. 1084 also<sup>770</sup> Aparārka seems to be referring to the view of the Mit.

The date of Aparārka can be settled within very narrow limits. The Smṛticandrikā<sup>771</sup> in several places quotes the views of Aparārka and sometimes contrasts them with those of the Mit. The Smṛticandrikā refutes the view of Aparārka that the words of Yāj. 'jyēsthām vā śreṣṭhabhāgena' are meant to comprehend all various modes of giving an additional share (*uddhāravibhaga*) to the eldest son on partition mentioned by Manu and others and it follows Aparārka's explanation of 'apratīṣṭhitā' in Gautama's text. It will be shown later on that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed about 1200 A. D. If the above conclusion that Aparārka knew the Mit. and criticizes it be correct, Aparārka must have flourished after 1100 A. D. and before 1200 A. D. Here epigraphical research comes to our help. We know from the commentary that the author Aparāditya was a Śilāhara prince of Jīmūtavāhana's family. Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras show that there were three branches of that family, one ruling in the northern Konkan at Thana, the second in the southern Konkan and the third at Kolhapur (vide JBBRAS, vol. XIII p. 10-17 for the three branches). All the branches traced their descent from Jīmūtavāhana. There is only a single inscription of the second branch which had ten kings reigning from about 808 to 1008 A. D. (JBBRAS vol. I, p. 209, E. I. vol. III. p. 292). There is no Aparāditya in this line. Vide E. I. III p. 207, 211 and 213 for several grants of the Kolhapur branch. Inscriptions

770 'तत्रापि माहृणीपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियां पितृमायां गच्छतो नववार्षिकं वैश्या षड्वार्षिकं शूद्रा त्रैवार्षिकं गुरुतल्पव्रतं भवतीत्येके मन्यन्ते । अपरार्कः p. 1084; the माताक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 260 has 'माहृणीपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियायां मातुः सप्तत्यां गमने &c.

771 यत्पुनरपरार्केण ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठभागेनेत्येतदुद्धारप्रदर्शनार्थं तेन ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धार इत्यादि-भिर्मन्वादिशास्त्रैर्यावन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वे चोपलक्षिता भवन्तीति तदप्य-पास्तम् । स्मृतिच. II. p. 261; compare अपरार्कः p. 717 'ज्येष्ठस्य विंश . . . यवयिसः इत्यादिभिरुद्धारशास्त्रैर्यावन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वेचोपलक्षिता भवन्ति'. 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धना दुर्भगा विधवा वा । एवमपराकांनुसारद्भौतमवचनं व्याख्यातम् । अस्य विज्ञानेश्वरकृता व्याख्या हेया स्वबुद्धिमात्रेणाध्याहारादिकरणात् ।' स्मृतिच. II. 5. 285; vide स्मृतिच. II. 218, 367, 377, 428 for other refer-ences to अपरार्कः. Vide क्षतुर्वर्ग. III. 2, p. 495 for mention of अपरार्कः.



of the northern Śilāhāras speak of two kings who are named Aparādityadeva. In JBBRAS vol. XXI, pp. 505-516 there is a grant dated *śake* 1049 (expired) of Aparādityadeva who donated a village named Vaḍavali in the Thana District to a brāhmaṇa studying the Mādhyandina recension of the Vājasaneyasaṁhita. The king is there styled once as Aparājita and several times as Aparādityadeva. He was son of Anantadeva and grand-son of Nāgārjuna and traced his descent to Jimūtavāhana, son of Jimūtakeṭu, far famed in legend and literature as an exemplar of self-sacrifice<sup>772</sup>, e. g. in the drama Nāgānanda. In this inscription Aparādityadeva is styled *Śilāhāra-  
rendra* and *Jimūtavāhanānvayaprasāda* as in the colophon of the commentary on Yāj. (vide note 760 above) and also *Mahāmaṇḍali-  
svara* and *Tagarapuraparamēśvara*. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. V, part 2, p. 169 there is a grant made at Somnath-  
Pāṭan in Kathiawar of Vikramsarṁvat 1176 (1119-20 A. D.) while Aparādityadeva of the Śilāhāra family was reigning, almost in the same words as in the grant in JBBRAS vol. XXI p. 505. In I. A. vol. IX, p. 33 there is a grant of Anantadeva father of Aparādityadeva dated in *śake* 1016 (i. e. 1094-5 A. D.). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I, part 2, p. 15 for a list of 20 kings of the northern Konkan branch from 810 to 1260 A. D. Vide also an inscription of Aparādityadeva dated *śake* 1051 (i. e. 1129 A. D.) in Festgabe Dr. Jacobi pp. 189-193 (1926). Therefore it appears that the dates of Aparādityadeva I referred to in these grants fall between 1115 and 1130 A. D. It was most probably this king who composed the commentary on Yāj. We know from the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṭikha that king Aparāditya<sup>773</sup> of Konkan sent Tejakaṇṭha on an embassy to an assembly of learned men in Kashmir during the reign of Jayasinha of Kashmir (1129 to 1150 A. D.). Aparārka's commentary continues to be the standard law-book used by the *pandits* of Kashmir (Jolly's Tagore Law lectures p. 24). Aparārka's work

<sup>772</sup> जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन इति त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं नृणामि-  
वाकलयन् परार्थं यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात् खलु शङ्खचूडम् ॥ तस्यान्वये . . कपर्दी  
शीलारवंशतिलको नृपतिर्वभूव ॥ p. 507.

<sup>773</sup> वचोभिर्नुन्दे दन्तयुतिश्रीस्रण्डपाण्डुभिः । वादिनां वाददर्पोष्मा येन शूर्पारकावसु ॥  
यः श्रीमदपरादित्य इति द्वयप्रसिद्धये । प्रणिधाय घनश्लाघः काश्मीरान् कुङ्कुणेश्वरः ॥  
तेन श्रीतेजकण्ठेन सौत्कण्ठमनुवध्नता । इति सौधिकवैश्वयनिरवयमगद्यत ॥ श्रीकण्ठ-  
चरित 25. 109-111.



betrays familiarity with Kashmir. I have already noticed the reference to rājanaka Śitikanṭha above. On a passage from Brahmapurāṇa speaking of a śrāddha at Mārtanḍapādamūla, Aparārka notes (p. 903) that<sup>774</sup> the latter is well known in Kashmir. It is therefore most probable that the work was composed about 1125 and was introduced into Kashmir when an embassy was sent from the Konkan king to Kashmir in the reign of Jayasīrṇha. The dates of the second Aparāditya range from 1184 to 1187 A. D. (*Vide* Bombay Gazetteer vol. XIII, part 2, p. 427; JBBRAS vol. XII, pp. 333-335 for an inscription of Aparāditya dated 1109 *śaka* i. e. 1187 A. D. (wherein he is styled Konkaṇa-cakravartī). It is difficult to hold that this was the author of the commentary on Yāj. The Smṛticandrikā is mentioned by Hemādri and hence could not be later than the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Therefore if Aparārka who is frequently cited by the Smṛticandrikā were to be regarded as having flourished about 1187 A. D., very little distance is left between him and the Smṛticandrikā in order that the former should come to be looked upon as an authority by the latter. Therefore it appears probable that Aparārka wrote the commentary on Yāj. in the first half of the 12th century (about 1125 A. D.). *Vide* Tri. cat. Mad. Govt. Mss. for 1919-22, pp. 4853-54, for the Nyāyanīkṭāvalī of Aparādityadeva, which is a com. on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña.

### 80. Pradīpa

The Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara enumerates the Pradīpa among its authorities after the Kāmadhenu.<sup>775</sup> The Smṛticandrikā in a highly paronomastic verse appears to refer to a work called Pradīpa.<sup>776</sup> The Sarasvatīvilāsa<sup>777</sup> quotes the view of the Pradīpa

<sup>774</sup> मार्तण्डपादमूलं काश्मिरेषु प्रसिद्धम् । अपरार्कं p. 903.

<sup>775</sup> *Vide* note 651 above.

<sup>776</sup> पदे पदे प्रस्सलतां प्रदीपादिस्थितावपि । द्रष्टृणां दृष्टिविषये चन्द्रिका प्रवर्तन्त्यते ॥ प्रदीप (lamp and a work) and चन्द्रिका (moonlight and the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका) are paronomastic.

<sup>777</sup> प्रातिभाष्यागतमपि पौत्रेणापि दातव्यमिति प्रदीपः । स. वि. p. 253; *vide* p. 361 for another reference to प्रदीप.



that even the suretyship debt of a person must be paid by his grandson. The *Jivatpitṛkanirṇaya*<sup>778</sup> of Rāmakṛṣṇa ( about 1600 A. D. ) quotes the *Pradīpa* on the question that when brothers are separated they should perform separately the annual śrāddha of their father and other ancestors. Nandapaṇḍita in his commentary on the<sup>779</sup> *Ṣaḍaṣīti* cites the view of the *Pradīpa* that the sūtra of *Paithinasi* ( a woman delivered of a son bathing after twenty nights from delivery is entitled to perform all religious rites, while one who is delivered of a female child is so entitled after a month ) applies to the wife of one who is not a *dīkṣita* ( one who has consecrated the Vedic fires ). It has been shown above ( note 689 ) how the *Pradīpa* criticizes Bhavadeva, according to the *Vīramitrodaya*, which in several places cites the views of the *Pradīpa* ( vide pp. 78, 89, 215 & etc. ).

The foregoing discussion shows that the *Pradīpa* was probably an independent work on *vyavahāra*, *śrāddha*, *suddhi* and other topics. Being mentioned by the *Smṛtyarthasāra* and *Smṛticandrikā*, it cannot be later than about 1150 A. D. As it criticizes Bhavadeva it cannot be earlier than 1100 A. D.

Hemādri<sup>780</sup> refers to the explanation of the word *kālā* occurring in a text of *Gārgya* offered by a *Smṛipradīpa*. It is not unlikely that he means the same work as is referred to by others as *Pradīpa*.

### 81. The *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara

This well-known work was published by the Ānandaśrama Press, Poona, in 1912 A. D. The principal topics discussed by it are : the acts allowed in former ages but forbidden in the *kālī* age ; the number of *saṁskāras*, the detailed treatment of *Upanayana*, the

778 प्रदीपेपि । विभक्तास्तु पृथक् कुर्युः प्रतिसंवत्सरादिकम् । एकैर्नैवाधिभक्तेषु कृते सर्वैरेतु तत्कृतम् ॥ folio 20 b of जीवत्पितृकनिर्णय । ( in Bhadkankar collection ).

779 पैठिनासिः । स्मृतिकां पुत्रवतीं विंशतिरात्रेण स्नातां सर्वकर्मणि कारयेन्मासेन स्त्रीजननीमिति । इदमपि सर्ववर्णसाधारणमिति प्राञ्चः । अदीक्षितस्त्रीविषयमिति प्रदीपः । षडशीतिटीका folio 8a ( in the Bhadkankar collection ) ; vide folio 38 b for another reference to प्रदीप.

780 यदाह गार्ग्यः । यज्ञकालस्तिथिर्द्वेष्टे षट्कलो यदि लक्ष्यते । पर्व तत्रोत्तरं कायं हनि पूर्वमुपक्रमेत् । कलात्र मुहूर्तं न तु घटिका । . . . स्मृतिप्रदीपकृतप्यत्र कलाशब्दस्य मुहूर्तार्थलोका । चतुर्वर्गः ( काल ) p. 355.



duties of Brahmacārin, holidays, marriage, its various forms, prohibitions on the ground of *sapiṇḍa* relation, discussion about *gotra* and *pravara*, daily duties such as *śauca*, *ācamana*, brushing the teeth, bathing, the five *yajñas*, daily *samdhya*, daily worship; detailed treatment of *śrāddha*, proper time, articles, and *brāhmaṇas* to be invited at it, various kinds of *śrāddha*, discussion about various *tīlhis*; intercalary month; forbidden and allowed food; purification of various substances and of one's own body; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; rules about *śaṁnyāsa*; *prāyaścittas* for various grades of sins and lapses.

From the colophon it appears that Śrīdhara was himself a performer of Vedic sacrifices and was the son of Nāgabhartṛ Viṣṇubhaṭṭa of the Viśvamitra gotra. This colophon does not however occur in the ancient ms. of the work in the Deccan College collection (No. 44 of 1870-71) dated *saṁvat* 1495 (1438-39 A. D.). In the 2nd introductory verse (vide note 564 above) the author tells us that Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya filled the gaps in the *smṛtis* that were scattered about (i. e. they composed digests thereof with their own remarks). He also says (vide note 651 above) that he relies on the Kāmadhenu, the Pradīpa, the Abdhī, the Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Kalpalatā, Śambhu, Draviḍa, Kēdāra and Lollāṭa and the various commentators of Manu and other *smṛti-kāras*. In dealing with *śaṁnyāsa* he says that he would treat of the procedure of *śaṁnyāsa* following the opinion of Govindarāja and of Baudhāyana.<sup>781</sup> At the beginning of some sections (p. 48 and p. 49 on *śrāddha* and *prāyaścitta* respectively) he again repeats the verse about Kāmadhenu and the other authorities. The Abdhī named therein seems to be the *smṛtimahārṇava* quoted in Hemādri, in the Vivādaratnākara and other works. He refers to Mitākṣarā also (p. 56). For Lollāṭa see above (under Medhātithi). It appears that Śrīdhara also composed another and a larger work on dharmaśāstra. For example, Hemādri who<sup>782</sup> knew

781 Vide note 723 above.

782 On the words of ज्योतिर्गर्भ 'सौरमासो विवाहादौ यज्ञादौ सावनः स्मृतः' चतुर्वर्गं (काल) p. 20 says आदिशब्दार्थः श्रीधरेण दर्शितः । विवाहोपनयनचूडा-  
व्रतनियमप्रतिष्ठागृहकरणक्षौरयाजामहाषष्ठीमहासप्तमीविजयदशमीदशहरापुगादिमहाज्ये-  
ष्ठपञ्चम्यादिशब्देनोपादीयते । यज्ञादावित्यादिशब्देन यागदानहोमगर्भाधानसमिन्तो-  
न्नयनजातकर्म-कृण-कयविक्रयव्यवहारग्रहणम् ।



the Smṛtyarthasāra quotes certain views as Śrīdhara's which do not occur in the Smṛtyarthasāra. The Prayogapārijāta, the Nirṇaya-sindhu, and the Sarīskārakaustubha quote the views of a work called Śrīdhariya which are not found in the Smṛtyarthasāra. Śrīdhara seems to have been a writer from southern India.

The date of the Smṛtyarthasāra can be fixed within approximate limits. As it names the Mit., the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru and Govindarāja, it is later than 1150 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri<sup>763</sup> both quote it as an authority. For example, the Smṛticandrikā says that the Smṛtyarthasāra holds that the Tulasi is among the things the use of which is to be avoided in *śrāddha*. Therefore the Smṛtyarthasāra must have been composed between 1150 and 1200 A. D.

## 82. Aniruddha

Aniruddhabhaṭṭa is one of the early and eminent Bengal writers on Dharmaśāstra. His Hāralatā was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1909) and his Pitrdayitā alias Karmopadesinipaddhati was recently published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta (No 6).

The Hāralatā deals with impurity on birth and death, with the acts allowed to be done or forbidden during impurity, with periods of impurity on death in a distant land or on the deaths of infants and women, with rules when two periods of impurity overlap each other, with impurity on the death of *sapinda*s, the meaning of

763 स्मृत्यर्थसारे तुलस्यपि वर्ज्येत्युक्तं तत्र मूलं चिन्त्यं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेध-  
स्यादर्शनात् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 435; compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 53; 'यत्तु स्मृत्यर्थसारे-  
मिहितं पाणिहोमे त्विष्ममेक्षणविमानुज्ञा न संततिः ( सन्ति ? ) तत्र विमानुज्ञाभावो-  
क्तिरेतद्वचनादर्शनेन निबन्धनेत्युत्प्रेक्षणीया । ... यच्च तत्रैवाभिहितं परिसमूहनपयु-  
क्षणं स्त इति तदपि चिन्त्यम् । ' स्मृतिच० II. p. 463; vide for the very words  
quoted स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 52. स्मृतिच० II. 366 quotes some passages from  
स्मृत्यर्थसार pp. 57 and 60.

चतुर्वर्ग० vol. IV. p. 992 ( प्रायश्चित्त ), स्मृत्यर्थसारे कलियुगे संसर्गदोषो नास्ती-  
त्युक्तम्', compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 2. ' संसर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः । ...  
कलौ युगे विमान् धर्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मेनीषिणः ॥' मदनपारिजात ( p. 329 ) quotes the  
words संसर्गदोषः &c. expressly from स्मृत्यर्थसार.



sapinda, persons who have not to observe periods of impurity, cremation and burial, offering of water to the deceased, observances during mourning, persons entitled to perform rites after death, observances after the period of mourning, persons to whom no water should be offered.

The Pitṛdayitā is a work intended for the followers of the Sāmaveda. Its contents are :—the duties on rising from bed, brushing the teeth, bath, *śaṇḍhyā*, *tarpana*, *vaiśvadeva*, *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, eulogy of gifts, sapindikaraṇa and other śrāddhas, antyeṣṭi and rites during the days of mourning after death, the letting loose of a bull. The printed work appears to be the same that is described in the I. O. cat. at p. 474 as Karmopadeśinī. But the India Office Ms. appears to have certain various readings e. g. a reference to Kāmadhenu and Kalpataru at the end of the section on antyeṣṭi does not occur in the printed text.<sup>784</sup>

The first verse of the Hāratalā states that the author consulted the commentaries on Manu and other smṛtis.<sup>785</sup> Besides the well-known smṛtikāras such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada etc., the authors and works named in the Hāratalā are :—Asahāya as the *Bhāṣyakāra* of Gautama, Kāmadhenu, Govindarāja, Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa and Śaṅkhadhara. The Pitṛdayitā<sup>786</sup> says that it was composed after consulting the Gobhilaḥṛyaśūtra, the Chāndogya-pari-śiṣṭa, the smṛtis, purāṇas, the śāstras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and various saṅgraha-works. In the work itself, besides the above, Kātyāyana, Varāhapurāṇa and the smaller (svalpa) Matsyapurāṇa are quoted.

From the last verse<sup>787</sup> of the Hāratalā we know that Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapātaka on the bank of the Ganges and was

784 कल्पतरुक्रामधेन्वादिस्मृतिहारादौ महोपाध्यायेन विरचितं शुद्धिमकरणेन्येष्टिविधिः ।  
folio 114b.

785 प्रणम्य पुण्डरीकाक्षं पूर्वाचार्यप्रवर्तिताः । व्याख्या मन्वादिशास्त्राणां समालोच्य विविच्यते ॥

786 गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रं दृष्ट्वा छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम् । दृष्ट्वा स्मृतिं बहुधाः परिसंख्यानं पुराण-  
वाक्यानि ॥ गौतमवासिष्ठशास्त्रे नानासंग्रहवर्चांसि चालोक्य । युक्त्या स्वयं निरूप्य  
ज्ञात्वा सर्वं मनं च बृहदानाम् । रचिता पद्धतिंया सम्यक् कर्मोपदेशिनीं हचिरा ।

787 सुरापगातीरविहारपाटके निवासिना भट्टनयार्थवेदिना । कृतानिरुद्धेन सतामुरस्थले  
विराजतां हारलतेयमर्पिता ॥



a student of the doctrines of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). From the colophons<sup>788</sup> at the end of the *Hāralatā* and the *Pitrdayitā* it appears that he was a Dharmādhyakṣa and a Cāmpāhaṭṭiya ( a section among Vārendras ) Brāhmaṇa of Bengal. The ms. in the India Office has a colophon in which Aniruddha is styled Dharmādhikaraṇika ( Judge ). From the *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena we learn ( verses 6 and 7 ) that Aniruddha was a *guru* of that king of Bengal and rendered assistance in the composition of that work. The *Dānasāgara*<sup>789</sup> was composed in *śake* 1091 ( i. e. 1169 A. D. ). From this it appears that Aniruddha was at the height of his fame in 1168, i. e. his literary activity may be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the *Hāralatā* names Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu as authorities and is therefore later than 1100 A. D. The *Hāralatā* is named as an authority in the *Śuddhiviveka* of Rudradhara<sup>790</sup>. The *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda ( about 1510-1545 A. D. ) frequently quotes Aniruddha and includes him among ancient authors.<sup>791</sup> The *Pitrdayitā* is named in the *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* ( p. 503 ). In the *Āhnikatattva* ( vol. I, p. 421 ) and *Śuddhitattva* ( vol. II, p. 314 ) of Raghunandana the views of *Pitrdayitā* are quoted. There is a commentary on the *Hāralatā* called *Sandarbhastūcikā* composed by Acyuta Cakravartin, son of Haridāsa Tarkācārya ( vide I. O. cat. p. 567, No. 1753 ).

788 इति चाम्पाहटीयमहोपाध्यायधर्माध्यक्षश्रीमदनिरुद्धभट्टविरचिताशौचव्यवस्था हारलता समाप्ता, इति चाम्पाहटीयमहोपाध्यायश्रीमदनिरुद्धभट्टविरचिता छन्दोगानां पद्धतिः पितृदयिता समाप्ता ।

789 निखिलभूपचक्रतिलकश्रीमद्वल्लालसेनदेवेन । पूर्णं शशिनवदशमितशकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः ॥ at the end of the दानसागर, vide I. O. cat. p. 542 and Mitra's Notices I. p. 151. This very verse is quoted by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Vide JASB 1915, p. 347 n. 1.

790 सन्त्येव रत्नाकरपारिजातमिताक्षराहारलताद्यन्ये । तथापि तत्रालसमानसानां भवेत्प्रमोदाय मम प्रयासः ॥ I. O. cat. p. 563, No. 1742; Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 25. No. 1736.

791 किं तु अनिरुद्धादीनां प्राचामनुसारात् &c. श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी p. 388; vide p. 188 'अतो गोभिलगृहसूत्रविच्छेदमनाकलट्याधुनिकेन गोहर्मयिलसंग्रहकारानिरुद्धश्रीदत्तादीनां विरुद्धं भट्टभाष्यादीनामसंमतं चोक्तं हेयमेव ।



In the proceedings of the ASB ( for 1869 p. 137 ) a Cāturmāsya-paddhati of Aniruddha is noted. Mitra notices a work called Bhagavattattvamañjarī on Vaiṣṇava philosophy written by Aniruddha ( Mitra's Notices vol. III. p. 155, No. 2700 ).

### 83. Ballālasena

This famous king of Bengal compiled at least four works. His Ācārasāgara is mentioned in the Smṛiratnākara of Vedācārya and in the Madanapārijāta ( p. 58 ). He also wrote the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara. Both these works are referred to as already composed in the Dānasāgara.<sup>792</sup> The Dānasāgara deals with the sixteen great *dānas* and other lesser gifts. The subjects dealt with by the Dānasāgara are as follows : eulogy of brahmanas, eulogy of the merit arising from gifts, proper objects of gifts, exceptions, the nature of gift, the donor, faith as to the utility of gifts, proper times and places for gifts, things proper to be donated, what cannot be gifted away, bad donations, religious rites and procedure followed in making gifts and in accepting them, the technical terms of the subject of gifts, the sixteen *mahādānas*, lesser *dānas* of various kinds ( the author himself says at the end that he has described 1375 kinds of gifts ), the names of various *purāṇas* and their extent.. The Dānasāgara contains extremely valuable information about the Mahābhārata and the *purāṇas*. As it quotes extensively from the *purāṇas*, it serves as an excellent check for the textual restoration of *purāṇas*. For example it says that the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradiya *purāṇas* do not contain *dānavidhis* and hence they are not drawn upon in the work. In another verse he says that it is well-known that the Viṣṇurāhasya and Śivārāhasya are of the nature of mere compilations and so have not been relied on in the work. The Devīpurāṇa, he says, is approved of by the heterodox systems and is not included in various lists of *purāṇas* and *upapurāṇas* and hence it is not included in the Dānasāgara. He says that the subject of the dedication of reservoirs of water and of temples has been dealt with at length in the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara, so it is omitted in the Dānasāgara and that the gifts made in accordance with the divisions of the year ( into *ayana*, season, month, *pakṣa* &c. ) are not spoken of in their entirety in the Dānasāgara, as they are described in the Ācārasāgara. The work is mentioned in the Dānatnākara

<sup>792</sup> Verses 55 and 56 of his दानसागर ( I. O. cat. 542, No. 1704-5 ).



of Candēśvara and in the Nirṇayasindhu. His Adbhutasāgara has been printed by Messrs. Prabhakari and Co. (1905). The authorities on which he relies therein are noted below.<sup>793</sup> The Adbhutasāgara is mentioned in Ṭoḍarānandasamhitā-saukhya and Nirṇaya-sindhu. This was his last work which he left unfinished and which was completed by his son Lakṣmīpasena. It deals with the rites and observances appropriate on certain celestial and terrestrial portents for removing the evil foreboded by them.

Ballālasena began the work in 1090 *śake* and the Dānasāgara was composed in 1091 *śake*. Therefore Ballālasena's literary activity must be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century (vide notes 674, 676 above). Vide also IHQ vol. V, p. 133 for the date of Ballālasena.

It appears that Raghunandana believed that the Dānasāgara was really the work of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa though published in the name of Ballālasena.<sup>794</sup> In the Dānasāgara itself it is distinctly stated that Ballālasena composed it under the directions of his *guru* (Aniruddha).<sup>795</sup> In the colophon he is styled mahārājādhirāja and and niḥsaṅka-śaṅkara.

#### 84. Harihara

From quotations in the Vivādaratnākara it appears that Harihara wrote on vyavahāra. For example, the Vivādaratnākara first quotes (on p. 220) the definition of 'saṁsāraṇa' given by Brhaspati and then cites three verses of Kātyāyana defining a *catuspatha* and a *rājamārga* and prescribing punishments for causing obstruction and

793 आथर्वणाहुत, उशनस्, कठश्रुति, कालावलि, काश्यप, गर्ग, वृद्धगर्ग, चरक, देवल, नारद, पराशर, पालकाप्य, चादरायण, बार्हस्पत्य, बृहस्पति, ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त, भार्गवीय, मयूरचित्र, यवनेश्वर, राजपुत्र, बराहमिहिरग्रन्थ, वसन्तराज, वसिष्ठ, विन्ध्यवासि, विष्णुगुप्त, वैजयाप, शालिहोत्र, पङ्क्तिशेखाक्षण, सुश्रुत, सूर्यसिद्धान्त.

794 Vide एकादशतित्व (vol. II, p. 44) 'विष्णुरहस्यानार्पत्वस्य दानसागरे अनिरुद्ध-भट्टेनाभिहितत्वाच्च'. The words of the दानसागर are: लोके प्रसिद्धमेतद्विष्णु-रहस्यं च शिवरहस्यं च । द्वयमिह न परिगृहीतं संग्रहरूपत्वमवधार्य ॥

795 अधिगतसकलपुराणस्मृतिसारः श्रद्धया गुरोरेस्मात् । कलिकल्मषावसादं दाननिघ्नं विधत्ते नु ॥ . . . श्रीबह्मालनरेश्वरो विरचयत्येतं गुरोः शिक्षया स्वप्रज्ञावाधि दानसागरमयं श्रद्धावर्ता भ्रैयसे ॥ verses 7 and 9 of दानसागर I. O. cat. p. 542.



committing nuisance thereon. Then it notices that the verse 'yas-tatra' cited by it from Kātyāyana is cited by Harihara as from Prajāpati when the topic immediately preceding is 'saṁsaraṇa'.<sup>796</sup> The Vivādaratnākara quotes a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita prescribing the punishment for sexual intercourse with a virgin against her will and Harihara's explanation of the word 'dvyāṅgulaccheda'.<sup>797</sup> From these it is clear that Harihara wrote some work on vyavahāra, which has not yet been recovered. He must have flourished earlier than 1300 A. D.

There is a commentary on the Paraskargrhyasūtra composed by Harihara who is styled *agnihotrin* in the colophons. In one ms. copied in śake 1707 (1785-86 A. D.) he is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara. In the introductory second verse he says he relies on Vasudeva. In the body of the work he refers (Gujarati Press edition) to Karkopādhyāya (p. 200), Kalpatarukāra, Reṇudikṣita, and Vijñāneśvarācārya (p. 370). Therefore he is later than 1150 A. D. Harihara's views are mentioned by Hemādri,<sup>798</sup> the Samaya-pradipa and Ācārādarsa of Śrīdatta and in the Smṛtisāra of Hari-nātha. Therefore this Harihara must be earlier than 1250 A. D. Whether he was really the pupil of Vijñāneśvara is doubtful. In his bhāṣya Harihara refers to words current in Kanoj.<sup>800</sup> Hemādri mentions Harihara's explanation of *nepalakambala* wherein the latter says that it is well known among the northerners.<sup>801</sup> Harihara-

796 हरिहरादिभिः संसरणानुवृत्तो प्रजापतिरिति मस्तके दृष्ट्वा यस्तत्रेति वाक्यमवतारितमिह न फलतो विशेष इति । वि. र. p. 221.

797 शङ्खलिखितौ - कन्यायामसकामायां द्व्यङ्गुलच्छेदो दण्डः । ... हरिहरस्तु द्व्यङ्गुलपरिमाणलिङ्गच्छेद इत्याह । वि. र. p. 402.

798 तस्मात् त्रयोदशे श्राद्धं न कुर्यान्नोपतिष्ठेत् इत्येव बहुमन्थदृष्टः काश्मीरिलिखितश्च पाठो ज्यायान् । तथा च हरिहरादिग्रन्थेष्वेवमेव पाठो गृह्यते । चतुर्वर्गः (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 52 ; vide pp. 447, 483 of the same vol. for other references to हरिहर and also vol. III. 1. pp. 159, 1131, 1139, 1177, 1280.

799 तत्र हरिहरो मेघादिच्छन्नस्यापि निमित्तत्वाद्माह पासावच्छिन्नकालस्य गणितप्रमितत्वात् । समयप्रदीप ( D. C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76 folio 52a ).

800 सभाविश्रामार्थं काष्ठपाषाणविन्यसविशेषः पट्टकः । पट्टहर इति काश्चकुब्जे प्रसिद्धः । p. 376 of हरिहर's पारस्कम्भाष्य (Gujarati press ed.).

801 हरिहरेण तु पार्वतीयाजलोमश्चैर्निर्मितः कम्बलाकारः पट उदीक्षेयुः प्रसिद्ध इत्येवं व्याख्यातः । चतुर्वर्गः III. 1. p. 1177.



*paddhati* is mentioned in the *Śrāddhatattva* ( vol. I, p. 281 ) and *Harihara* in the *Yajurvediśrāddhatattva* ( vol. II, p. 488 ). We have seen above that a *Harihara* commented upon the *Āśaucadaśaka* of *Vijñāneśvara*. This fact together with his being not far from *Vijñāneśvara*'s time may have led to the belief that he was a pupil of *Vijñāneśvara*. It appears probable that the jurist *Harihara* who flourished before 1300 and *Harihara* the *bhāṣyakāra* of *Pāraskara* who flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. are identical. The views ascribed to *Harihara* by *Hemādri* in his section on *śrāddha* are not found in the *bhāṣya* on *Pāraskara*. Therefore *Hemādri* is referring to some other work of *Harihara*. From a passage of *Hemādri* it appears that *Harihara* wrote after the *Mahārṇava*<sup>802</sup> ( *Prakāśa* ). *Hemādri* also tells us that *Harihara* refuted the views of *Jayantasvāmī* on a certain verse.<sup>803</sup> The same *Harihara* who commented on *Pāraskara* also wrote a commentary on *Kātyāyana*'s *Snānavidhisūtra* wherein he mentions the *Kalpatarukāra* ( vide D. C. ms. No. 101 of 1891-95 ). Several *Hariharas* are known. There is *Hariharabhāṭṭācārya*, the father of the great Bengal writer *Raghunandana*. A *Hariharācārya* composed an astrological work *Samayapradīpa* in *śaka* 1481 ( 1559-1560 A. D. ).

#### 85. The *Smṛticandrikā* of *Devannabhatta*

This is a well-known digest on *Dharmaśāstra*. An English translation of the portion of it which is concerned with *dāyabhāga* was published in 1867 by T. Kristnasvami Iyer at Madras. The text has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure ( up to *śrāddha* ) in Bombay and also in the Mysore Government Oriental series ( up to *āśauca* ). In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used and the Mysore edition for *āśauca* section. The *Smṛticandrikā* is a very extensive digest. It is almost the earliest ( except the *Kalpataru* ) among digests on *dharmaśāstra* of which mss. have yet been discovered. The printed text deals with the topics ( *kāṇḍas* ) of *Saṃskāra*, *Ātmika*, *Vyavahāra*, *Śrāddha*, *Āśauca*. It appears that

802 अध्यान्यायपि हरिहरेण कुहूयहणपरग्येवानिर्ज्ञातकर्तृत्वेन महार्णवलिसितत्वेन चोपालभ्य केभिरुक्तानीत्युक्तवोपन्यस्तानि । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 183.

803 इह जयन्तस्वामिमत्तं हरिहरेणोपन्यस्तम् । अग्न्यभावे तु विप्रस्येति श्लोकस्य कदाचित्कचिदसंनिहिताग्निः सामिरेव विषयः । ... तदेतज्जयन्तस्वामिसंमतं त्रैवर्णिकमात्रविषयत्वमस्य तेनैव दूषितम् । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 1339.



he wrote on *prāyaścitta* also. In the colophons of mss. of the work the name of the author is variously written as Devaṇṇa, Devaṇa, Devananda or Devagaṇa ( vide I. O. cat. pp. 405-406 ). He is also described therein as the son of Keśavādityabhāṭṭa and as a *Somayājī*.

The *Smṛticandrikā* quotes most profusely from numerous *smṛti-kāras* and affords valuable assistance in reconstructing some of the *smṛtis* and checking mss. and editions thereof. For example, it quotes about 600 verses from *Kātyāyana* on *vyavahāra* and about the same number from *Bṛhaspati*. Among works, commentators and authors of digests named by it the following may be noted : *Aparārka*, *Trikāṇḍī*, *Devarāta*, *Devasvāmī*, *Āpastambakalpabhāṣyārthakāra* ( *Āśauca* p. 84 ), *Dhāreśvara*, *Dharmabhāṣya*, *Dhūrtasvāmī*, *Pradīpa*, *Bhavanātha*, *Bhāṣya* on *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, *Dharma-dīpa* or *Pradīpa* ( *Āśauca* p. 63 ), *Bhāṣyārthasaṁgrahakāra*, *Manu-vṛtti*, *Medhātithi*, *Mitākṣarā*, *Vaijayantī* ( a lexicon ), *Viśvarūpa*, *Viśvadarśa* ( *Āśauca* p. 164 ), *Śaṁbhu*, *Śrīkara*, *Śivasvāmī*, *Smṛti-bhāskara*, *Smṛtyarthasāra*. He mentions a *Bhāṭṭacārya* on *Āśauca* ( p. 1, 2 ), probably *Śrīnivāsa*, the author of *Śuddhidīpikā* who wrote about 1159-60 A. D. ( *JASB* 1915 p. 334 ). He quotes a passage from the work of an author, whom he styles *Guru* ( probably his own teacher or father ).<sup>804</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* often criticizes these works and authors and advances its own views after considering the positions of others. *Devaṇṇabhāṭṭa* was a southern writer and his work is according to judicial decisions of great authority in southern India.<sup>805</sup> But it has been held that in spite of its high authority it cannot override the *Mitākṣarā* even in the *Madras Presidency*.<sup>806</sup>

The contents of the *Smṛticandrikā* are : various *Dharmas*, such as those of *varṇas*, *āśramas*; usages of countries; *saṁskāras*, *garbhā-*

804 ततश्च द्वादशरात्रादिष्वप्येतत्सूचितमिति गुरुणा व्याख्यातं ततश्च दशमेद्वेनि यदि दिवाशौचोत्पत्तिस्तदापि द्वाभ्यामित्येतद्वेदितव्यमित्येतदन्तेन मन्थेन । स्मृतिच० ( आशीष p. 63 ).

805 Vide 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487, 2 Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 209, I. L. R. 3 Mad. 290 ( P. C. ) at p. 302, I. L. R. 33 Mad. 439 and I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 ( P. C. ) for the high authority of the *स्मृतिचन्द्रिका* in southern India.

806 Vide I. L. R. 3 Mad. 265, 269 ( barren daughter not excluded by a daughter having sons ), I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 160 for this proposition.



dhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, marriage, etc., duties of student-hood and holidays; daily duties such as *lauca*, ācamana, brushing the teeth, bathing, *sandhyā*, *śrauta* and *smṛta* rites; duties of householder; the five daily *yajñas*; rules about taking food, forbidden food; procedure of law courts, means of proof, ordeals, the various titles of law such as deposit, partnership, *dayabhāga*; detailed rules about śrāddha, its various kinds, persons entitled to perform śrāddhas, the brāhmaṇas proper to be invited at śrāddha etc.

The *Smṛticandrikā* refers to Vijñāneśvara with great respect.<sup>807</sup> Yet there are several interesting points on which the *Smṛticandrikā* differs from the *Mitākṣarā*. The *Smṛticandrikā* questions (vide note 638 above) the statement of the *Mit.* that unequal distribution by the father of ancestral property among his sons should not be resorted to, as it has come to be abhorred by the people. The *Smṛticandrikā* does not approve of the definition of *daya* given by the *Mit.*<sup>808</sup> The *Smṛticandrikā* does not accept Vijñāneśvara's explanation of the word 'apratīṣṭhitā' occurring in the sūtra of Gautama, but upholds Apararka's explanation of it (vide note 771 above). The *Smṛticandrikā* favours the theory of spiritual benefit in matters of succession and therefore among daughters prefers one that has sons over another daughter who is sonless.<sup>809</sup> It criticizes the reasons advanced by the *Mit.* for preferring the mother over the father as an heir to their deceased son and says that both parents succeed together.<sup>810</sup> Though the *Smṛticandrikā* in this way in some

807 व्याख्यातं चान्यथा विज्ञानेश्वरपादैः । मातरि पूर्वं प्रसीताया ... पक्षिणी क्षिपेदिति ।  
स्मृतिच० (आशौच p. 64). This is a quotation from *मिताक्षरा* on याज्ञ.  
III. 20.

808 न च दायशब्देन यद्वनं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तदुच्यत इति  
दायशब्दनिर्दिष्टार्थं मिताक्षरात्यामुक्तं युक्तम् । एवं हि पत्युः स्वं पतिसंबन्धादेव  
निमित्तात्पत्नीस्वं भवतीति तस्यापि दायत्वापत्तिः । नतश्च अदायाः स्त्रिय इति श्रुति-  
विरोधो दुर्वारः स्यात् । अस्मन्मते तु विभागार्हं स्वं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य  
स्वं भूतं दायशब्दार्थं इति विभागार्हं पत्नीस्वं न दायः । स्मृतिच० II. pp. 267-268.

809 एवं च बुद्धितृप्तं संतानमुत्तेनादृष्टोपकारसंबन्धेनासन्नता । स्मृतिच० II. p. 295.

810 चशब्देन सूचितस्य दौहित्रस्यानन्तरमेव मातापितरौ समसमये धनभाजौ तयोर्गवान्तर-  
क्रमन्यायाभावादित्यवगन्तव्योभिप्रायः । अन्येः पुनरन्यथोत्प्रेक्षितम् । पिता सपत्नी-  
पुत्रेणैव साधारणः &c. स्मृतिच० II. p. 297; vide note 638 above for the  
full quotation.



cases criticizes the Mit., it generally follows its lead. It holds, just as the Mit. does, that sons acquire by birth ownership in ancestral property. The author asserts that he puts forward no imaginary views but only such views as are based on (authoritative) texts.<sup>811</sup>

As the Smṛticandrikā names the Mit., Aparārka and Smṛtyarthasāra, its upper limit cannot be placed earlier than 1150 A. D. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Buddhasingh vs Lallusingh*<sup>812</sup> that Devanandabhaṭṭa is supposed to have been a contemporary of Aparārka. But this supposition is not quite correct. Since Aparārka is quoted several times as an authority to be preferred even to the Mit., it looks more probable that there is some distance of time between Aparārka and Devanandabhaṭṭa. Hemādri quotes the views of the Smṛticandrikā probably oftener than those of any other *nibandhakāra*. In one place<sup>813</sup> he does not approve of the explanation given by the Smṛticandrikā of a verse occurring in the Mahābhārata about a man with male issue performing śrāddha on the thirteenth *tithi*. In another<sup>814</sup> place Hemādri refers to the view of the Smṛticandrikā on the question whether the *śrāddha* on *amāvāsya* is optional with śrāddha in dark half. Therefore it follows that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed at least a generation earlier than Hemādri, i. e. before 1225 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā is frequently quoted by the Sarasvativilāsa, the Viramitrodaya and other digests.

811 सर्वलोकहितार्थाय क्रियते स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ॥ स्वाभिप्रायेण हि मया न किञ्चिदिह लिख्यते । किं तु वाचनिकं सर्वमतो ग्राह्येव निर्भये ॥ Intro. verses.

812 L. R. 42, I. A. 208 at p. 223.

813 यत्तु महाभारते दानधर्मेषु-ज्ञातीनां तु भवेच्छ्रेष्ठः कुर्वन् श्राद्धं त्रयोदशीम् । नावश्यं तु युवानोऽस्य मयीयन्ते नरा गृहे ॥ -इति पुत्रमरणरूपस्य दोषस्यापस्तम्बायुक्तस्य निराकरणं कृतं तदपि सात्यन्तरुतम् । ... यत्त्ववश्यं न श्रियन्त एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारस्य व्याख्यानं तदयुक्तम् । चतुर्वर्गः (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 482; the स्मृतिच. does quote the text of the महाभारत and remarks 'अवश्यं श्रियन्तं न श्रियन्त इत्यर्थः' p. 369.

814 यन्निगमस्मरणं-अपरपक्षे यदहः संपद्येताममावास्यायां विशेषेणेति तत् पृथक्त्वेपि उभयपक्षाविरोधीति न विकल्पे प्रमाणमिति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः । चतुर्वर्गः III. 2. 461; the स्मृतिच. does contain the text quoted and remarks, अतो यत्कश्चिदयुक्तममावास्याश्राद्धमपरपक्षिकेण श्राद्धेन विकल्प्यत इति तदुपास्तम् । II. p. 399.



Several authors composed works styled *Smṛticandrikā*, e. g. there is a *Smṛticandrikā* of Śukadeva-miśra ( I. O. cat. p. 471 No. 1549 ), another by Āpadeva ( Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 301 ), another by Vāmadevabhaṭṭācārya ( Mitra's Notices, vol. IX, p. 137 ).

### 86. Haradatta

Haradatta's fame stands very high as a commentator. He wrote a commentary called *Anākūla* on the *Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra* ( D. C. Ms. No. 2 of 1866-68 ), a commentary on the *Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha* ( vide Dr. Winternitz's ed. of 1897, p. XIII ), a commentary called *Anāvīlā* on the *Āśvālāyana-grhya-sūtra* ( published in the *Trivandrum* series ), a commentary called *Mitākṣatā* on the *Gautamadharmasūtra* and a commentary named *Ujvalā* on the *dharmasūtra* of *Āpastamba*. His commentaries are very good models of ideal commentaries. His commentary on the *dharmasūtra* of *Gautama* ( printed by the *Ānandaśrama Press*, Poona ) is more concise than that on the *Dharmasūtra* of *Āpastamba* ( large extracts of which were published by *Bühler* in his edition in the *B. S.* series, the whole being printed by *Halasyanath Sastri* at *Kumbhakonam* and in the *Mysore Government Oriental Library series* ). In his commentary on the *Dharmasūtras* he quotes verses from numerous *smṛtis* and from the *purāṇas* but hardly ever mentions by name any commentator or *nibandhakāra*. In his *Anāvīlā* ( page 9 ) he quotes the views of a *Bhāṣyakāra* who is probably *Devasvāmin* and mentions also a *Caṇḍogagrhyabhāṣyakāra* ( on I. 2. 3 ). In his commentaries on both the *Dharmasūtras* he frequently quotes the opinions of previous commentators with the words ' anye, ' ' aparāḥ, ' ' kecit ; ' vide *G. Dh. S.* II. 28, VII. 4 and 14, IX. 52, XI. 17, XII. 32 and 33, XXIV. 5, XXVI. 9, XXVIII. 7 and 44 ; *Āp. Dh. S.* I. 1. 4. 24, I. 2. 5. 2 and 18, I. 3. 10. 4, I. 3. 11. 20, I. 5. 15. 20. etc. From the fact that he mentions two interpretations on *Āp. Dh. S.* I. 2. 5. 2. with the words ' aparā āha ' and ' ityanye ' and several interpretations on II. 7. 17. 22 it follows that he had before him two or three commentaries on *Āp. Dh. S.* In *Bühler's* edition *Haradatta* on *Āp. Dh. S.* I. 1. 2. 38 appears to refer to a *grhya-vṛtti*, but in the *Kumbhakonam* edition the reading is different ( viz. *grhye gatam* ). He is very careful to



point out the un-Pāṇinian forms in the sūtras of Gautama<sup>815</sup> and Āpastamba, explains at great length all grammatical matters and generally prefers readings that are in consonance with the rules of Pāṇini. He very often says that the text of the sūtras, particularly of Āpastamba, as handed down by oral tradition was either wrong or followed Vedic usage as regards grammar.<sup>816</sup>

From various references Haradatta seems to have been an inhabitant of Southern India or was at least very familiar with its usages. On Gautama XI. 20 he instances several usages of the Colas. On Gautama XV. 18 he gives a synonym in the Draviḍa language for<sup>817</sup> a skin disease called 'Kilāsa.' On Āp. Gr. S. VI. 6 (the sūtra 'nadinirdeśaśca etc.') he gives Kāveri and Vegavatī as instances. On Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 (last sūtra) he refers to certain practices of the Draviḍas observed when the Sun is in Aries or Virgo.<sup>818</sup> The Vīramitrodaya classes Haradatta and the Smṛticandrikakāra among southern *nibandhakāras*.<sup>819</sup> From his remark on Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 25 (the sūtra 'anyatra rāhudarśanāt') that the northerners do not recite that sūtra it appears that he affirms that he was a southerner.

Haradatta seems to have been a great devotee of Śiva. He begins his commentary on Gautama, on Āśvalāyana-gr̥hya and Āp. Gr. with an obeisance to Rudra and his commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. and on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (otherwise called Ekāgni-

815 e. g. on गौ. ध. सू. XXV. 8 he says 'वाङ्मनसोरिति पाठोऽस्मभ्यं न रोचते । अचतुरेति समासान्तविधिप्रसङ्गान्त ।

816 e. g. on आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 31. 21 'प्रायत्यग्नश्चर्चकाले चर्चया च' he says 'प्रायत्यग्नश्चर्चयाग्नेयां काले चर्चया च । अयं तावदध्यानु रूपः पाठः । अधीयमानस्तु प्रमादश्छान्दसो वा ।'. Vide remarks on आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 2 and II. 3. 7. 7 also.

817 किलासः त्वग्दोषो वललीति द्रविडानां प्रसिद्धः ।

818 तत्र द्रमिडाः कन्यामेषस्थे सवितर्यादित्ययूजामाचरन्ति भूमौ मण्डलमालिख्येत्यादीन्युदाहरणानि ।

819 Vide श्री ० p. 705 शुद्ध्याह्निकया यत्र कण्ठोक्तः पत्नी दुहितर इत्यादौ यासां स्त्रीणां धनाधिकारस्तासामेव । अन्येतां तु श्रुतिमनुवचनाभ्यां दायग्रहणनिषेध एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारहरदत्तादीनां दाक्षिणात्यनिबन्धूणां जीमूतपाहनादिपौरुषस्थसर्वनिबन्धूणां सिद्धान्ताच्च ।



kāṇḍa, 25th and 26th *prāśnas* of Āpastamba-kalpa ) with an obeisance to Mahādeva. Burnell ( Tanjore mss. cat. p. 170 ) tells us that according to tradition in Southern India, Rudradatta, the commentator of the Āp. Śrauta-sūtra, is the same as Haradatta. In his commentary on Āp. Gr. S. I. 13. 5 ( ghoṣavad caturakṣaram vā ) he gives as instances of the names of males Hara, Rudra, Deva, Haradatta and Bhavanāga. In the colophons the Anāvīlā is described as the work of Haradattācārya-miśra.

Ghose in his Hindu Law ( 3rd ed. Intro. p. XV ) says that, like Medhātithi, Haradatta denies the heritable rights of widows and must have come before Vijñāneśvara and not after. But Ghose appears to be wrong. Haradatta first says that according to the *acārya* ( i. e. Āpastamba ) the *sapīṇḍas* of the deceased who took the property were obliged to maintain the widow of the deceased, while the view of Gautama was that the widow took, on failure of male issue, an equal share along with the *sapīṇḍas*, and then Haradatta says that he himself liked the latter view.<sup>820</sup> He often gives interesting information. 'On Gautama XVII. 33 he tells us that *asafoetida* is eaten by all, even though it is a matter for consideration whether being the exudation of a tree, it is to be regarded as due to cutting (and so forbidden).<sup>821</sup> On Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 5. 14 he cites as an example of reviling ( *a-krośa* ) the following : ' the Taittiriya is a Śākha that is *ucchiṣṭa* ( the leavings of food eaten ), the Yājñavalkya and other Brāhmaṇa works are modern'.<sup>822</sup> On Gautama IV. 5. he says that what distinguishes the Prājāpatya form of marriage from the Brāhma and others is that there is in the former a stipulation that the husband is not to enter into another order of life ( *āśrama* ) nor is he to marry another woman.<sup>823</sup> On Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 15 he says that whereas in the case of marriage with a paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter, the act springs

820 On आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 2 ' पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः ' he says ' भार्या तु रिक्थग्राहिणः सपिण्डाया रक्षेयुर्न तु दायग्रहणमित्याचार्यस्य पक्षः । ... गौतमस्तु पुत्राभावे पत्याः सपिण्डादिभिः समशमाह । ... वयमप्येतमेव पक्षं रोचयामहे । '.

821 हिङ्गस्तु निर्यासो ब्रश्चनप्रभवो न वेति चिन्त्यम् । सर्वथा शिष्टा अपि भक्षयन्ति ।

822 तैत्तिरीयमुक्तिप्रशास्ता याज्ञवल्कादीनि ब्राह्मणानीदानीन्तनानीत्यादय आक्रोशाः ।

823 नाश्रमन्तरं प्रवेष्टव्यं नापि स्न्यन्तरमुपपन्नव्यामिति मन्त्रेण समयः क्रियते । एष ब्राह्मदेः प्राजापत्यस्य विशेषः ।



from the fact that one is pleased thereby, there is no necessity to infer a *śāstra* ( a Vedic passage ) once existing but now lost ( in support of such usage ).<sup>824</sup>

The date of Haradatta is a rather difficult problem. Bühler ( S. B. E. vol. II. p. XLIII ) at first thought that Haradatta probably wrote in the 16th century, but in his 2nd edition of the *Āp. Dh. S.* he says ( p. VIII ) that the Munich ms of the *Ujvalā* written in Poona about 1600 A. D. shows the interpolated text found in all Devanāgarī copies and that therefore Haradatta is older than at least 1450-1500 A. D. The *Viramitrodaya*<sup>825</sup> frequently cites the *Mitākṣarā* of Haradatta on Gautama. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa ( born in 1513 A. D. ) in his *Prayoga-ratna* quotes Haradatta's comment on Gautama VIII. 14-22 about *samskāras* and his son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa names both the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Ujvalā* of Haradatta in his *Dvaitanirṇaya*. The *Prayogapārijāta* of Nṛsiṃha, which is quoted in the *Prayogarātna* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and is therefore not later than the first quarter of the 16th century, cites Haradatta's explanation of *Āp. Gr. S.* ( on 'pravāsād-etya putrasya śiraḥ parigrhya jāpati' etc. ) and contrasts it with Nārāyaṇa's view. The *Subodhini* of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa ( about 1375 A. D. ) on *Mit.* ( Yāj II. 132 ) quotes certain *smṛti* passages as found in the *vṛtti* of *Āpastamba* which are found in Haradatta's gloss.<sup>826</sup> Hence it follows that Haradatta cannot be later than about 1300 A. D. The fact that Haradatta hardly ever names any commentator except perhaps *Devasvāmin*, the *Bhāṣyakāra* of *Āpastambe-grhya*, and that he holds antiquated views about the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate are strong arguments in favour of the view that Haradatta is comparatively an early writer. Hardly any writer after *Vijñāneśvara* assigns the same position to the widow as Hara-

824 यत्र विनृण्वसूमातुलमुतापरिणयनादौ प्रतियुपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्रोत्सन्नपाठं शास्त्र-  
मनुमीयते प्रतिरेव प्रवृत्तिहेताः संभवात् ।

825 Vide *दीर्.* pp. 169, 655.

826 पूर्वाभावे परः पर इति रिक्थग्रहणकमपि दर्शितो वाक्यशेषे स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वन्यथा दर्शितः ।  
तथाहि आपस्तम्बवृत्तो स्मृत्यन्तरसंग्रहः । आरसः पुत्रिकाधीनक्षेत्रज्ञौ पुत्रिकासुतः ।  
पानर्भवश्च कान्तिनः सहोदो गृहसंभवः । दत्तः क्रीतः स्वयंदत्तः रुत्रिमश्चापविद्रुहः ।  
यत्र कं चोत्पादितश्च स्वपुत्रा दश पञ्च चेति । सुबोधिनी. This occurs in *हरदत्त's*  
comment on *आप. ध. सू.* II. 6. 14. 1 ( Bühler's ed. of 1894, p. 81 ).



datta does. Hence it appears that Haradatta could not have flourished much later than 1100 A. D. So he must be placed between 1100-1300 A. D., very probably near the earlier limit than the later one.

One important question is as to the identity of Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharma and Grhya sūtras and Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, a commentary on the Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya. Bühler felt uncertain about the identity. Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa in his Dvaita-nirṇaya speaks of Haradatta as expounding<sup>827</sup> a *karikā* of Hari (Vākyapadiya III. p. 260, Benares ed.) and also speaks of Haradatta as the author of the Ujvalā and the Mitākṣarā without making any distinction between the two. This shows that he regarded the two as identical. Haradatta in his commentaries on the Dharmasūtras gives far more attention to grammar than almost any other commentator of Dharmaśāstra.<sup>828</sup> His grammatical disquisition on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 (‘plāvanam ca nāmno’ etc.) is almost identical with the Padamañjarī on Pāṇini VIII. 2. 83 (‘pratyabhivadeśūdre’). On Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 17 he quotes a verse as from the grammarians for defining the location of the *udicyas*.<sup>829</sup> The Mādhaviya Dhātu-vṛtti mentions the Padamañjarī. From this it follows that the Padamañjarī was composed before 1300 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar places Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, about 1100 A. D.<sup>830</sup> The learned editor of the Anāvilā in the Trivandrum series points out that, as Haradatta is

827 तदुक्तं हरिणा—गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात् प्रेषणे कर्मतां गतः । निचमात्कर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वधर्मेणाभिधीयते ॥ अस्यार्थो हरदत्तेन विवृतः । हेतुनिर्णयः.

828 Vide comment on आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1 (तदतिक्रमे विद्याकर्म निःस्रवति) where हरदत्त says ‘स्रवतेः सकर्मप्रयोगो भाष्ये दृष्टः स्रवत्युदकं कुण्डिकेति’ where he refers to the महाभाष्य of पतञ्जलि (vide Keilhorn, vol. II, p. 69).

829 ‘प्रागुद्भूतो विभजते ईसः क्षीरिदकं यथा । विदुषां शब्दसिद्ध्यर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती । इति वैयाकरणः । तस्याः शरावत्या उदकतीरनिवर्तिन उदीच्याः ।’ हेमाद्रि quotes on the same sūtra of आप, the same verse with the reading सरस्वती for शरावती and styles it the saying of the ancients (चतुर्वर्ग, III. 1. p. 1350). The अमरकोश makes शरावती the boundary of भारतवर्ष. Is Śarāvati the modern Rapti, a tributary of the Śaravā, or is it the modern Shirāvati near Honavar in North Canara?

830 ‘Systems of Sanskrit Grammar’ pp. 39-40.



quoted in the *Puruṣakāra* which in its turn is mentioned in the *Dhātu-vṛtti* of Mādhava and as Śaraṇadeva, the author of the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, who wrote in *śaṭke* 1095, cites the Jainendra and Kaiyaṣa but not Haradatta nor the Padamañjari, Haradatta wrote about the close of the 12th century A. D. These circumstances render it highly probable (if not certain) that Haradatta the commentator of the *Dharmasūtras* is the same as the author of the *Padamañjari* and that he flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. and probably about 1200 A. D. The *Smṛticandrikā* twice refers to the *bhāṣya* of the *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra*.<sup>831</sup> Haradatta's commentary is styled *vṛtti* and not *bhāṣya* and the citations do not occur in his work. Hence it appears that the *Smṛticandrikā* did not know Haradatta's works and the latter could not have flourished much earlier than the *Smṛti-candrikā*.

In the *Padamañjari* Haradatta is said to have been the son of Padma ( Rudra )-kumāra, younger brother of Agnikumāra and a pupil of Aparājita.<sup>832</sup> In his *Padamañjari* Haradatta employs the word 'kūcimañci' which is a Telugu word.<sup>833</sup> The *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa* printed in Grantha characters contains 12 chapters ( 54 to 65th ) and the *Śivarahasya* printed in the said characters has one chapter ( 17th ) which set out the life ( *carita* ) of a Haradattācārya. It is there stated that Haradattācārya's original name was Sudarśana, that he was the son of Vāsudeva and that he died 3979 years after Kaliyuga began<sup>834</sup> ( i. e. 878 A. D. ). This Haradattācārya, being the son of Vāsudeva, was not the same as the author

831 अत्र हि अधिकारत इति हेतुबलात् अन्येत्यादिपक्षत्रयं पूर्वपक्षत्वेनोपन्यस्तमित्युक्तं तद्भाष्ये । स्मृतिच० I. p. 25 ( on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 19-23 ) : अत एव जीवन्पुत्रेभ्यो दायं विभजेदित्यापस्तम्बसूत्रं व्याचक्षणेन तद्भाष्यकारेण पुत्रेभ्य एव दायं विभजेन्न स्त्रीभ्यो दुहितृभ्य इत्युक्तम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 300.

832 Vide Report on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri pp. pp 13-20 and pp. 171-178 ( extract ).

833 या पुनर्देसभाषाभिः संज्ञाः कूचिमञ्चीत्यादयो न तासां साधुत्वम् । p. 16 of the Report on Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri.

834 कन्यादौ च चतुःसहस्रसंहिते यत्रैकविंशोनके पुष्ये मासि विलम्बितानि क्षमगादष्ट-प्रजो मोहलः । पञ्चम्यां सितपक्षके भृगुदिने सखामजोदकटे कंसग्रामनिवासिभिः सुदर्शनः सार्धं विमानोज्ज्वलः ॥. कंसग्राम is in the Tanjore District.



of the Padamañjarī, who was the son of Padmakumāra. This earlier Haradatta may probably be the same as the Haradattācārya cited as an authority in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha on the Nakuliśa-pāsupatadarśana.<sup>835</sup> Dr. Jolly ( R. u. S. p. 33 ) identifies without sufficient foundation the Haradattācārya of the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha with Haradatta, the commentator of Āpastamba and Gautama.

A work called Hari-hara-tāratamya and another called Caturveda-tātparya-saṁgraha are ascribed to a Haradatta. Of the latter there is a ms. in the Deccan College collection (No. 109 of 1871-72 ), which contains 154 verses of fine penmanship. The first and last are given below.<sup>836</sup> Whether these two works were composed by Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharmasūtras, it is difficult to say. In the latter work the author sings a hymn of praise to Śiva as the supreme deity, points out how the Vedic *mantras* refer to him, how the various rites are meant for him, refers to the mythological representations of Śiva as *Kirāta*, or as wearing skin etc. All the verses upto 143 are in the Vasantatilakā metre, while towards the end there are a few verses in other metres such as Śikharinī and Rathoddhata. He was a staunch Śaivite,<sup>837</sup> though the hymn breathes a spirit of tolerance and sympathy for different religious and philosophical systems. He refers to the Maitrāyaṇa Śruti, Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa, Kātyāyana-gr̥hya, Bhagvadgītā, the Purāṇas as supplementing the Vedas ( vedopabrm̐haka ), the Sāṅkhya and Yoga.

835 तत्र विधीयमानमुपायफलं लाभः । ज्ञानतपोनित्यत्वस्थितिशुद्धिमेदात् पञ्चविधः ।  
तदाह हरदत्ताचार्यः । ज्ञानं तपोश्च नित्यत्वं स्थितिः शुद्धिश्च पञ्चमम् । &c. सर्वदर्शन-  
संग्रह pp. 162-63 ( Govt. Oriental Series, Poona ).

836 वरुणै नमो भवति यस्य गुणाः समग्रा नारायणोपनिषदा यदुपासनोक्ता । यो नः प्रचो-  
दयति बुद्धिमधिकृतौ यस्तं त्वामनन्यगतिरीश्वरं संश्रयामि ॥ first verse: अवष्टित-  
घटनापटवे प्रकटितकरुणाय सिन्धुभृते । वटतरुमूलस्थितये विघटिततमसे महेश्वराय  
नमः ॥ last verse.

837 Verses 144-145 are विधातारं कश्चिद्भजति भजते कश्चन हरिं सुरानम्यान्त्ये जगति  
सकलाः सर्वविधयः । तथापि त्वद्रूपे शिव ननु यदा चर्मवदिति श्रुतो मन्त्रो देवान्तर-  
भजनदेन्यं न सहते ॥ कश्च शृङ्गं पुष्पं नमसि मृगतृष्णासु सलिलं प्रसृतिर्वन्ध्याया-  
मनवधिक्रमायुस्तनुभूताम् । विमुक्तिर्वा देवान्तरभजनलभ्या पशुपते न शक्यं नः  
समावयितुमपि सर्वं विमृशताम् ॥



## 87. Hemādri

Hemādri and Mādhava are the Castor and Pollux in the galaxy of *dakṣiṇātya* writers on Dharmasāstra. Hemādri is a very voluminous writer. He is the author of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, an encyclopædia of ancient religious rites and observances. According to the statements contained in the work itself the author intended to treat Dharmasāstra in five sections, called vrata, dāna, tirtha, mokṣa and pariśeṣa.<sup>838</sup> The Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa was divided into four parts, viz., Devatā, Kālanirṇaya, Karmavipākā, Lakṣaṇasamuccaya.<sup>839</sup> The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series. Four volumes containing 6 parts and covering about 6000 pages have been so far printed. The second and third volumes have two parts each. The fourth volume which deals with *prāyaścitta* does not appear to be the work of Hemādri.<sup>840</sup> The work so far published is concerned with *vrata*, *dāna*, *śrāddha* and *kāla* (the latter two being parts of the pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa). That portion of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi which was intended to treat of *tirtha* and *mokṣa* has not yet come to light. It is extremely doubtful whether the author was able to carry out his gigantic scheme. Mss. of portions of the great work are described in the catalogues under various names, e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1379, p. 407 on *śāntika-paustikāni* is the same subject that is treated in *vratakhaṇḍa* pp. 1003ff., though there are considerable variations between the Ms. and the printed text.

Hemādri's is a standard work on the subjects with which he deals. He quotes most profusely from smṛtis and purāṇas and names a host of writers. He appears to have been a profound student of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. The discussions in his work, particularly on śrāddha and kāla, cannot be well understood without thorough acquaintance with the numerous *nyāyas* of the mīmāṃsā

838 स्रण्डानि चास्मिन्मृतदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधानि क्रमशो भवन्ति । यत्तद्व्रतं तत्परिशेषस्रण्ड-  
मस्रण्डिनो यत्र विभाति धर्मः ॥ चतुर्वर्गं ॥ vol. II, part I verse 16; स्रण्डैश्चतुर्वि-  
भ्रतदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधैर्वर्गचतुष्कमुक्त्वा । विरच्यते तत्परिशेषस्तुव्यावर्णनार्थं परिशेष-  
स्रण्डम् ॥ vol. III, part 1 verse 25.

839 तत्रादौ देवताकाण्डं ततः कालविनिर्णयः । विपाकः कर्मणां पश्चाद्लक्षणाणां समुच्चयः ॥  
मस्रप्रकरणानीह चत्वार्येतान्यनुक्रमात् ॥ चतुर्वर्गं ॥ III, 2, verse 26.

840 It begins 'अथेदानीं हेमाद्रिकारेण लोकोपकारार्थं &c. '.



which he employs at every step. To illustrate this a few instances may be cited at random. On pp. 137, 143, 156, 159, of his *kāla-nirṇaya* ( vol. III part 2 ) he makes use of four different *nyāyas* of the *mīmāṃsā*.<sup>841</sup> The eminent commentators and *nibandhakāras* on *dharmaśāstra* and other works named by him are given below.<sup>842</sup> It is somewhat remarkable that though he quotes *Aparārka* and the *Smṛti-candrikā* scores of times he hardly ever mentions by name the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara*. Though he does not promise a treatment of *vyavahāra*, here and there he makes sallies into the domain of *vyavahāra*. For example, he quotes the well-known *sūtra* of *Gautama* ( 10. 39 ) on the sources of ownership and holds a lengthy discussion thereon.<sup>843</sup> In another place he digresses into the question of the various kinds of *strīdhana* and their devolution ( vol. III, part 1, pp. 530-531 ). He was of opinion that everyone, to whatever *śākha* he may belong, should perform *śrāddha* in accordance with the directions thereon in all *śākhās*, *kalpa* and *grhya sūtras*, *smṛtis*, *purāṇas* and usages.<sup>844</sup> He makes the important

841 तेन ज्योतिषोमादिवत्-एकस्य तूभयत्वे संयोगपृथक्त्वमिति न्यायेन नित्यत्वमपि स्वीक्रियते ।  
p. 137 ; this refers to जैमिनि IV. 3. 5-7 ; भोजनप्रतिषेधस्य नित्यजन्माष्टमीव्रत-  
स्तुत्यर्था वेदितव्या ( applying the *nyāya* based on न पृथक्त्वमभिश्चेतव्यः )  
p. 143 ; this refers to जैमिनि I. 2. 5 and 18 and शाचरभाष्य thereon ; 'पुरोडाशं  
चतुर्धा करोति आग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोति ' p. 156 ( this is उपसंहारन्याय in जै. III. 1.  
26-27 ) ; यानि पुनर्वाक्यानि व्रतशब्दवन्ति दृश्यन्ते तानि न निषेधपराणि नोद्यन्त-  
मादित्यं वीक्षतेतिवत् । p. 159 ( this is पर्युदास ).

842 अपराकं ( very frequently ), आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रभाष्य, कर्कोपाध्याय ( frequently  
quoted ), गोविन्दराज, गोविन्दोपाध्याय, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवस्वामी ( frequently ),  
निर्णयामृत, न्यायमञ्जरी, पण्डितपरितोष, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, बृहन्कथा, बृहद्भार्तिक, भवदेव,  
मदननिर्घण्टु, मधुशर्मा, मेधातिथि, वामदेव, विधिरत्न, विश्वप्रकाश, विश्वरूप, विश्वादर्श,  
शङ्कर ( very frequently ), शम्भु, बृहद्भातातपभाष्यकार, शिवदत्त, श्रीधर, सोम-  
दत्त, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ( very frequently ), स्मृतिप्रदीप, स्मृतिमहर्षणवप्रकाश ( or स्मृति-  
महर्षणव or महर्षणव very often ), स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरिहर ( very frequently ).

843 चतुर्वर्गः vol. III, part 1, p. 525 where he says 'स्वामिसंबन्धेनैव निमित्तेन यदन्य-  
दर्थं द्रव्यमन्यस्य संबवति ( स्वं भवति ? ) स दायः । ' ; here evidently he has  
in view the मिताक्षरा.

844 सर्वशास्त्रागृह्यकल्पसूत्रस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासाचारावगतधर्ममात्रयुक्तमेव सर्वैः श्राद्धं कर्तव्यमिति  
स्थितम् । चतुर्वर्गः III. 1. p. 753. The discussion is started on p. 748.



statement<sup>845</sup> that a person following any particular Vedic śākhā may enter into alliance by marriage with any other person of the same country following another Vedic śākhā.

Hemādri gives some account of himself in his work. The Mss. present great variations from the printed text. He belonged to the Vatsagotra.<sup>846</sup> He was the grandson of Vasudeva and the son of Kāmadeva. The introductions to the *khaṇḍas* contains fulsome praise of Hemādri. One verse says that Hemādri scored out by showering wealth on poor people the lines that Brahmā had drawn on their forehead at the time of their birth (foredooming them to eternal poverty) and that Brahmā acquiesces in such conduct of Hemādri.<sup>847</sup> Another verse says that none existed, exists or will exist surpassing Hemādri.<sup>848</sup> He describes himself as in charge of the imperial records of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad).<sup>849</sup> In the colophons and the body of the work also he is described as the *karṇadhīśvara* of Mahādeva, as highly honoured by the king and as a minister (*mantrin*) of the king.<sup>850</sup> He gives in the introduction to the *Vratākhaṇḍa* a detailed pedigree of the Yādavas of Devagiri. In the section on *kāla* (vol. III, part 2) he starts with Saṅghaṇa (i. e. Singhaṇa

845 आयावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशास्त्राध्यायिनामव्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः सर्वतो विवाहसंचन्धाः । ... अतो न कस्यादाने नापि हविदाने स्वशास्त्रीयद्विजनियम इति सिद्धम् । vol. III. 1. p. 381.

846 तेषामेव शिरोमणिर्विजयते विश्वामिधानो मुनिः ॥ गोत्रे तस्य बभूव निर्मलगुणश्रेणीभूता-  
मग्रणीर्विद्याचारविवेकविक्रमनिधिः श्रीवासुदेवः कृत्वा । verses 1 and 2 of vol. III. 1.  
The D. C. ms. No. 312 of 1884-87 reads वत्साभिधानो मुनिः and it appears that विश्वामिधानो of the printed text is a mistake.

847 लिपिं विधात्रा लिखितां जनस्य भाले विभूत्या परिमृज्य दुष्टम् । कल्याणिनीमेष लिख-  
त्यथेनां चित्रं प्रमाणकुरुते विधिश्च ॥ vol. I, verse 15 ; vol. III. 1. verse 17.

848 नैवासीन्न च वर्तते न भविता हेमाद्रिसूरः परः । vol. I. verse 20, vol. III. 1. verse 22.

849 अस्ति शस्तगुणस्तोमः सोमवंशविभूषणम् । महादेव इति ख्यातो राजराजेव भूतले ॥  
... तस्यास्ति नाम हेमाद्रिः सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः । निजोदारतया यश्च सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः ॥  
vol. I. verses 6 and 13. करण means a document. श्रीकरण may also mean  
' writing the word śrī ' ( on official documents ).

850 The colophon is श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमहादेवस्य समस्तकरणाधीश्वरः &c. महादेव-  
महाराजमन्त्र्यो हेमाद्रिराद्रात् । करोति निपुणं पुण्यमन्त्रोकरणनिर्णयम् ॥ vol. III. 1.  
p. 1318,



of the inscriptions), then speaks of his son Jaitrapāla ( i. e. Jaitugi ), his son Kṛṣṇa ( or Kanhara ) and lastly of Mahādeva, son of the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa. This is not the place to go into the genealogy of the Yādavas. There are some discrepancies between the genealogy as presented by Hemādri and as gathered from the inscriptions and numerous copperplate grants of the Yādavas. *Vide* Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part 2, pp. 248-249 for Hemādri and pp. 268-275 for extracts from the Vratākhaṇḍa, pp. 252 and 519 for two pedigrees of the Devagiri Yādavas and pp. 511-534 for history. The following may be consulted for the principal grants of the Yādavas :-- Ind. Ant. vol. 17, p. 117 ( Kalasbudruk plate of Bhīllama dated *śake* 948 or 1025 A. D. ), E. I. vol. III p. 110 ( Bahal inscription of Singhana dated *śake* 1144 ), E. I. vol. III p. 217-18 ( Gadag inscription of Bhīllama dated *śake* 1113 i. e. 1191 A. D. ), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 68 ( grant of Kṛṣṇa or Kanhara dated 1249-50 A. D. ), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 314 ( Paithan plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1193 ), E. I. vol. XIII, p. 198 ( Thana plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1194 i. e. 1272 A. D. ), E. I. vol. XIX, p. 20 ( Mandapur inscription of Kanhara dated *śake* 1172 i. e. 1250 A. D. wherein his younger brother Mahādeva is described as *yuvarāja*). Mahādeva reigned from 1260 to 1271 and Rāmacandra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, from 1271 to 1309 A. D. Since in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi Hemādri is said to be the keeper of the state records of Mahādeva, that work must have been composed at some time between 1260 and 1270 A. D. There are contemporary records available showing that Hemādri was in high favour not only with Mahādeva but also with his successor Rāmacandra. The Thana plate of Rāmacandra ( dated *śake* 1194, i. e. 1272 A. D. ) records the grant of a village called Vaul in Sāsaṭi ( modern Sāṣṭi in the Thana District ) to thirty-two brāhmaṇas by Acyuta Nāyaka of the Gautama gotra and descendant of Jalhana, who was the governor of Konkan, and describes<sup>851</sup> Hemādri as one who had attained a pre-eminent position in the government through the favour of Rāmacandra and as one who was in charge of all ( state ) records and was the foremost minister.

851 इत्यादिसमस्तविरुदावलिविराजमाने सकलभूवलयमनुशासति यदुकुलकुमुदचन्द्रे श्रीराम-  
चन्द्रनरेन्द्रे तथैतत्प्रसादावाप्तनिखिलराज्यधुरिणतां वहति समस्तहस्तिपकाव्यक्षे ...  
समस्तकरणाधिपत्यमङ्गिकुर्वणि च निर्जितसिद्धिमण्डले मन्त्रिचूडामणौ गुणरत्नरोद्गमाद्गौ  
हेमाद्रौ &c. E. I. vol. XIII at p. 202.



Hemādri is credited with a commentary on Śaunaka's *Pranava-kalpa*.<sup>852</sup> He appears to have written a *śrāddha-kalpa* according to the rules of Kātyāyana which is distinct from his *Śrāddhakhaṇḍa* (vide Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat., vol. II, p. 163, No. 217 and Stein's cat. p. 105). Hemādri also wrote a commentary<sup>853</sup> called *Kaivalyadīpikā* on the *Muktāphala* of Vopadeva, the famous author of the *Mugdhabodha* grammar. The *Muktāphala* embodies the philosophy of the *Bhāgavata* purāṇa in 19 adhyāyas and 784 verses (and a few lines in prose in 5th and 6th chapters). Vopadeva was a friend and protegee of Hemādri, who wrote several works at the encouragement of the latter. He says that he wrote the *Harilīlā* (published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 3), an index of the *Bhāgavata* for pleasing the minister Hemādri.<sup>854</sup> There is a commentary on this work called *Viveka* with which both Hemādri and Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī had something to do.<sup>855</sup> Hemādri also wrote a commentary called *Āyurvedarasāyaṇa* on the *Aṣṭāṅgharḍaya* of Vāgbhaṭa.

852 I. O. cat. p. 594 No. 1808.

853 टीका मुक्ताफलस्येमां नाम्ना केवल्यदीपिकाम् । हेमाद्रिः कटके चक्रे कामराजस्य (1 रामराजस्य) वेश्मनि ॥ इति श्रीमत्पौड्गलपचक्रवर्तिमहाराजाधिराजसोमवशोद्भव-रामराजमन्त्रिवर्यहेमाद्रिदेवविरचिता मुक्ताफलटीका समाप्ता । Mitra's Notices, vol. IV, pp. 67-68 No. 1466. The *मुक्ताफल* with the com. of हेमाद्रि has been published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 5 (1920). This edition reads *रामराजस्य*.

854 श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा वोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥ ms. in Bhadkamkar collection; the last verse is यस्य व्याकरणे वरेण्यघटनाः स्फीताः प्रबन्धा दश प्रख्याता नव वैयकेषु निधितिर्धारार्थमेकोद्भूतः । साहित्ये त्रय एव भागवत-तत्त्वोक्तौ त्रयस्तस्य च भूगोविणशिरोमणेरेह गुणाः के के न लोकोत्तराः ॥ This verse occurs at the end of the *मुक्ताफल* also.

855 The ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection folio 5 has 'इति श्री हरिलीलायां मधु-सूदनसरस्वतीनिर्मितं प्रथमस्कन्धविवरणम्'. A ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society Library ascribes the com. to हेमाद्रि and says मधुसूदनसरस्वती saw it through 'हरिलीलाविवेकोर्यं रामराजस्य वेश्मनि । कटके रचयांचक्रे तुष्टये हेमा-द्रिणा सताम् ॥ सरस्वतीश्रीमधुसूदनेन निर्व्यूढमेतद्रूपमोदनेन । जनः समस्तोपि रसा-यनन ब्रजेशभक्तिं ब्रजतादनेन ॥' (BBRAS. cat. p. 329 No. 1157).



Altogether Hemādri was a towering personality. His name is associated throughout the Maratha Country with the construction of numerous temples having a peculiar style of architecture. He is also credited with having invented the Modī script. Within a few decades his *Caturvarga-cintāmāṇi*, particularly its *dāna* and *vrata* sections, came to be looked upon as the standard work in the whole of the Deccan and southern India. Mādhava in his *Kalanirṇaya* (p. 67) expressly mentions the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri as an authority. This work was composed about 1340 A. D. In an inscription of Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadūra, son of Bukka I, dated *śake* 1291 (i. e. 1369 A. D.) the king is described as making various gifts following the composition of Hemādri.<sup>856</sup> This is obviously a reference to his *dānakhaṇḍa* and establishes that long before 1369 A. D. Hemādri had become a standard author in the Telugu country. The Vanapalli plate of Anna-Vema dated *śake* 1300 (about 1380 A. D.) describes Vema as giving the various gifts in Hemādri and his son as one who observed the *vratas* and *dānas*<sup>857</sup> described by Hemādri. Pedda-Komaṭi-Vema is described in a grant of *śake* 1344 as eager in bestowing gifts described in the rules of Hemādri.<sup>858</sup> Hemādri is quoted in the *Madanapārijāta*,<sup>859</sup> the *Dvaitanirṇaya* of Śaṅkarabhāṭṭa, the *Nirṇayasindhu* and other works.

### 88. Kullūkabhaṭṭa

Kullūka's commentary on the *Manusmṛti* styled the *Manvarthamuktāvali* is the most famous of all commentaries on Manu. It has been printed several times. In the following the *Nirṇayasāgara* edition of 1909 has been relied upon. Kullūka's commentary is concise and lucid and his remarks are always to the point. He avoids all unnecessary discussions and is never prolix. He was not however original. He drew upon the commentaries of Medhātithi and Govindarāja and incorporated a great deal from them

856 हेमाद्रिरुतिमार्गेण कुर्वन्दानान्यनेकशः । E. I. vol. XIV p. 102.

857 हेमाद्रिदानान्यकरोदेशोपायमुक्तं भूमिं द्विजमुक्तशेषाम् । and हेमाद्रिदानव्रती. Vide E. I. vol. III. pp. 59 and 61.

858 हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदक्षः । E. I. vol. XI. p. 325.

859 ये तु षट्त्रिंशन्मतेषु विचिकित्सन्ते तेषामपराधविज्ञानेश्वरचन्द्रिकाकारहेमाद्रिमृतयः प्रति-  
भटीकलंघ्याः । मदनपारिजात p. 536.



into his own work without acknowledgment. For example, on Manu XI. 95 he simply summarises the remarks<sup>860</sup> of Govindarāja and cites only one out of the several quotations that are found in Govindarāja's Manu-ṭīkā. He severely criticizes both Medhātithi and Govindarāja, particularly the latter. He frequently pours ridicule on the latter (vide note 713 above). At the end of his commentary he says<sup>861</sup> that Medhātithi's skill lay in expounding what texts were authoritative and of substance and what were not so, Govindarāja in concise words explained the hidden meaning of the brief text (of Manu), while Dharanidhara had his own method of explanation which was independent of previous tradition; and therefore he undertook to write a commentary that would clearly set forth the real meaning of Manu. He was very proud of his achievement and says that neither Medhātithi nor Govindarāja nor other commentators explained in the way he did and that explanatory material like his would be difficult to find elsewhere.<sup>862</sup> He notices the explanations of Medhātithi and Govindarāja hundreds of times, discusses various readings and his commentary deserves to a considerable extent the eulogy pronounced by Sir William Jones<sup>863</sup> "At length appeared Cullūca Bhaṭṭa, who, after a painful course of

860 'पुंस एव ब्राह्मणस्य मयप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदसत् । सुरालशुन ... अभक्ष्याणि स्युः ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति इहैव सा दुर्मतिः क्षीणपुण्या अप्सु जलोद्भवेति शुक्तिका वा पतिलोकं न सा याति ... इति शङ्खवसिष्ठयाज्ञवल्क्ये-  
ब्राह्मण्या अपि निषेधस्मरणात् । गोविन्दराज on मनु XI. 95; 'अत्र केचित् ... ब्राह्मणस्य पुंस एव मयप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदसत् पतिलोकं न सा याति ... सूकरी चोपजायते इति याज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिविरोधात् ।' कुल्लूक.

861 सारासारवचःप्रपञ्चनविधौ मेधातिथेश्चातुरी स्तोत्रं वस्तु निगूढमल्पवचनाद्गोविन्दराजो जगौ । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्धरणीधरस्य बहुशः स्वातन्त्र्यमेतावता स्पष्टं मानवमर्थतत्त्वमखिलं वक्तुं कृतोयं श्रमः ॥. Vide his remarks about धरणीधर on मनु II. 83 and IV. 50 'धरणीधरेण तु एकाक्षरपरं ब्रह्म प्राणायामपरं तपः इति पठितं ... मेधातिथिप्रभृति-भिर्वैद्वेदालिखितं यतः स्मिन्नायाठान्तरं तत्र स्वतन्त्रो धरणीधरः' and परंपरीयमान्नायं हित्वा विहृदिरादृतम् । पाठान्तरं व्यरचयन्मुधेह धरणीधरः ॥'

862 प्रायश्चित्ते बहुमुनिमतालोचनाद्यन्मयोक्तं सद्व्याख्यानं खलु मुनिगिरां तद्वज्रं गुणज्ञाः । नेतन्मेधातिथिरभिद्धे नापि गोविन्दराजो व्याख्यातारो न जगुरपरेष्वन्यतो दुर्लभं वः ॥  
last verse of chap. XI.

863 Vide Pedda Ramappa v Bangari Seshamma I. L. R. 2 Mad, 286 at p. 291.



study and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work of which it may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable, commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern."

Among the authors and works quoted by him (besides the usual *smṛtis*) are the following :—Garga ( on II. 6 ), Govindarāja, Dharaṇidhara, Bhāskara ( *bhāṣyakāra* of the *Vedāntasūtras*, on I. 8 and 15 ), Bhojadeva ( on VIII. 184 ), Medhātithi, Vāmana ( author of the *Kāśikā* ), Bhaṭṭavārtika-kṛt ( on XII. 106 ), Viśvarūpa ( the commentator of Yājñavalkya, on II. 189 and V. 68 ). The Viśvarūpa that he quotes on Manu V. 215 is the lexicographer and not the jurist as Aufrecht ( in his great catalogue ) appears to hold.

He gives us a little information about himself in the introductory verse.<sup>864</sup> He came of a Varendra Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal ( Gauḍa ) residing in Nandana and was the son of Bhaṭṭa Divākara. He wrote his commentary in Kāśī in the company of *Pandits*. On Manu VI. 14 he mentions the names of certain vegetables that were current in Malwa and among the *Vāhikas*.<sup>865</sup>

It appears that Kullūka also composed a digest called *Smṛti-sāgara*. A Ms. of a portion of it called *Śrāddhasāgara* exists in the Calcutta Sanskrit College ( cat. vol. II. p. 405, No. 446 ). In this his *Āsaucāsāgara* and *Vivādasāgara* are referred to.

I secured a transcript of the ms. of the *Śrāddhasāgara* in the Calcutta Sanskrit College through the kindness of the Principal. The *Śrāddhasāgara* deals with the following subjects :—definition of *śrāddha*; whether it is of the nature of *yāga*, *dāna* and *homa*; various kinds of *śrāddhas* such as *nitya*, *naimittika* &c.; the proper and improper places for *śrāddha*; the proper times for *śrāddha*; *Aṣṭakā-śrāddha*; *sūdras* can perform *aṣṭakā* and other *śrāddhas*; intercalary month; who are *pañkti-pavana brāhmaṇas*; meaning of

864 गौडे नन्दनवासिनास्मि सुजनैर्वन्द्ये वरेन्द्रां कुले श्रीमद्भट्टदिवाकरस्य तनयः कुल्लुकभट्टो-  
भवत् । काश्यमुत्तरवाहिजहुननयातीरे समं पण्डितैस्तेनेयं क्रियते द्वितीयं विदुषा मन्यर्थ-  
मुकावली ॥

865 भूस्तृणं मालवदेशे प्रसिद्धं शाकं शिमुकं वाहिकेषु प्रसिद्धं शाकम् ।  
H. D. 46.



nimantraṇa and āmantraṇa; the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited; the *darbhās*; śrāddhadevatās; the sacred thread etc.

The Śrāddhasāgara is full of Pūrvamīmāṃsā discussions. The author says that he wrote it and the other two works ( Vivādasāgara and Āśaucasāgara ) at the order of his father. He quotes profusely from the Mahābhārata, the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas and from the dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis. He names the Kalpataru oftener than any other *nibandhakāra*. The other authors and works named are: Bhojadeva, Halāyudha ( probably the author of Prakāśa on the Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana ), Jikana, Kāmadhenu, Medhātithi, Śaṅkhaadhara. In one place we have a reference to Prabhākara and Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa ( on Kāla and Kāma being devatās ) and in another place to Gauḍa-Maithila-Mayūkhābhaṭṭaḥ ( which are probably marginal notes creeping into the ms. or refer to authors other than the well-known ones ). He refers to the opinion of his own *guru* in opposition to that of the Kalpataru.

The date of Kullūka cannot be settled with certainty. Bühler held that he lived probably in the 15th century ( S. B. E. vol. xxv. p. cxxx ). Ghose ( Hindu Law, 3rd edition p. XVI ) and M. M. Chakravarti ( JASB 1915, p. 345 ) are of the same opinion. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 Sir Asutosh Mukerji places Kullūka in the 15th century ( at p. 688 ). As Kullūka mentions Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, Kalpataru and Halāyudha he is certainly later than 1150 A. D. Raghunandana<sup>866</sup> in his Dayatattva and Vyavaharatattva, and Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka frequently mention his views. Śrinātha's com. on the Dayabhāga refutes the view of Kullūka. The Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda refers to Kullūka's explanation of the word 'ākāṅkṣan' as 'Vikṣamāṇaḥ' in Manu III. 258. The Rajanīti-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the explanation of Kullūka.<sup>867</sup> Therefore Kullūka must have flourished before 1300

866 एको लुब्धस्तु साक्षी स्यादिति कुल्लूकभट्टप्रपाठः, एको लुब्धस्त्वसाक्षी स्यादिति जीमूतवाहिनप्रपाठस्तु न युक्तः । व्यवहारतत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 213 ); समाशाः समभागा एव भवेयुर्नोद्धारः कस्यचिद् देय इति कुल्लूकभट्टः । दायतत्त्व ( vol. II, p. 193 ).

867 अत एव कुल्लूकभट्टः-राजशब्दोपि नात्र क्षत्रियजातिपरः किं त्वभिषिक्तजनपदपालयितृ-पुरुषपरः । राजनीतिरत्नाकर ( ed. by Mr. Jaysaval, 1924 ) p. 2. These are the words of कुल्लूक on मनु 7. 1.



A. D. Kullūka in his by no means small work nowhere refers to the *Dayabbāga*, though he himself came of a Bengal family. This silence is explicable in two ways. As we have seen, Kullūka wrote in Kāśī and not in Bengal. Therefore if he flourished not long after *Jimūtavāhana*, it is quite natural that writing in Benares he had not heard of the *Dayabbāga* or read it. It has been shown above that *Jimūtavāhana* probably wrote about 1100-1150 A. D. Therefore Kullūka flourished between 1150 and 1300 A. D. and probably wrote about 1250 A. D. M. M. Chakravarti is not sure as to how early Kullūka flourished but opines that he could not have flourished later than the first quarter of the 15th century (JASB 1915, p. 345 n. 1).

### 89. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya

Mithilā has made extremely valuable and substantial contributions to Dharmaśāstra Literature. From the days of the Yājñavalkya smṛti down to modern times the land of Mithilā has produced writers whose names are illustrious. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya is one of the earliest among the mediaeval Maithilā *nibandhakāras*. He is the author of several works which will be briefly noticed.

The *Ācārādarsa* of Śrīdatta was printed in Benaras at the Divakara Press and by the Venkatesvara Press in Bombay in *sathvat* 1961. It is a manual of the daily religious duties of the followers of the white Yajurveda (Vājasaneyins),<sup>868</sup> such as *acamana*, brushing the teeth, morning bath, *sathdhyā*, *japa*, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, daily worship of gods, *vaituadeva*, feeding guests etc. Among the works and writers named are the following<sup>869</sup>:—*Ācāra-cintāmaṇi*, *Kalpataru*, *Kāmadhenu*, *Kālikāpurāṇa*, *Gaṇeśamīśra*, *Rāja* (probably *Bhojadeva*), *Smṛtimahārṇava*, *Harihara* and *Halāyudha-nibandha*. There is a commentary on this work called *Ācārādarsābodhini*

868 अहोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निषम्यते निषद्दो यो धर्मशास्त्रनिबद्धभिः ॥

2nd intro. verse in D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76; समूलवचनाभोगो मोक्षासा-  
न्यायनिर्मलः । श्रीदत्तेन सतामेष आचारे दर्पणः कृतः ॥

869 Vide for गणेशमिश्र and राजा 'अशिरस्कं मार्जनमिति गणेशमिश्राः' folio 15 b of  
आचारादर्श (D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76) : 'इति राजायलिखितं मैत्रायणीयगृह्य-  
परिशिष्टवचनं न प्रमाणमित्याहुः' folio 26 a; 'इदं च योधायनवाक्यं राजायलिखित-  
मपि बहुजनसंमतत्वाद्धिखितम् ।' folio 29 a.



composed by Gauripati or Gaurīśa, son of Dāmodara Maithila, at Benaras in 1640 A. D (Dr. Bhandarkar's report, 1883-84, p. 347). In this work he uses several vernacular words; e. g. he says that 'Śāla' tree is known as Sagavana<sup>870</sup> (in the vernacular).

Another work of his is the Chandogāhnika on the daily duties for Samavedins. He refers to it in his Samayapradīpa<sup>871</sup> and Pitr̥bhakti. A supplement to it named Chandogāhnikoddhāra was written by Śaṅkaramiśra, son of Bhavanāthamiśra (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI p. 10, No. 1989).

The Pitr̥bhakti is a manual on the śrāddha rites for students of the Yajurveda. It was based<sup>872</sup> on the Kātiyakalpa with Karka's bhāṣya thereon and on the works of Gopāla and Bhūpāla (i. e. Bhojadeva). It is frequently quoted in the Śrāddhahiveka of Rudradhara. Among the writers named are (besides those that occur in the Ācārādarsa also) : Pitr̥hitākaraṇikāra, Nārāyaṇavṛtti (on Āśvalāyana Gr. S.), Mitākṣarā, Ratnakaraṇḍīkā, Vidhipuṣpamālā (26 a), Śubhākara, Smṛtīmañjarī, Smṛtīmañjūṣā, Halayudha's Śrāddhādhyāya. This work first treats of the details of the *Parvaṇaśrāddha*, then of *ekoddiṣṭa*, of the monthly śrāddhas, the śrāddha on the 11th day after death, of *Sapindikaraṇa*, of *ābhyudayika* śrāddha. It then proceeds to consider the definition of śrāddha.

The Śrāddhakalpa was composed by him for the Samavedins. It is referred to in his Samayapradīpa<sup>873</sup> and Pitr̥bhakti (folio 33b)

The Samayapradīpa treats of the proper times for various *vratas*.<sup>874</sup> It is divided into three chapters (*paricchedas*). The

870 'शालवृक्षः सगवन इति प्रसिद्धः' folio 9 b of the आचारादर्श. Compare Marathi 'सागवान्.'

871 'उक्तमस्माभिराह्निके' folio 53a of समयप्रदीप D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76 ; 'न च सपत्नीकानामिति प्रपञ्चितमस्माभिश्चन्द्रोगश्चाद्वक्ये' पितृभक्ति folio 24 a.

872 कतिथिकल्पं सहकर्कभाष्यं गोपालभूपालमतादि दृष्ट्वा । सतां च वाक्यानि निशाम्य सम्यग्यजुर्विदां श्राद्धविधिं विधास्ये ॥ first verse of पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ms. No 152 of 1892-95).

873 'निर्णीतमस्माभिः श्राद्धकल्पे' समयप्रदीप folio 49 a (D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76).

874 श्रीदिसेन व्रतादीनां सारमाकृत्य लिख्यते । verse 2 of समयप्रदीप.



first is called Samayaparicheda and dilates upon the definition of *vrata*, on the procedure about fasts, *nakta* and the *vratas* of Gaṇeśa and other deities, the second is called Saṁvatsara-kṛtya-pariccheda and treats of *vratas* from the *pratipada* to the *amāvāsyā* in the several months and the third is called prakīrṇaka ( miscellaneous ) dealing with the *vratas* on *saṅkrānti* ( the Sun's passage into another Zodiacal sign ) etc. In this work Śrīdatta often refers to the views of the Gauḍas and contrasts them with his own. He also refers to Gauḍanibandha. No other writers or works except those that are already enumerated under Ācārādarśa and Piṭṛbhakti are named in this work. On folio 7a there is a name which is somewhat indistinct and appears to be 'Mitāmītrādibhiḥ'. The Samayapradīpa is mentioned in the Kṛtya-ratnākara ( pp. 400, 479, 505 ) of Caṇḍeśvara and in Śulapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka.<sup>875</sup> Śrīdatta is more frequently quoted in the Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda than almost any other author or work.

As Śrīdatta names the Kalpataru, Harihara and Halāyudha's work on Śrāddha he must have flourished later than 1200 A. D. As Caṇḍeśvara mentions his Samayapradīpa, Śrīdatta must have flourished before the first quarter of the 14th century. If Gaṇeśamīśra mentioned in the Ācārādarśa be the same as Gaṇeśvaramīśra, the author of Sugatisopāna and uncle of Caṇḍeśvara ( which appears extremely probable ), then Śrīdatta flourished a short time before Caṇḍeśvara and must have composed his works between 1275 and 1310 A. D.

It appears that there was another Maithila writer called Śrīdattamīśra, son of Nāgeśvaramīśra, who composed the Ekāgnidāna-paddhati and one or two other works ( Hp. Nepal cat. p. 129 ). The Nepal Ms. of the Ekāgnidāna-paddhati was copied in La-Sam 299 ( Lakṣmaṇasena era 299, i. e. 1418 A. D. ). Vide Hp. Nepal cat. XII, 45 and 129. So this Śrīdatta flourished towards the end of the 14th century in the reign of Devasiṃha son of Bhaṇeśa. Vide JASB for 1915 pp. 379-381 and 388-390 for Śrīdatta.

875 समीसरुधिरदानमाह श्रीदत्तोपाध्यायकृतसमयप्रदीपे भविष्यपुराणम् । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक

p. 21 ( Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad ed. ).



## 90. Candēśvara

Candēśvara is the most prominent figure among Maithilā *nibandhakāras* on Dharmaśāstra. He compiled an extensive digest called *Smṛtiratnākara* or simply *Ratnākara*. This digest was divided into seven sections viz., on *kr̥tya*, *dāna*, *vyavahāra*, *śuddhi*, *pūjā*, *vivāda* and *gr̥hastha*.<sup>876</sup> Out of these the *Vivādaratnākara* dealing with *dāyabhāga* and the other titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*) has been printed in the B. I. series and has been translated into English by Mr. G. C. Sarkar and by Mr. Justice Digambara Chatterjee. The *Vivādaratnākara* of Candēśvara and the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati are of paramount authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā (modern Tirhut) so far as British Indian Courts are concerned.<sup>877</sup>

The *Kṛtya-ratnākara* deals in 22 *tarāṅgas* with the discussion of *Dharma* ( its real nature, its rewards, means of knowing it and the occasions for it ), the various *vr̥tas* and observances in the several months from *Caitra*, the observances in the intercalary month, various *vr̥tas* on the several days of the week, the Sun's passage into a new sign, eclipse on the new-moon day etc. This work is referred to in his *Dānaratnākara*, which in its turn is quoted in the *Gr̥hastha-ratnākara*.<sup>878</sup> The work has recently been printed in the B. I. series (1925).

The *Gr̥hastharatnākara* is a very extensive work in 68 *tarāṅgas* on the duties of householders. The Deccan College Ms. that I could consult is incomplete, has only folios 30, 72-133 and contains the last 23 *tarāṅgas* only. Some of the subjects dealt with are :— from whom gifts were to be accepted by *gr̥hasthas*; duties and

876 श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहारशुद्धिपूजाविवादेषु गृहस्थकृत्ये । रत्नाकरा धर्ममुचो निबन्धाः कृतास्तुला-  
पुरुषदेन सप्त ॥ verse towards the end of the विवादरत्नाकर, last verse of दान-  
रत्नाकर ( D. C. Ms. No. 114 of 1884-85, where we have धर्मसु ये निबद्धाः  
कृताः श्रीचण्डीश्वरमन्त्रिणा ते )

877 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174 ; I. L. R. 20 All. 267 ( P. C. ) at p. 290 ;  
I. L. R. 10 Cal 392 at p. 399 ; I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 351.

878 अत्रोक्तमपि यद्दानं कृत्यरत्नाकरे पुनः । मासादिकृत्यसामर्थ्यं गौरवात्तदुदीरितम् ॥  
Intro. verse in दानरत्नाकर ( D. C. M.s. No. 114 of 1884-86 ) ; असम्प्रतिग्रह-  
श्राव्यस्माभिर्दानरत्नाकरे देयदेयतन्त्रे प्रदर्शिताः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 76 a.



actions proper for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras ; the observances of a *snātaka* ; *yama* and *niyama* ; *śauca* ; the observances of *brahmacharya* ; what ruins families ; proper abode for a *gṛhastha* ; what a *gṛhastha* should or should not speak or should or should not see ; things not to be given to *śūdras* ; the avoidance of anger, adultery and intermixture of castes ( *saṃkara* ) ; requiting of debts etc.

The *Dānaratnākara* contains 29 *tarāṅgas* and deals with the following subjects :—meaning of *dāna* ; what may or may not be gifted ; fit objects of charity ; the gifts called *mahādānas* ; gifts of a thousand cows and heaps of corn ; various gifts, such as those of food, books ; gifts appropriate to certain months, *nakṣatras* and *tithis* ; miscellaneous gifts ; dedication of wells and tanks for public use ; planting of trees.

The *Vivādaratnākara* is an extensive work ( 671 pages in print ) in 100 *tarāṅgas* on civil and criminal law and deals with the 18 titles of law such as *dāyabhāga* ( on partition and inheritance ), *ṛṇādāna* ( recovery of debts ) and others. It formed the basis of the *Vivādacandra* of Misarumiśra, the *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati and the *Daṇḍaviveka* of Vardhamāna. It is mentioned in his own *Gṛhastharatnākara*.<sup>879</sup>

The *Vyavahāraratnākara* deals with judicial procedure, such as the plaint, the reply, the burden of proof, means of proof, judgment etc. Vide Mitra's notices, vol. VI. p. 66, No. 2036.

The *Śudhiratnākara* is in 34 *tarāṅgas* and deals with impurity on birth and death, persons who have to observe no *śauca*, meaning of *sapinda*, rites on death up to the end of the period of mourning, purifications of food and various substances. Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. VII. p. 149, No. 2384 and I. O. cat. p. 412, No. 1389.

For the *Pūjāratnākara*, vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 162, No. 2398. That work is mentioned by Raghunandana in the *Suddhi-tattva* ( vol. II, p. 299 on Śalagrāma stone ).

Besides this digest *Caṇḍeśvara* compiled several other works.

*Kṛtyacintāmaṇi* is one of such works. It is a question when it was composed. In his *Gṛhastharatnākara* he says that certain

<sup>879</sup> इत्यादीनि चान्यानि पुत्रदेशे विवाहश्रौतानि एवास्माभिर्विहितानि । गृहस्थश्रौतानि  
folio 133 b.



architectural and decorative constructions called Śrīvṛkṣa, Vardhamāna and Nandyaavarta have been spoken of by him in the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi<sup>880</sup> But the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi says that he has already composed the seven ratnākara.<sup>881</sup>

The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is divided into sections called prakāśas. It deals with astronomical matters in relation to the performance of several religious ceremonies and saṁskāras, such as *tārāśuddhi*, the intercalary month, garbhādhāna, simantonayana, birth of a child on the Mūla nakṣatra, the rites on the 6th day after birth, nāmaka-  
raṇa, the movements of Saturn, Sun's passage from one sign into another, the results of eclipses etc.

Another work of Caṇḍeśvara, the Rājānīratnākara, has been recently edited at Patna ( 1924 ) by Mr. K. P. Jayasval with a learned introduction dealing with the personal history of Caṇḍeśvara, his relations with the Maithila kings and the mediaeval Indian literature on politics. It appears that Caṇḍeśvara did not complete the writing of a work on politics when he compiled his great digest. He wrote the work at the command of the king Bhaveśa ( or Bhaveśvara ) of Mithilā.<sup>882</sup> The work contains 16 *tarāṅgas* ( waves, i. e. chapters ) on the following subjects :—definition of a king, different grades of kings, the eighteen vices or calamities for kings, duties of kings ; the characteristics and duties of amātyas ( councillors ) ; the characteristics of *purohita* ; the characteristics and duties of a *prādvivāka* ( Judge ) ; the members of the hall of justice ( *sabhyas* ), their number and qualifications ; concerning forts ; the time and place and accessories of the settlement of royal policy ; concerning the state treasury ; the army ; the commander-in-chief and the discipline of the army ; ambassadors, allies, and spies ; the general obligations of kings, conflict of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the six *guṇas* -- *saṁdhi* etc., the maṇḍala of kings ; the king's power of punishment ; abdication by king, the heir-apparent, impartibility of the kingdom ; the eldest son's right to succeed, the

880 श्रीवृक्षवर्धमाननयावर्ताः प्रासद्विशेषाः सुवर्णदावादिनिर्मिताः कृत्यचिन्तामणावस्मा-  
भिरुक्ताः । folio 113a of D. C. Ms. No. 44 of 1883-84.

881 आम्नायस्मृतिनिर्णयाय कृतवास्तासमरलाकरान् । Intro. verse 12 of कृत्यचिन्तामणि  
( I. O. Dat. p. 511, No. 1261 ).

882 राज्ञा मयेष्टेनाक्रमो राजनीतिनिबन्धकम् । तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्थः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वरः  
कृती ॥ 3rd intro. verse राजनीतिर०.



seven constituent elements of the state; the state's obligation towards the poor, the helpless etc.; the coronation of the heir-apparent or his investiture.

There are two more works composed by Caṇḍeśvara viz., the *Dānavākyaṅgāvalī* and the *Śivavākyaṅgāvalī* ( vide I. O. cat. p. 1409, No. 3724 for the latter ).

Caṇḍeśvara names in his works, particularly in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* and the *Vivādaratnākara*, a host of writers and works. In his great digest he drew largely upon five predecessors and incorporated often without acknowledgment much or almost all that was valuable in them. These five predecessors were the *Kāmadhenu*, the *Kalpataru*, the *Pārijāta*, the *Prakāśa* ( i. e. *Smṛtimahārṇava* ) and *Halayudha*, all of which he quotes scores of times. At the end of the *Vivādaratnākara* he boasts that whatever is of the essence in the above five works and even more is comprehended in his single work the *Ratnākara*.<sup>883</sup> Among the authors and works mentioned in his seven *ratnākaras*, those mentioned below deserve to be noted.<sup>884</sup> In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 ( at p. 356 ) the learned judges appear to hold that the *Pārijāta* mentioned in the *Vivādacintamani* is the *Madanapārijāta*. But this is obviously a mistake ( vide p. 309 above on *Pārijāta* ). Besides these in his *Rājanītiratnākara* he names *Kaṁḍaka*, *Kullūkabhaṭṭa*, *Pallava* and *Pallavakāra*, *Śrīkara*. What

883 कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे । यत्सारमस्मादधिकं च यत्तद्भूषति रत्नाकर एक एव ॥ यं कामधेनुरनुयाति सकल्पवृक्षो ( क्षा १ ) यं सेवते निज-  
कलाय स पारिजातः । तं वैरिगोत्रमिदमुच्चसहस्रदष्टिं चण्डेश्वरं तुलयितुं कर्तमे  
भवन्तु ॥ ( vide notes 652 and 703 for these two verses ).

884 असहाय, उदयकर ( commentator of मनु, vide विवादतन्त्राः pp. 453, 560, 590 ), कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, कृत्यसमुच्चय, गोपाल, महेश्वरमिश्र ( वि. र. प. 46 ), जिकनीयनिबन्ध, दानसागर ( folio 15a दानर० ), देवेश्वरधर्माधिकरणिक, पारिजात, प्रकाश, प्रतिभासप्रह, भर्तृयज्ञ ( गृहस्थर० folio 78a, on गौतमधर्मसूत्र ), माध्यकार ( of शङ्खलिसित ), भागुरि ( वि. र. प. 104 ), भूपाल, भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपालपद्धति, माधवस्वामी ( गृहस्थर० 116 a ), मिश्र ( वि. र. प. 595 ), मिताक्षरा, मुरारिराज, मेधातिथि, राजमार्तण्ड, लक्ष्मीधर, वर्पदीपिका, वसन्तराज, विश्वरूपाचार्य, व्रतसागर, श्रीदत्त, समयप्रदीप, सागर ( दानरत्नाकर 10 b ), स्मृतिरत्नविवेक, स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश, हरिहर, हलायुधनिबन्ध. The कृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपालपद्धति and भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय seem to be the same work.



is printed as *Naṭasūtra* in the *Vivādaratnākara* (p. 477) is really *Lāṭa* (i. e. *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra*). *Caṇḍeśvara* mentions many vernacular words (e. g. *Kṛtyaratnākara* pp. 109, 111, 306, 338, 443).

We learn a great deal about the family and personal history of *Caṇḍeśvara* from his works. The *Vivādaratnākara* in the introduction and in the colophon tells us that *Caṇḍeśvara* was a *mantrin* (a minister), was entrusted with the office of minister for peace and war, that he conquered Nepal and weighed himself against gold on the banks of the *Vāgvatī* in *śake* 1236 (1314 A. D.).<sup>885</sup> There are more or less similar colophons at the end of the *Rājānitiratnākara* and the other *ratnākara*s. The grand-father of *Caṇḍeśvara* was *Devāditya*,<sup>886</sup> who was minister of *Harasimhadeva* of *Tirhut* and who belonged to the *Kārṇāṭa* family. One of the sons of *Devāditya* was *Vireśvara* who was also a minister for peace and war of the same king and is said to have made grants to learned *Brāhmaṇas* in *Rāmapura* (i. e. *Simraon* in *Champaran District*) and other cities (verse 10 of *Kṛtyaratnākara*). Mr. *Jayaśval* points out in his introduction to the *Rājāniti-ratnākara* (j) that the correct name of the king was *Harisimhadeva*. Another son of *Devāditya* was *Ganeśvara* who was younger than *Vireśvara* and who was also a great minister and author of *Sugatisopāna*. A copy of this work bears the date *La-sam* (*Lakṣmaṇasena* era) 224 (i. e. 1343-44 A. D.).<sup>887</sup> In the colophon of this work *Devāditya* is called 'mahāmatta' (*mahāmātra*) and *Ganeśvara* is styled *maharājadhiraṇa*. In the

885 श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा मतिमतानेन प्रसन्नात्मना नेपालाखिलभूमिपालजयिना धर्मेन्दुदुग्धा-  
दिधना । वाग्बत्याः सरितस्तटे सुरधुनीसाम्यं दधत्याः शुचौ मार्गे मासि यथोक्तपुण्य-  
समये दत्तस्तुलापूरुषः ॥ 3rd Intro. verse : at the end we have रसगुणभुजचन्द्रैः  
संमिले शाकवर्षे सप्तसि धवलपक्षे वाग्बतीसिन्धुतीरे । अदित तुलितमुच्चैरात्मना स्वर्ण-  
राशिं निधिरक्षितगुणानामुत्तमः सोमनाथः ॥ इति सप्रक्रियमहासन्धिविप्रहिकठकुर-  
मन्त्रिवरश्रीशिवेश्वरात्मजसप्रक्रियमहासन्धिविप्रहिकठकुरश्रीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते विवादरत्ना-  
करः संपूर्णः ।

886 आसीन्मैथिलतीरमुक्तिविषये मन्त्रप्रमावाहुतः ... देवादित्य इति त्रिलोकमहितो मन्त्रीन्द्र-  
बूढामणिः ॥ 2nd intro. verse to कृत्यचिन्तामणि (I. O. cat. p. 511, No. 1621) ;  
अस्ति श्रीहर्षसिंहदेवनृपतिर्निःशेषविद्वेषिणा निर्माधी मिथिला प्रशासदक्षिला काणाट-  
वंशोद्भूतः । verse 4 of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

887 Vide cat. of Nepal palm-leaf and paper mss. p. 132 (Haraprasad Sastri).



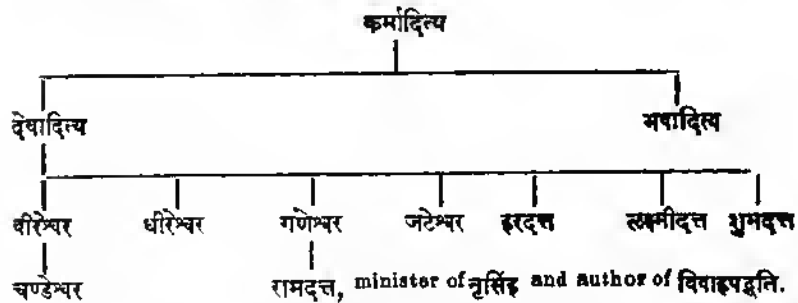
Śraddhāvivēka of Rudradhara the Sugatisopāna is said to be the work of one who was *pratihastaka* (deputy) of Bhavaśarma.<sup>888</sup> Caṇḍeśvara was the son of Vireśvara and like his father and grandfather became minister of Harisimhadeva. This must have happened about 1310 A. D., as he weighed himself in 1314 A. D. The Kṛtyaratnākara (verse 15) says that he touched the very idol of Paśupati in Nepal and worshipped it after conquering the country.

From the Vyavahāraratnākara it appears that Caṇḍeśvara was Chief Judge as well as Minister for peace and war.<sup>889</sup> Caṇḍeśvara and his ancestors are highly praised for their liberality.<sup>890</sup> In the Dānaratnākara (verse 2 at the end) he is said to have rescued the earth submerged in the flood of Mlecchas.<sup>891</sup> This probably refers to the defeat of some Mahomedan generals. Harisimhadeva was routed by Ghiasuddin Tughlak in 1324 and retired from Tirhut

888 आद्रविवेक p. 4 ( Benares ed. of 1920 संवत् ) ' इति सुगतिसोपानादौ भवशर्मप्रति-  
हस्तकप्रत्ये कमः । '

889 निर्णीय व्यवहारसागमदृशा यः प्राड्विवाकः स्फुरन्  
विचारचारुधिषणो धर्मं नयस्युन्नतिम् ।  
तेनायं गुरुसन्धिविप्रहधुरां धोरेयसंतीतिना  
अचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा विरचितः प्राज्ञेषु रत्नाकरः ॥

Mitra's Notices, vol VI. p. 67. The second pāda has four syllables less.  
The genealogy of चण्डेश्वर's family is



890 यस्य दानातिरेकेण लोके निर्जितगौरवः । कल्पद्रुमः पारिजातः कामधेनुः कश्चित् कश्चित् ॥  
4th verse at end of दानरत्नाकर, Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 135 ; verse 21  
of कृत्यरत्नाकर says that चण्डेश्वर dug a large lake in अमिरामपुर.

891 मम स्लेच्छमहाणवे वसुमती येनोद्धृता लीलया.



into Nepal.<sup>892</sup> Hence it follows that the seven Ratnākara some of which (like vivāda and dana) refer to his weighing himself against gold in 1314 A. D. and his high position at the court of Harisinhadeva were composed between 1314 and 1324 A. D. His Rājanīratnākara was composed at the command of Bhavēsa. This last belonged to the line of the Kāmeśvara dynasty which began to rule Tirhut in the third quarter of the 13th century, in 1370 A. D. according to Mr. Jayasval (introduction to Rājanīratnākara, 1). Therefore the literary activities of Caṇḍeśvara extended over about 50 years from 1314 and the Rājanīratnākara was probably his last work composed at a very advanced age. For the somewhat controversial and confused chronology of the Tirhut kings of the Kārṇāṭa and Kāmeśvara dynasties, vide Hp. cat. (Introduction p. 31); Grierson in Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 182-196 and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, p. 57; JASB 1915 pp. 407-433 (M. M. Chakravarti); JBORS vol. IX, p. 300 and X, p. 37 (Jayasval).

Caṇḍeśvara exercised very great influence over Maithila and Bengal writers. Misarumiśra, Vardhamāna, Vacaspati-miśra and Raghunandana<sup>893</sup> very frequently quote him. The Viramitrodaya (p. 181) calls the Ratnākara 'Paurastya-nibandha' (eastern digest).

#### 91. Harinātha

Harinātha is the author of a digest called Smṛtisāra on several topics of dharmasāstra. No part of this work has been yet printed. In the India Office there are two mss. of the Smṛtisāra (I. O. cat. p. 448, No. 1488 and p. 449, No. 1489). The first cites 67 authorities (*pramāṇapakāḥ*) on Dharmasāstra, out of which the Karma-pradīpa, the Kalpataru, the Kāmadhenu, Kumāra, Gaṇeśvaramiśra, Vijñāneśvara, Vilamba (?), Śmṛtināṇḍī and Harihara deserve special mention. This ms. contains the portion of the Smṛtisāra on the saṁskāras, rites on death, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. The other ms. deals with the principal topics of vivāda (various titles of law) and vyavahāra (judicial procedure), viz. partition, father's share

<sup>892</sup> The Pañji historian of Mithilā thus describes the departure of हरसिंहदेव 'बाणाब्धिपुष्पशशिसंमितशाकवर्षे पोषस्य शुक्लनवमरविस्नुवारे । त्यक्त्वा सुपट्टनपुरीं हरसिंहदेवो दुर्दैवदेशितपथो गिरिं विवेश ॥'.

<sup>893</sup> The दानरत्नाकर, पूजारत्नाकर and शुद्धिरत्नाकर are quoted in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (e. g. pp. 284, 299, 301, vol. 1).



on partition, larger share to eldest son, persons excluded from partition and inheritance, impartible property; *stridhana*; the several kinds of sons; succession to the property of the sonless; re-union; gambling and prize-fighting and other titles of law; various methods of *daṇḍa* (punishment); the various units of measure etc.; judicial procedure i. e. the plaint, the reply, the means of proof, viz. documents, witnesses, possession, reasoning, oaths, and ordeals; review of judgment; minority and dependence; rules about succession according to various authors. This last portion appears to be a sort of supplement, wherein the views of Bālarūpa, Pārijāta, Halāyudha, Kalpataru and of the Smṛtisāra itself on the order of succession to a man dying sonless are set forth. Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara are named in the summary of Bālarūpa's views and the Prakāśa at a later stage (folio 148 b). Bhavadeva-nibandha is also expressly named on possession.

No information is given in the mss. about Harinātha himself. He is styled in the colophons 'mahāmahopādhyāya.' In several places he refers to the views of the Gauḍas on *ācāra*; e. g. he cites the view of the Gauḍas that on a fasting day or śrāddha day one should not employ the twig used in dantadhāvana and that when there is Ekādaśī on two days a house-holder should observe a fast on the first and a *yati* on the second. It appears that he was not a Gauḍa but rather a Maithila.

The India Office ms. of the *vivāda* portion of the Smṛtisāra is dated *saṃvat* 1614 (i. e. 1558 A. D.). Another ms. of the same portion (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. V, p. 232, No. 1913) was copied in Lakṣmaṇa *saṃvat* 363 i. e. 1469-1470 A. D. Śulapāṇi quotes the Smṛtisāra in his Durgotsavaviveka. Misarumiśra in his Vivāda-candra several times refers to the opinions of the Smṛtisāra.<sup>894</sup> Hence it follows that the Smṛtisāra was composed before the last quarter of the 14th century. Caṇḍeśvara in his voluminous work

894 ०. ४. न बाधेः कालसंयोधान्निसर्गोस्ति न विक्रय इति वचनात् कालसंयोधः कालावस्थानं निसर्गोन्न व्यधिकरणम् । भोग्याधिविषयमिति स्मृतिसारः । folio 5a of विवादचन्द्र (D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84); अत एव स्मृतिसारे यदा पितृव्य केनचित्पुत्रेण संसर्गो ( संसृष्टो ? ) तदा तद्धनं संसृष्टपुत्रो गृह्णीयान्नासंसृष्टपुत्रः संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीत्यविशेषेणाभिधानादित्युक्तम् । folio 37 b; vide also 57 b for another reference to स्मृतिसार.



nowhere refers to Harinātha nor does the latter refer to him. Hence they were probably contemporaries or not separated by any appreciable interval of time. As Harinātha mentions the Kalpataru and Harihara, he must be later than about 1250 A. D. If Gaṇeśvaramiśra<sup>895</sup> mentioned by Harinātha be the author of the Sugatisopāna ( which is extremely probable ) who was an uncle of Caṇḍeśvara, then Harinātha cannot be earlier than about 1300 A. D. and flourished at about the same time as Caṇḍeśvara, viz, the first half of the 14th century A. D. Harinātha is quoted by Vācaspati-miśra in his Dvaitanirṇaya, by Raghunandana ( in Udvāhatattva vol. I, pp. 108, 119, Āhnikatattva vol. I, p. 240, Śuddhitattva vol. II, p. 240), Kamalākara, Nilakaṇṭha and a host of other later writers. In the Ekādaśitattva p. 45 Harinātha is spoken of as *upajīvyā* by Vardhamāna and Vācaspati.

There are several works styled Smṛtisāra e. g. of Kesavaśarma ( Mitra's Notices, vol. II. p. 76 ), of Yādavabhūṣaṇa-bhattachārya ( Mitra's Notices, vol. IV p. 213 No. 1642 ), of Devayājñika ( D. C. Ms. No. 266 of 1884-87 and 344 of 1886-92, the latter being called Smṛtisārasaṃgraha ). Hence it often becomes difficult to say in the case of later works, what particular Smṛtisāra is being quoted.

## 92. Mādhavācārya

Madhavācārya is the brightest star in the galaxy of *dakṣiṇātya* authors on dharmasāstra. His fame stands only second to that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He had a most versatile genius and either himself wrote or inspired his brother Sāyaṇa and others to write voluminous works on almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. As an erudite scholar, as a far-sighted statesman, as the bulwark of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the first days of its foundation, as a *saṃnyāsin* given to peaceful contemplation and renunciation in old age, he led such a varied and useful life that even to this day his is a name to conjure with. Among his numerous works two deserve special mention here, viz : the Parāśara-mādhavīya, his commentary on the Parāśarasmr̥ti and the Kālanirṇaya.

895 अः कर्तास्मिन्नि निश्चित्य दाता विशान्निमन्त्रयेत् । निरामिषं सरुद्रुक्त्वा सर्वमुक्कजने गृहे । असंभवे परेद्युवां माह्मणास्तान्निवेदयेत् ॥ अत्र गणेश्वरमिथाः । इदं वाक्यं निरामिषसरुद्रोजनविशिष्टे निमन्त्रणविधायकमतो निमन्त्रणाङ्गानि निरामिषसरुद्रोजनादीनि श्रुतिबलात् । स्मृतिसार ( I. O. ms. No. 1488 ).



The Parāśara-mādhavīya has been published several times, the edition in the B. I. series and in the Bombay Sanskrit series being the best known. In the following the Bombay edition has been used. This work is very extensive and occupies about 2300 printed pages in the Bombay edition. It is not a mere commentary on Parāśara's text, but is in the nature of a digest of civil and religious law. The original *smṛti* of Parāśara contains no verses on *vyavahāra*, but Mādhavācārya hangs, on the slender peg of a single verse of Parāśara calling upon the king to rule his subjects with righteousness, his treatise on *vyavahāra* that covers a little over a fourth part of the whole commentary ( vide note 341 above on Parāśara ). The Parāśara-mādhavīya is a work of authority on modern Hindu Law in southern India.<sup>896</sup> His style is lucid and he generally avoids lengthy and abstruse discussions. Besides numerous *smṛti-kāras* and *purāṇas* he names the following authors and works — Aparārka, Devasvāmin, Purāṇasāra, Prapañcasāra, Medhātithi, Vīvaṇakāra ( on the Vedāntasūtra ), Viśvarūpācārya, Śambhu, Śivasvāmin, Smṛticandrikā. The Parāśara-mādhavīya was amongst his earliest works. He tells us that there was no commentary on Parāśara before him.<sup>897</sup>

The Kālanirṇaya of Mādhavācārya has been published several times. In the following the B. I. edition has been used. He states that he wrote this work after he composed his commentary on the Parāśaras*mṛti*.<sup>898</sup> The work is divided into five *prakaraṇas*. The first ( Upodghāta ) deals with a scholastic disquisition on *kāla* ( time ) and its real nature ; the 2nd ( called *vatsara* ) speaks of the year, its various lengths according as it is *cāndra*, *sāvana* or *saura*, of the two *ayanas*, of the seasons and their number, of the months ( *cāndra* and *saura* ), of the intercalary months, and the religious acts allowed and forbidden in intercalary months, of the two *pakṣas* ( fortnights ); the third *prakaraṇa* ( *pratipat-prakaraṇa* ) deals with the meaning of the word *tithi*, duration of a

896 2 Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 217 ; 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487 at p. 508 ; I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 156.

897 पराशरस्मृतिः पूर्वमेव व्याख्याता निबन्धुभिः । मयातो माधवार्येण तद्व्याख्यायां प्रयत्यते ॥  
9th Intro verse.

898 व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्मान्तराशरानध । तदनुष्ठानकालस्य निर्णयं वक्तुमुद्यतः ॥  
4th Intro. verse of कालनिर्णय.



*tithi*, the fifteen *tithis* of a *pakṣa*, two kinds of *tithis*, viz. *śuddhā* ( i. e. not intermixed with another *tithi* on the same day ) and *viddhā* ( intermixed with another *tithi* on same day ), rules about the preference of the first *tithi* for particular religious rites and observances ( for Gods and Manes ) when intermixed with the preceding and following *tithis*, the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day and of the night; the *fourth* ( *dvitīyādi-tithi-prakaraṇa* ) extends the application of the rules about *pratipad* to the *tithis* from the second to the fifteenth and decides on what *tithi* ( whether intermixed with the preceding or the following ) certain *vratas*, such as *Gaurīvrata* on the third, *Janmāṣṭamī* on the 8th, were to be performed; the *fifth* ( *prakīrṇaka* i. e. miscellaneous ) deals with rules about the determination of *nakṣatras* for various acts, the *yogas* and *karaṇas* and rules about *saṁkrānti* and eclipses and the actions proper for them.

The *Kalanirnaya* besides the names of numerous sages, *purāṇas*, astronomical and astrological writers mentions the following works and authors :—*Kālādarśa* ( p. 83 ), *Bhoja* ( as having composed in *Āryā* metre a work on the *Śaiva āgama* ), *Muhūrta-vidhāna-sāra* ( p. 341 ), *Vaśeśvarasiddhānta*, *Vasiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* ( of *Bhāskara-cārya* ), *Hemādri* ( p. 67 his *vratakhanda* and *śrūṅghaḍī* ).

A good deal about the family and personal history of *Mādhavācārya* can be gleaned from the above-mentioned two works and other treatises of *Mādhavācārya*. From the *Parāśara-mādhavīya* we<sup>899</sup> learn that he was the son of *Māyaṇa* and *Śrīmatī*, that *Sāyaṇa* and *Bhogaṇātha* were his younger 'brothers', that he was a student of the black *Yajurveda* and of the *Baudhāyana-sūtra-caraṇa* and belonged to the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*. The introductory verses and the colophon of the *Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi*<sup>900</sup> of *Sāyaṇa* corroborate most of these particulars. A verse at the beginning of the

899 श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिर्मायणः पिता । सायणी भोगनाथश्च मनोबुद्धी सद्बोद्धिः ॥  
यस्य बोधायनं सूत्रं शास्त्रं यस्य च याजुषी । भारद्वाजं कुलं यस्य सर्वज्ञः स हि  
माधवः ॥ Intro. verses 6 and 7 of *Parāśara-mādhavīya*.

900 यस्य मन्त्रिशिरोऽलम्बिते मायणसायणः । यः कृत्यति रत्नगर्भेति यथार्थयति पार्थिवीम् ॥  
and the colophon इति माधवभोगनाथसद्बोद्धिस्तस्य मायणनन्दनस्य सायणाचार्यस्य &c.

Descriptive cat. of Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. vol. VII. p. 2620 No. 3490. The king referred to is *Śaṅkha*.



Kālanirṇaya tells us that Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha were his teachers.<sup>901</sup> The Parāśara-Mādhaviya highly eulogises<sup>902</sup> Mādhava, compares him to divine and semi-divine councillors like Āṅgīrasa of Indra and says that he was the hereditary teacher (*kulaguru*) and *mantrin* of king Bukka (or Bukka). The colophons to the several works of Śaṅkara, the younger brother of Mādhavācārya, show that these brothers were closely connected with four rulers of the Vijayanagar dynasty, viz. Bukka and his son Harihara, Kampa and his son Saṅkama. In the Yājñatantra-sūdhānidhi<sup>903</sup> (ms. in the Bhau Daji collection) Śaṅkara, the author of the bhāṣyas on the vedas, is said to be the *kulaguru* of Harihara, son of Saṅkama. In the Guruvaiśaṅka-kāvya (Vaidivilasa Press ed.) it is said that Vidyāraṇya was the pupil of Vidyātīrtha, that he composed Vedabhāṣyas and published them in the names of Śaṅkara and Mādhava, that Harihara and Bukka were the most valiant of the five sons of Saṅkama (v. 48), that Vira Rudra was the sovereign of Harihara and Bukka and was defeated by the *suratrāya* i. e. *sultan*. The same work says that Vidyāraṇya founded Vijayanagara in śaka 1258, vaiśākha sūddha 7 Sunday (i. e. 30th April 1335 A. D.) and crowned Harihara king.<sup>903a</sup>

Burnell in his introduction to the Vaiśaṅkabhāṣya started the theory that Śaṅkara and Mādhava were identical and put forward an esoteric meaning on the verse that states that Śaṅkara and Bhoganātha

901 सोऽहं प्राप्य विवेकतीर्थपदवीमाम्नायतीर्थे परं मज्जन् सज्जनसङ्गतीर्थनिपुणः सद्वृत्ततीर्थं  
श्रयन् । लब्धवामाकलयन्प्रभावलहरीं श्रीभारतीनीर्थतो वियातीर्थमुपाश्रयन् हृदि भजे  
श्रीकण्ठमध्याहृतम् ॥ 2nd verse of कालनिर्णय.

902 इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसो नलस्य सुमतिः शौड्यस्य मेधातिथिर्धर्म्यो धर्मसुतस्य वैश्वनृपतेः स्वौजा  
निमेर्गौतमिः । प्रत्यद्दृष्टिरुन्मथनीसहचरो रामस्य पुण्यात्मनो यद्वृत्तस्य विभोभूःकुल-  
गुरुर्मन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥ 4th verse of परा. मा.

903 तस्याभूदन्वयगुरुस्तत्त्वसिद्धान्तदेशिता । सर्वज्ञः सायणाचार्यो मायणार्थतनूद्भवः । उपेन्द्रस्यैव  
यस्यासीदिन्द्रः सुमनसा प्रियः । महाक्रतूनामाहर्ता माधवार्यः सहोदरः ॥ अधीताः  
सकला वेदास्ते च दृष्टार्थगौरवाः । त्वत्प्रणतिना तद्गण्यप्रदीपेन प्रदीयता ॥  
Intro. verses 7, 8, 14.

903a नागेष्वर्केर्मित इह शके शलिवाहस्य याते धातर्यब्दे शुभसमुचिते मासि वैशाखनाम्नि ।  
शुक्ले पक्षे सुगुणपितृभे सूर्यवारे शुक्ले सप्तम्यां श्रीविजयनगरीं निर्ममे निर्ममेन्द्रः ॥  
गुरुवंशकाव्य VI. 8.

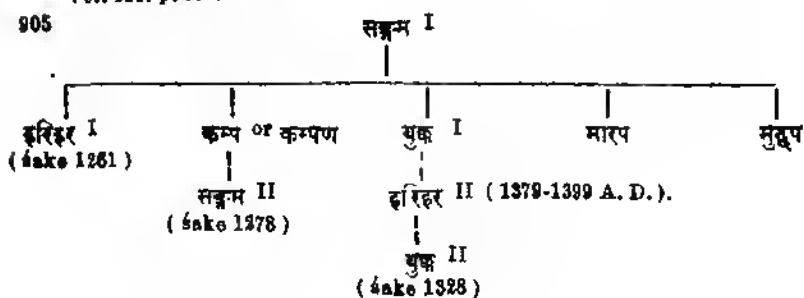


were the younger brothers of Mādhava. But the facts as culled from the works of these two great men and the inscriptions of contemporary Vijayanagara kings are too strong for the hypothesis of Burnell and make it look absurd. The whole subject about the relationship of Mādhava, Śaṅga and Bhoganātha has been carefully examined by Rao Bahadur R. Narsimhachar in *Ind. Ant.* vol. 45 pp. 1-6 and 17ff and the theory of Burnell has been thoroughly refuted. Śaṅga and Bhoganātha were as real personages as Mādhavācārya himself. Mādhavācārya in his later years became a *saṁnyāsin* and was named Vidyāraṇya. To the items of evidence adduced by R. B. R. Narsimhachar for establishing the identity of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. 45 p. 18) I may add one more. The Viramitrodaya ascribes the commentary on Parāśara composed by Mādhava to Vidyāraṇya.<sup>904</sup> It has however to be noted that the Guruvaiśākāya (Vāṇivilāsa Press ed.) says (V. 41-44) that Vidyāraṇya was different from both Śaṅga and Mādhava.

The chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara has been a fruitful source of controversy. It is not necessary to go into that chronology in great detail here. It may be studied in such works as Sewell's 'Forgotten empire' and in *E. I.* vol. III. p. 36, *E. I.* vol. XIV p. 68, *E. I.* vol. XV p. 8. The following pedigree<sup>905</sup> will be sufficient for the purpose of connecting Mādhava and his brothers with the kings of Vijayanagara. The earliest inscription is that of Harihara I dated *śaka* 1261 (1339-40 A. D.) wherein Harihara

<sup>904</sup> व्याख्यानं चेदं शङ्खचनं विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणैः पराशरस्मृतिटीकायां पैतृकद्वयविभागकाले स्वधृत्वालङ्कारादिकमपि कन्या प्राप्नोतीत्याह शङ्ख इति । वीर० p. 583; *vide* p. 672 'विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणोक्तं प्राग्लिखितं तस्मान्निरिन्द्रिया इत्यादिश्रुतिव्याख्याने तु स्त्रीणां दाय-प्रज्ञप्रतिषेधत्वेनैवास्याः श्रुतेर्नास्तीति ।'. This refers to the remarks in परा, मा, vol. III. p. 538.

905





is said to be a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and is spoken of as 'Śrī-Vīra-Hariyappa-Voḍeya.'<sup>906</sup> The colophon of the Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti describes Mādhava as the great minister of Saṅgamarāja, the son of Kamparāja.<sup>907</sup> The Bitraguṇṭa grant in *śake* 1278 (1356 A. D.) by Saṅgama II at the request of his teacher Śrīkaṇṭhanātha shows that Bhoganātha<sup>908</sup> who composed the contents of the grant was a *narmasaciva* (gay or humorous companion) of Saṅgama II. We saw above that Śrīkaṇṭha was a teacher of Mādhavācārya and that Bhoganātha was the youngest brother of Mādhavācārya. Bhoganātha in order to be a poet and a *narmasaciva* of a reigning sovereign must have been a grown-up man in 1356 A. D. and so Mādhavācārya must have been quite an elderly person about that time. The Kālanirṇaya tells us that in the cyclic year Śvara following immediately after *śake* 1258 *śrāvṇa* was an intercalary month and that in the cyclic year Bhava that preceded *śake* 1258 (i. e. in *śake* 1256) Fālguna was an intercalary month and then examines the intercalary months that occurred in the cyclic years up to Vikārī thereafter (i. e. up to *śake* 1281).<sup>908a</sup> As the Kālanirṇaya examines the intercalary months from *śake* 1256 (i. e. 1334 A. D.) to *śake* 1281 (i. e. 1359 A. D.), it follows that it was either composed during these years or immediately after this period. The Parāśara-mādhavīya was composed before the Kālanirṇaya. Rao Bahadur Narsimbachar states that in a copperplate grant dated 1386 A. D. it is said that Harihara (II) gave in the presence of Vidyaraṇya-śrīpāda certain donations to three scholars who were the promoters

906 : महामण्डलेश्वरपूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्राधिपतिश्रीवीरहरियप्पवोडेय ' Int. Ant. vol. X, p. 63.

907 श्रीमत्पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षिणसमुद्राधीश्वरकम्पराजसुतसङ्गमराजमहामन्त्रिमायणपुत्रमाधवसहोदर-सायणाचार्यकृता माधवीया वृत्तिः ।

908 इति भोगनाथमुधिया सङ्गमभूपालनर्मसचिवेन । श्रीकण्ठपुरसमुद्भूये शासनपत्रेषु विलिखिताः श्लोकाः ॥ E. I. vol. III, at p. 30.

908a तादृशं चाधिमासमुदाहरामः । अष्टपञ्चाशद्युक्तशतद्वयाधिके शकवर्षाणि सहस्रे गते सति समनन्तरभावी योयमीश्वरसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन्प्रावणमासोधिकः । ततः पूर्वभावी यो भावसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन् फाल्गुनमासोधिकः ... ननु अधिकमासस्य क्वचिन्निशत्तमत्वं व्यभिचरति न्यूनाधिकसंख्याया अपि दर्शनात् । तथा हि यथोक्तेश्वरसंवत्सरोत्तरभाविनि चित्रमानुसंवत्सरे वैशाखमासोधिकः ... तथा दुर्मुससंवत्सरे श्रावणमासोधिकः । हेमलम्बिविलम्बिसंवत्सरद्वयव्यवहिते विकारिसंवत्सरे ज्येष्ठोधिकः । तथा च तत्र पञ्चत्रिंशत्त्वं संपद्यते । कालनिर्णय pp. 70-71.



(*pravartaka*) of the commentaries on the four Vedas (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 19). Another inscription speaks of Vidyāranya in 1378 A. D.<sup>909</sup> This shows that Mādhavācārya had become a *śaṁnyāsīn* at least in 1377 A. D. Tradition says that Vidyāranya died in 1386 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we place the literary activity of Mādhava-Vidyāranya between 1330-1385 A. D. From the remarks about intercalary months it appears that the Parāśaramādhaviya and Kālanirpaya were composed between 1335-1360 A. D. There was a tradition among *pandits* that it was Mādhavācārya who composed bhāṣyas on the Vedas and ascribed them to his brother Sāyana. Kāśinātha, in his Viṭṭhala-rāmantra-sāra-bhāṣya says so.<sup>910</sup>

Great confusion has been caused by identifying Mādhava-Vidyāranya with another scholar named Mādhava who was also a *mantrin* of Bukka, who was a great warrior and was governor of Banavase and the country round Goa on the western coast. In a grant<sup>911</sup> of the village Kucara, also called Mādhavapura, dated *śake* 1313 (1391 A. D.), it is said that he routed the armies of the Turuṣkas, wrested Goa the capital of Koṅkaṇa from them and re-established the temple of Saptanātha (i. e. Saptakoṭīśvara). There is another inscription dated *śake* 1290 (i. e. 1368 A. D.) where the great minister (*Mahapradhāna*) Mādhavāṅka is stated to have ruled over Banavase 12000 under king Bukkarāya (Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 206). Fleet is wrong in identifying the minister Mādhavāṅka with Mādhavācārya-Vidyāranya. Another grant from Goa (found by Dr. Bhau Daji) says that Mādhava-mantrin, son of Caṇḍibhaṭṭa, established the *linga* of Saptanātha (JBBRAS vol. 9, p. 228). Vide E. C. vol. VIII, Sorab No. 375 dated *śake* 1268 (Sunday Mādhava 30, i. e. 11th Feb. 1347), where we are told that Mādhavamantrin was governor of Candragutti, capital of Banavase 12000, that he was minister of Mārāpa, younger brother of Harihara I and that he was a disciple of

909 Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VI. Koppa30.

910 कथं तर्हि माधवाचार्यवेदभाष्यादिषु सायणादेः स्वभ्रातुर्नाम लिखितमिति चेत्कारण्येन &c. | folio 37 b of the विट्ठलरुद्रनृन्सारभाष्य (D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70).

911 गावाभिधां कौङ्कणराजधानीमन्येन मन्येरुणर्णवेन । प्रतिष्ठितास्तत्र तुष्कसङ्घानुत्पाठ्य दोष्णा भुवनैकवीरः ॥ उन्मूलितानामकरोत्प्रतिष्ठा श्रीसप्तनाथादिसुधामुखा यः । JBBRAS vol. IV, p. 115 (text), p. 107 (translation).



Kriyāśakti, a Śaiva teacher. In E. C. vol. VII, Shikarpur 281 dated śake 1290 Kārtika bahula 8 (i. e. 15th November 1368) Mādhava is said to have been a son of Cāuṇḍa of the Āṅgīrasa gotra and a minister of Bukka I and his *guru* is said to have been Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti.

From this it follows that the Mādhava *mantrin* who was a governor of Banavase and Goa and was living in 1391 A. D. was the son of Cāuṇḍibhaṭṭa and cannot be identified with Mādhavācārya who was the son of Māyana.

There is a ms. in the Bombay University Library of a work called Kālanirṇayakārikā in 130 verses, which contains the introductory verses of the Kālanirṇaya dealing with the contents, though in a somewhat different order. There are several commentaries on the Kālanirṇaya, viz. Kālanirṇayadīpikā by Rāmacandrācārya composed about 1450 A. D., a commentary called Lakṣṇai by Lakṣmīdevī, wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍa. There is a Vivaraṇa of the Kālanirṇayadīpikā, by Nṛsiṃha, son of Rāmacandrācārya (vide D. C. Ms. No. 99 of 1871-72).

### 93. Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa

The Madanapārijāta compiled under the patronage of king Madanapāla by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa is a famous work. Like Bhoja, Madanapāla seems to have been a great patron of learning and several works are attributed to him. At least four works on dharmaśāstra are ascribed to him (i. e. were written under his patronage) viz the Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārṇava or Madanamahārṇava, Tithinirṇayasāra and Smṛtikaumudī.

The Madanapārijāta is an extensive work printed in the B. I. series. There are 23 introductory verses, the first 13 of which give the genealogy of Madanapāla. In the printed edition these 13 verses are stated to have been added by *Purohita* Śrī-Rāmadeva. The last of the introductory verses states that the work was composed after a careful study of Hemādri, Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Smṛtyarthasāra and Mitākṣarā.<sup>912</sup> That Madanapāla was only the patron and not the real author of the

912 हेमाद्रिकल्पवृक्षपरार्कस्मृत्यर्थसारां स्मृतिचन्द्रिकां च । मिताक्षरादीन्वलोक्य यत्ना-  
न्नियम्यते संगृह्यते निबन्धः ॥



work is made clear in several places. In the introductory verse 20 it is stated that the work was compiled through ( lit. by the mouth of ) learned men.<sup>913</sup> In two places in the body of the work<sup>914</sup> it is said that the author has explained the matter under discussion in his work called Subodhini, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā. Therefore the Madanapārijāta was really composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, the author of the Subodhini. The Madanapārijāta contains nine *stabakas* ( bunches i. e. chapters ) on brahmacharya, the *dharma*s of householders, the daily duties ( *ahnika-kṛtya* ), the *samskāras* from *garbhādhāna* onwards ; impurity on birth and death, the purification of various substances ( *dravyasuddhi* ), *śraddha*, *dāyabhāga* ( partition and inheritance ) and *prāyaścitta*. In the portion on the Dāyabhāga it very closely follows the Mitākṣarā. Its style is simple and lucid. Besides the authors and works mentioned above it cites those noted below.<sup>915</sup>

There is a work called Mahārjaya ascribed to Mādhātā, a son of Madanapāla. In several mss. of this work deposited in the Deccan<sup>916</sup> College there are introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla that agree almost word for word with the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta. Moreover two verses that speak of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa occur here also as well as in the Madanapārijāta and Subodhini. This work also is said to have been compiled by

913 श्रीमानयं मदनपूर्वकपारिजातनामाङ्कितं स्मृतिपदानुगतं निबन्धम् । वर्णाश्रमप्रमुखधर्म-  
विवेचनाय विद्वन्मुखेन सुरुती मितमातनोति ॥

914 यथा चायमेव कमस्तथास्माभिरुपादितो विद्वानेश्वरटीकायां सुयोधिन्यां दायभाग-  
प्रकरणे । मदनपारिजात p. 654 ; vide p. 603 also for similar words.

915 आचारसागर, गाङ्गेय, गोविन्दराज, चिन्तामणि ( on श्राद्ध, p. 607 ), धर्मविवृति  
( p. 772 ), नारायण, मण्डनमिश्र, मेधातिथि, रत्नावलि ( on श्राद्ध, p. 607 ), शिव-  
स्वामिन् ( p. 619 ), सुरेश्वर, स्मृतिमञ्जरी ( p. 554 ), स्मृतिमहर्षणव.

916 For the महर्षणव vide D. C. ms. No. 131 of 1882-83 and Nos. 259 and 260 of  
1886-1892. No. 260 does not contain the verses about the genealogy,  
but the two verses माता पुण्य० and मतिर्वैद्या ( which are 21 and 22 in  
the मदनपारिजात ) occur in all the three ; in No. 131 and No. 259 the  
verse माता पुण्य० occurs in the introductory verses and the verse  
मतिर्वैद्या occurs at the end of the work and in No. 260 the two verses are  
the 2nd and 3rd of the introductory verses.



*Māṇdhātā* through the learned.<sup>917</sup> It is said to have been based on a study of the *śruti*, the *smṛti*s and the *purāṇas*. The work is divided into 40 *lārāṅgas* (waves). The principal subject<sup>918</sup> of the work is to describe how the various diseases which human bodies are heir to are the result of evil deeds done in past lives (this subject being called *Karmavipāka* in *dharmaśāstra* works) and to prescribe various rites and penances for the eradication of the evil results of evil deeds. Among the various rites and penances that are set forth in great detail may be mentioned the *Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa*, *Rudraikādaśinī*, *Mahārudrābhiseka*, *Vināyakaśānti*, the *Nava-grahayajña* &c. The *Mahārṇava* mentions the *Karmavipāka* of *Śātātapa*, the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (folio 234 a of D. C. no. 259 of 1886-1892), the *Mitākṣara*, the *Karmavipāka-samuccaya* &c. It is worthy of note that in the *Smṛti-kaumudī* the authorship of the *Mahārṇava* is claimed by the author himself and is not ascribed to *Madanapāla*'s son.<sup>919</sup>

The *Tithinirṇayasāra* is another work compiled under *Madanapāla*. Stein in his cat. of mss. at Jammu (p. 306) gives extracts from this work. The first fourteen verses are the same as those in the *Madanapārijāta*. It appears to have been composed by *Viśvanātha*, which is most probably a paraphrase of the name *Viśveśvara*.<sup>920</sup>

The *Smṛtikaumudī* contains an introduction of 17 verses, 13 of which set forth the genealogy of *Madanapāla*. The fourteenth verse tells us that *Madanapāla* composed works called *Yantraprakāśa*, *Mahārṇava*, *Pārijāta*, *Siddhāntagarbha* and *Tithinirṇayasāra*.<sup>921</sup> The 15th verse says that he composes the *Smṛtikaumudī* through

917 सोयं सुरुतविधाता रिपुकुलजेता तनोति मन्धाता । विद्वन्मुखेन मतिमान् सत्कृतिरत्नं महार्णवं नाम ॥ 18th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.

918 The work begins 'तत्र तावद्वक्ष्यमाणसकलकर्मोपयोगित्वेन कर्मविपाकरूपयोगादिनिवृत्त्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तादेरवश्यकर्तव्यता प्रतिपाद्यते ।'.

916 विनायकशान्तिप्रकारोस्माभिर्महार्णवे निरूपितः ।

920 श्रीविश्वनाथसुधिया स्मृतितत्त्वमार्गपान्थेन शास्त्रविलसन्मतिपाठवेन । अस्मिन् व्यधायि स्थितिनिर्णयसारनाम्नि ग्रन्थे कियान्तिललोकहिते प्रयासः ॥

921 For the *स्मृतिकौमुदी*, vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 275 b, I. O. cat. p. 524, No. 1649 and D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73.

922 ग्रन्थप्रकाशसमर्पणवधिरिजातसिद्धान्तगर्भतिथिनिर्णयसारमुख्याः । ग्रन्थाश्च येन रचिताः &c.



the learned.<sup>923</sup> The 17 verse says that his predecessors have generally dilated upon the dharmas of the three higher *varṇas* and the *dharmas* of the śūdra have not been dealt with by them as a principal topic, therefore he would clearly expound the *dharmas* of the last *varṇa*. At the end of the ms. in the I. O. cat. it is described as the younger sister of the Madanapārijāta and of the Mahārṇava.<sup>924</sup> This is not found in the D. C. ms. which was copied in *samvat* 1615. This work is divided into four kalollāsas, each kalollāsa being subdivided into kiraṇas (rays). The first kalollāsa has two kiraṇas, the second has four, the third and fourth five kiraṇas each. The subjects dealt with are: I two kinds of śūdras, viz : the kevalaśūdra ( simple śūdra ) and one who is of mixed descent, being born of a śūdra woman from a man of the higher castes; II. general discourses on the śūdra's *adbhikāra* for engaging in various acts and performing various rites, such as the study of the vedas and smṛtis, the performance of garbhādhāna and other saṁskāras and the consecration of sacred fires; saṁdhyāvandana; the śūdra's capacity for attaining the knowledge of brahman; III. marriage; different forms of marriage, prohibited degrees of blood relationship ( sāpindya ), the various rites of marriage such as kanyādāna; such saṁskāras as nāma-karaṇa ( naming the child ), the duties of śūdras in ordinary and difficult times; āśauca for śūdras; the various śrāddhas for them; the letting loose of a bull in honour of the dead; IV. śūdra's daily duties such as āśauca, brushing the teeth, baths in the morning and at other times, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily *śrāddha*, dinner, &c.

The Smṛtikaumudī mentions among others Aparārka, Kṛtya-kalpataru, Mitākṣarā, Medhātithi, Yājñapārśva and Smṛtimañjari. It also quotes from the Vedānta-kalpataru<sup>925</sup> and the author claims the Madanapārijāta as his own work.

It has been seen how all the four works set out above were composed under the patronage of Madanapāla and how they were

923 विद्वन्मुखेन तनुते विनतोर्जितश्रिरुपन्नचारुकिरणां स्मृतिकौमुदी सः ॥

924 अनेन कृतिना कृता स्मृतिप्रदाङ्किता कौमुदी महर्णवसहोदरी मदनपारिजातानुजा ।

925 यदुक्तं सत्यामप्युत्पत्तौ प्रवाहस्याविच्छिन्नेरनादित्वमिति तच्च कार्यात्मके संसारे । तदुक्तं वेदान्तकल्पतरौ ॥ तदात्रत्युपरकानां (?) व्यक्तीनामेकया विना । अनादिकालावृत्तिर्यासा कार्यानादिता मतेति ॥ folio 3a of the D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73; folio 55a

of the same has 'अत्र च प्रापकानि मदनपारिजातेष्वाभिर्दक्षितानि'.



probably from the pen of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa. There is one more work on Dharmaśāstra which Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa composed in his own name without the shelter of a patron's name. It is the Subodhini, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara. The vyavahāra portion of it has been published in Bombay by Mr. S. S. Setlur and also by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. Mr. Govind Das had seen portions of the Subodhini on the prāyaścitta section also. The Subodhini does not comment on each word of the Mitākṣarā but explains only important passages. It is a learned work. This was the earliest composition of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, since it is mentioned even in the Madanapārijāta. The first verse of the Subodhini is also the opening verse of the Mahārṇava and of the Smṛtikaumudī.<sup>926</sup>

From the verses<sup>927</sup> 21 and 22 in the introduction to the Madanapārijāta it appears that Viśveśvara was the son of Pedibhaṭṭa and Ambikā, that he was of the Kauśikagotra and was the pupil of Vyāsāranya-muni. In the Subodhini also the verse 'matā &c.' occurs at the end with slight suitable variations and the verse 'matiryeṣam' in the beginning. The second introductory verse in Mr. Gharpure's edition makes Viśveśvara the son of Appabhaṭṭa,<sup>928</sup> while Mr. Setlur reads 'Peṭṭibhaṭṭa' which is probably a misreading for Pedibhaṭṭa. From his father's name it appears that Viśveśvara was a native of the Draviḍa country<sup>929</sup> and migrated to Northern India in search of patronage after he wrote the Subodhini. Viśveśvara is regarded as one of the leading authorities of the Benares School

926 नमः सकलकल्याणभाजनाय पिनाकिने । नमो लक्ष्मीनिवासाय देवतायै गिरां नमः ॥  
सुबोधिनी. The स्मृतिकौमुदी ( Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 275b has कल्याणकारणाय )  
and Descriptive Ca. of Govt. Sanskrit mss. (Madras) vol. VII p. 2625, No. 3495 has परमकल्याण० and गिरे नमः.

927 मतिर्येषां शास्त्रे प्रकृतिरमणीया व्यवहृतिः परा शीलं श्लाघ्यं जगति ऋजवस्ते कतिपये ।  
चिरं चित्ते तेषां मुकुरतलभूते स्थितिर्मियादियं व्यासारण्यप्रवरमुनिशिष्यस्य भणितिः ॥  
माता पुण्यचरित्रकीर्तिविभवा यस्याम्बिका नामतः शाकल्यापरमूर्तिरायं चरितः श्रीपेदि-  
भट्टः पिता । सोऽयं कौशिकवंशभूषणमणिः श्रीभट्टविश्वेश्वरो वेदस्मार्तमते नये च सप्तदे-  
वाक्ये कृती वर्धते ॥

928 योष्यभट्टात्मजः श्रीमान् भट्टविश्वेश्वरः सुधीः ।

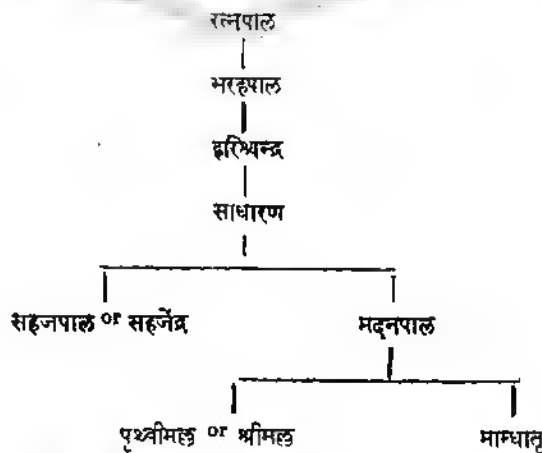
929 One of the donees mentioned in the Bīṭṛāguṇṭa grant of king Saṅgama dated 1356 A. D. is Pedibhaṭṭa; vide E. I. vol. III at p. 28. Bīṭṛāguṇṭa is in the Nellore District.



of modern Hindu law.<sup>930</sup> Madanapāla belonged to the family of Ṭāka kings that ruled in Kāṣṭhā (modern Kath) on the Jumna to the north of Delhi.<sup>931</sup> The printed Madanapārijāta makes the family name to be 'Kāṣṭhā,' but this is most probably a wrong reading, as in the Mahārṇava and the other works of Madanapāla the family name is distinctly stated to be Ṭāka. The pedigree of the family as gathered from the Madanapārijāta and the other works is given below. Some works such as the Mahārṇava omit mention of Sahajapāla. About Sādhārṇa it is said that he brought about the remission of all taxes at the three *tirthas* (Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā).<sup>932</sup>

930 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.

931 अस्ति प्रशस्तविभवोपगतप्रशस्तिविस्तारिणी भुवि शकाधिपराजधानी । दिल्लीति विन्ध्य-  
विदिता नगरीमत्तल्ली पल्लीव भति पुरतस्त्रिदिवोपि यस्याः ॥ तामुत्तरेण यमुनातटदेश-  
निष्ठा काष्ठेयभूदनुपमा नगरी गरिष्ठा । यस्यामनल्पविभवोपचिता बभूवुः काष्ठान्वया  
महितकीर्तिजुषो महीशाः ॥ verses 4-5 of मदनपारिजात; at the end of the मदन-  
विनोदनिघण्टु we read टाकान्वये महति भूमिभुजा विशुद्धे काष्ठेति नाम नगरं जपति  
प्रसिद्धम् । Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 275 a (ms. of मदनपारिजात) where  
the reading is टाककुलाम्बुराशौ for काष्ठकुलाम्बुराशौ of the printed text.  
The pedigree is :



932 तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरयः । verse 10 of the महार्णव, D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92; कीनाशपाशचयवद्विभोचनार्थं तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरयः ॥ verse 10 of स्मृतिकौमुदी.



In the *Sūryasiddhāntaviveka* of Madanapāla the father of Madanapāla is said to be Sahāraṇa<sup>933</sup> which is a Prakrit equivalent of Sādhāraṇa. Madanapāla appears to have been a very great patron of learned men and is said to have emulated the fame of Bhoja.<sup>934</sup> Besides the four works described above he compiled several other works, the most famous of which is his dictionary of drugs called *Madanavinodanighaṇṭu*. That work is very extensive, contains about 2250 verses and is divided into fourteen *vargas*, the last of which contains a *prastāvi* of his family.<sup>935</sup> This work contains the names of medical drugs, the qualities of drugs and of dishes and of the flesh of various animals. Some of the words given as synonyms for Sanskrit words occur in the modern Marathi.<sup>936</sup> We saw above that his *Smṛtikaumudī* refers to *Yantra-prakāśa* and *Siddhāntagarbha* as two of his works. These two were works on astronomy.

Another work of his is the *Sūrya-siddhāntaviveka* or *Vāsanārṇava*, which is a commentary on the *Sūryasiddhānta*. There is a ms. of this work in the Bhau Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society.<sup>937</sup> Therein after giving his pedigree he says that by his works on *Smṛtiśāstra*, on astronomy and mathematics and on medicine he came to be known as *abhinava* Bhoja.<sup>938</sup> In this treatise he refers to his own works already composed called *Siddhāntagarbha*<sup>939</sup> and *Yantraprakāśa*. He also refers to a *Rajamrgāṅka*

933 भवनाङ्गणचद्वारणस्तनयस्तरय नृपः सहारणः । उदियाय जनस्य वीक्षिते नृपती यत्र पुरन्दरध्रमः ॥ 5th Intro. verse of *सूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेक* (BBRAS cat. part I pp. 95-97.).

934 परिशीलयता कलाकलापं विदधानेन च भूरिशो निबन्धान् । मदनन महीभृताथ येन प्रथिता नूतनभोजराजकीर्तिः ॥ verse 18 of *मदनपारिजात*; this verse, particularly the 4th pāda, occurs in the *तिथिनिर्णयसार* (17th verse), *स्मृतिकौमुदी* (13th verse), the *महाहर्ष* (13th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.).

935 Vide D. C. ms. Nos. 1065 and 1066 of 1886-92 for *मदनविनोदनिघण्टु*. In No. 1065 there is no प्रशस्ति.

936 e. g. such words as दक्षिण (for दक्षिणपक्ष), लापसी, घेवर, हरेडे, नागरमोथा, इलद, यदाम &c.

937 Vide BBRAS cat. part. I. pp. 95-97 for this ms.

938 प्रतिदिनमुदितैर्नवेः प्रबन्धैः स्मृतिसरणौ गणिते चिकित्सिते च । जगति विजयते विजृम्भमाणैर्भिनवभोज इति प्रथा यदीया ॥ 7th Intro. verse.

939 अत ऊर्ध्वमागोलाध्यायमवस्थं प्रमेयमस्मरुते सिद्धान्तगर्भसंज्ञके मदनविनोदापरनाम्नि ग्रन्थे द्रष्टव्यम् ।



of Bhoja and to Bhāskara's works. The ms. was copied in *samvat* 1459, i. e. 1402-3 A. D. In the colophon of this work his *birudas* (titles) are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Abhinava-Bhoja, and he is also styled Mahārājādhirāja.<sup>940</sup> In the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava the *birudas* are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Kāṭāramalla or Kāṭāramalla. A work called Ānandasāñjivana on singing, dancing, musical instruments and rāgas is ascribed to Madanapāla.<sup>941</sup> The king Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, who is connected with the restoration of Medhātithi's bhāṣya, must be this Madana.

A great deal has been written concerning the date of Madanapāla. The introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla must be held to be genuine, as they occur in the ancient ms. (D. C. No. 131 of A 1882-83) of Mahārṇava copied in *samvat* 1645 (1588-89 A. D.) and in the still older ms. (dated *samvat* 1459) of the Sūrya-siddhānta-viveka. As the Madanapārijāta mentions the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi not only in the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta but in the body of the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava, Madanapāla must be certainly later than 1300 A. D. As the Smṛtikaumudī mentions the Vedāntakalpataru that was composed in the time of the Yādava princes Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva, it follows that the work was composed after the third quarter of the 13th century. The Madanapārijāta is quoted in the Nṛsīṃhaprasāda, the Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the Āhnikatattava (pp. 326, 397, 479, vol. 1) of Raghunānandana, the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī (pp. 327, 489) of Govindānanda. Therefore it is certainly earlier than 1500 A. D. And if we rely on the date when the ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka was copied (viz. 1402-3 A. D.), it follows that Madanapāla flourished before 1400 A. D. The Madanavinodanighaṭṭu<sup>942</sup> gives the date of its

940 इति श्रीपण्डितपारिजाताभिनवभोजेन्द्रादिचिरुदावलीविराजमानेन मदनपारिजात-महार्णव-सिद्धान्तग्रन्थ-यन्त्रप्रकाशायनेकग्रन्थकृत्वा श्रीमहाराजाधिराजेन श्रीमदनपालदेवेन विरचितः श्रीसूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेका वासनाणवः समाप्तः । ; but at the end of the D. C. ms. of the स्मृतिकौमुदी, the colophon is simply इति श्रीरायमदनपालविरचितायां शुद्धधर्मोत्पल्योत्तम्यां स्मृतिकौमुद्यां &c.

941 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 509.

942 अन्ते ब्रह्मजगद्युगेन्दुराणते श्रीविक्रमार्कप्रभोमंघे मासि बलक्षपक्षलालते बह्व्यां सुधा-शोर्दिने । verse 14 of the last वर्ग in D. C. ms. No. 129 of 1884-87 and No. 1066 of 1886-92. The last has a corrupt reading बह्व्यां गुरोर्दिने. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 47 for the date.



composition as 'Brahmajagad-yugendu' of the Vikrama era, *māgha* 6 of the bright half and Monday (i. e. 8-1-1375 A. D.). This was interpreted by Sarvadhikari (Tagore Law Lectures pp. 297-298, ed. of 1922) as equal to 1231 of the Vikrama era (i. e. 1175 A. D.). He held that 'yuga' meant two. But herein he was entirely wrong. Besides, the date proposed by him is impossible, since it would lead us to hold that Madanapāla wrote in 1175 A. D. and since, as we saw above, he could not have flourished before 1300 A. D. It has been already shown (pp. 309, 369) that the view of Sarvadhikari and others that the Pārijāta mentioned by Candéśvara is the same as Madanapārijāta is quite wrong. Astronomical usage as found in Bhāskara and other writers always interprets *yuga*<sup>943</sup> as meaning four (and not two) and hence the date of the composition of the Madanavinodanighaṇṭu is 1431 of the Vikrama era (i. e. 1375 A. D.). Vide Jolly's Tagore Law lectures pp. 14-15, Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 47 and 347, and S. B. E. vol. 25, p. cxxxv n. 2. A ms. of the *Sūryasiddhāntavivēka*, which is one of the last (if not the last) works of Madanapāla is dated in 1402-3 A. D. Hence the literary activity of Madanapāla and of his protegee, Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, must be placed between 1360-1390 A. D.

#### 94. Madanaratna

The Madanaratna is an extensive digest on Dharmaśāstra no part of which has yet been printed. In the colophons of mss. it is also called Madanaratnapradīpa or simply Madanapradīpa. The work was divided into seven<sup>944</sup> sections called *uddiyotas* on *samaya* (or *kāla*), *ārāra*, *vyavahāra*, *prāyaścitta*, *dāna*, *buddhi*, *śānti*. The order of the various sections was the one indicated, the *samayoddyota* being the first part. I have not been able to examine the mss. of all the *uddiyotas*.

943 e. g. भास्कराचार्य in his गणितसंग्रह (कालमानसंग्रह verse 24) says 'सप्त-  
भद्रस्तस्रैर्युगमिष्युमभूतुणे । क्रमेण सूर्यवत्सरेः कृतादयो युगाद्वयः ॥' where युग  
must mean 'four' and युम is employed for two.

944 उद्योताः समयोद्योतव्यवहारविवेचकाः । प्रायश्चित्तस्य दानस्य शुद्धिस्तान्त्योश्च सममे ॥  
तत्रादौ राजसिद्धेन सर्वधर्मोपयोगतः । तन्यते मदनेन्द्रेण समयस्य विनिर्णयः ॥  
verses 24-25 of ms. of समयोद्योत in Viśrambhāg collection I. No. 146 and  
verses 26 and 27 in the I. O. cat. ms. (p. 537 b) and Peterson's cat. of  
Ulwar mss. No. 1410 and extract No. 336 at p. 131.



The Samayoddyota deals with the subjects usually treated of in works on *kāla*, viz discussions about the year, the seasons, the months, the intercalary months, the rules about *tithis*, the rules about the proper times for various religious observances, gifts, *homa*, the rules about *kalivarjya*.

There is a ms. of the Dānodyota in the Ānandāśrama collection at Poona (No. 2378). The following are the subjects treated of:—eulogy of *dāna*; the nature of *dāna*, various kinds of *dānas*; the constituent elements (*āṅgaṇi*) of *dāna*; the donor, proper persons for gifts, persons undeserving of gifts, what things cannot be given away, proper and improper times and places for *dāna*, measures of corn and other substances and weights and units of length &c., finding out the east and other directions, characteristics of a *toraṇa*, *patāka* and *maṇḍapa*, *tulā-puruṣa* (weighing oneself against gold or silver), gift of a thousand cows and other magnificent gifts, dedication of a tank or well and planting of a garden &c. In this work the author refers to Kalpataru and to Hemādri as a *dākṣiṇā-ryanibandhakāra*.

Deccan College ms. No. 392 of 1891-95 deals with the *śānti* section. It treats of rites for propitiating gods and planets and averting the evil consequences of great or small portentous phenomena, such as Vināyaka-snāna, sūrya-śānti, navagraha-śānti, śāntis for birth on certain evil *nakṣatras* like *māla*, *aśleṣa* and evil astrological conjunctions like *vyatipāta*, *vaidhṛti*, *saṃkrānti*; rites for the safety of the foetus and of the newly born infant; *ayutahoma*; *lakṣa-homa*, *koṭi-homa* &c. In this section sages like Uttara-Garga, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Baijavāpa (on *grhya*), Mānava-saṃhitā, Yājñavalkya, Śaunaka and purāṇas like the Skanda, Bhaviṣyottara, Viṣṇudharmottara are very frequently cited. Besides the following are among the authors and works referred to:—Apekṣitārthadyotinī, a commentary of Nārāyaṇa, Karmavipākasaṃgraha, Karmavipākasaṃuccaya, Kumāratānta promulgated by the son of Rāvaṇa, Prayogasāra, Vijiñāneśvarācārya (in the plural).

A ms. of the Ācāroddyota is noticed by Burnell in his Tanjore cat. (p. 137 b). Stein (in his cat. of Jammu mss.) notices an incomplete ms. of the Vyavahāroddyota (p. 98 No. 2437). M. M. Haraprasad Sastri notices a ms. of the Prāyaścittoddyota (Nepal Palmleaf and Paper mss. cat. XVIII and p. 223).



From the colophons at the end of the several mss. of the Madanaratna it appears that the work was composed under the patronage of king Madanasimha-deva, son of Śaktisimha.<sup>945</sup> The king is styled maharājādhirāja and one of his titles is kodāṇḍa-paraśurāma ( meaning ' who was a veritable Paraśurāma in wielding the bow ). The introductory verses<sup>946</sup> to the Samayoddyota in the Viśrām-bāg collection and the Ulwar ms. refer to Delhi-deśa and its king named Mahipāladeva. Then verse 9 speaks of Dāmodara whose exact relationship with Mahipāladeva is not clear. Dāmodara is said to have made the *yavanas* of *Mūlāsthāna* ( modern Multan in the Punjab ) give up the slaughtering of cows. The whole pedigree is given below.<sup>947</sup> Śaktisimha is said to have eclipsed even Bhoja.

945 इति श्रीकोदण्डपरशुरामेत्यादिचिरुदावलीविराजमानमानोन्नतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीशक्तिर्सेह-  
त्मजमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमदनसिंहदेवविरचिते मदनरत्नप्रदीपे दानविवेकोद्योते &c. in ms.  
( Ānandāśrama No. 2378 ); there is a similar colophon at the end of the  
शान्ति section.

946 तस्मादाकस्मिकोयदहनघनमहस्तुत्यतापप्रतापञ्जालालाभिभूतद्विषद्वनिपतावन्वये भास्क-  
रस्य । राजा राजावतारो वरसमरधुगुह्यमरामानुभावप्रध्वस्तारातिभूमिपतिदनुजवयो-  
भूम्महीपालदेवः ॥ यत्रासीद्भुवनेषु विभुतचणो दामोदराख्यः कृती श्रीमान्पुण्यवद्गुणी-  
र्जितरिपिष्णुपालसङ्घः प्रभुः । मूलस्थानपुरे तुरुष्कनिवहाकान्ते परित्याजितो येनाद्यावधि  
गोवधो यवनकैः शत्राणि ( कुत्रापि ? ) न स्मर्यते ॥ verses 8 and 9 of the Ulwar  
ms. of समयोद्योत.

947 The pedigree is

महीपालदेव  
|  
दामोदर  
|  
देवीदास  
|  
सूर्यदास  
|  
शक्तिर्सेह  
|  
मदनसिंह



It is further said that Madanasimha called<sup>948</sup> together four learned men, viz., Ratnākara, Gopinātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭa and entrusted the composition of the digest to them. The colophons<sup>949</sup> at the end of the Śāntyuddya in the Deccan College says that it was composed by Viśvanātha, a resident of Benares and son of Bhaṭṭapūjya, a Śrīmālī Gurjara (Brāhmaṇa). There is a similar colophon at the end of the Prāyaścittoddyota noticed by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri.

Since the Madanaratna mentions the Mit., the Kalpataru and Hemādri, it must be certainly later than about 1300 A. D. It is quoted as a great authority by the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, Nilakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra. In the Vyavahāra-mayūkha Nilakaṇṭha relies upon the Madanaratna as often as (if not oftener than) the Mitākṣarā. The Viramitrōdaya<sup>950</sup> says that the author of the Madanaratna refers to the views of the Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, and Halayudha. From this it follows that the Madanaratna was composed at some time between 1350-1500. Madanasimha and his ancestors are spoken of as ruling the country about Delhi. Though Madanasimha bears the high-sounding title of mahārājādhirāja it is highly probable that he was some feudatory chief under the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi. It is difficult to conceive of a period between 1300 and 1500 A. D. when a Hindu ruler was king of Delhi. It may be that during the troublous times of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-1351 A. D.), when the capital was transferred from Delhi to Daulatabad, or during the weak rule of the last kings of the Tughlak dynasty (1388-1413 A. D.) Madanasimha's predecessors might

948 तेनाहूय मनीषिमण्डनमणिं सन्मिश्रत्नाकरं गोपीनाथमनुत्तमं च सुधियं श्रीविश्वनाथं तथा । मुग्धं पण्डितमुज्जतद्युतिमतिं भट्टं च गङ्गाधरं राज्ञा शक्तिन (क१) सुनुना सुरुतिना ग्रन्थोद्यमाभ्यते ॥ I. O. cat. p. 537, No. 1681, verse 53; this is verse 21 in the Viśvāmbhāg ms.

949 महाराजाधिराजस्य मदनेन्द्रस्य शासनात् । श्रीमाली (लिना १) गुर्जरेण भट्टपूज्यात्मजेन वा । भट्टश्रीविश्वनाथेन काशीतीर्थनिवासिना । शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं वापि यथाशास्त्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ The Ulwar ms. (Peterson's Ulwar cat. No. 353) reads श्रीमहिनाथगुर्जरेण.

950 तत्र मदनरत्नकारेण मिताक्षराकल्पतरुहलायुधादिसर्वग्रन्थान्तरेष्वल्लिखितानिर्मूलत्वमस्य जङ्गमं स्थावरमिति प्राजापत्यस्य लिखितानिर्मूलत्वमिति दूषणमुक्त्वा &c. वीर० p. 626; vide वीर० pp. 5, 29, 36, 59 for references to मदनरत्न.



have usurped some territory about Delhi and ruled over it. At all events it would not be far from correct if the *Madanaratna* be placed about 1425-1450 A. D. Dr. Jolly ( R. u. S. p. 37 ) says that the *Madanaratna* names the Ratnākara and the MādHAVIYA. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri ( Report on palm-leaf and paper mss. from Nepal, Intro. pp. 31-32 ) tells us that the dynasty to which Madanasimhadeva belonged ruled over Gorakhpur-Champaran ( Western Tirhut ), that Madanasimhadeva was preceded by Śaktisimhadeva, whose predecessor was Prthvisimhadeva. The learned Sastri further says that a ms. of the *Madanaratnapradīpa-prāyaścittoddyota* applies the title 'kodāṇḍaparaśurāma' to Madana ( p. 223 ), that a ms. of the *Amarakośa* was copied in saṁvat 1511 ( 1454-55 A. D. ) when Madanasimha ruled over Campakāranyanagara ( p. 51 of the body of the Report ) and that a ms. of the *Narasimhapurāṇa* was copied in La-saṁ 339 ( 1457-58 A. D. ) when mahārājadhīrāja Madanasimhadeva ruled over Gorakṣapura i. e. modern Gorakhpur ( p. 29 of the Report ). The great similarity of the names Madanapāla and Madanasimha misled J. C. Ghose ( Hindu Law, vol. II, p. XIV, ed. of 1917 ) into holding that the *Madanapārijāta* and the *Madanaratna* were written under Madanapāla. But it is clear from the ancestry of the two kings, Madanapāla and Madanasimha, and the names of the real authors of the digests ( *Madanapārijāta* and *Madanaratna* ) that they have no connection with each other.

### 95. *Śūlapāṇi*

Next to Jimūtavahana, *Śūlapāṇi* is the most authoritative Bengal writer on dharmaśāstra. Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti gave a very interesting account of his works and time in JASB for 1915, pp. 336-343.

The earliest work of *Śūlapāṇi* appears to have been his *Dīpakalikā*, a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. It is a very brief commentary. The portion on the *dayabhāga* section ( Yājñavalkya II, verses 114-149 ) is contained in five printed pages ( vide Ghose's Hindu Law, edition of 1917, vol. II, pp. 550-554 ). In this commentary, besides the sages he names only a few writers and works on dharma, e. g. the *Kalpataru*, *Govindarāja*, the *Mitākṣarā*, *Medhātithi* and *Viśvarūpa*.. He entertained somewhat archaic views on matters of inheritance. For example, he holds that the text speaking of the right of the parents to succeed before the brothers of the



deceased has reference to property acquired by the deceased from his father or grand-father. He explained the word 'apratīṣṭhita' in the sūtra of Gautama 'stridhanam dubhīṣṇam-apratīṣṭhitaṁ-apratīṣṭhitānām ca' in the same way as Aparārka, Jimūtavāhana and the Smṛticandrika.<sup>951</sup> He says that a full brother though not re-united succeeded before a half-brother though re-united.<sup>952</sup> This explanation of the much canvassed verse of Yāj. offered by Śulapāṇi is referred to by the Viramitrodaya.<sup>953</sup> The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana several times refers to Śulapāṇi's explanations of Yāj.<sup>954</sup>

Śulapāṇi wrote several small treatises on topics of dharmasāstra and intended them to form part of a huge digest called Smṛtiviveka. Fourteen such works are known to have been so written with titles ending in the word 'viveka,' viz. Ekādaśi-viveka, Tīthi-viveka, Dattaka-viveka, Durgotsava-prayoga-viveka, Durgotsava-viveka, Dola-yātrā-viveka, Pratiṣṭhā-viveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Rāsayātrā-viveka, Vratākāla-viveka, Śuddhi-viveka, Śrāddha-viveka, Saṁkrānti-viveka, Saṁbandha-viveka (on marriage). Of these the Durgotsavaviveka seems to have been amongst his latest works, since he names therein five of his *vivekas* on durgotsava-prayoga, pratiṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, śuddhi and śrāddha. The Śrāddha-viveka is the most famous of his works and has been printed. His Prāyaścittaviveka and Durgotsava-viveka have also been published, the former by Jivananda (1893) and the latter by the Sanskrit Sahitya Pariṣad at Calcutta in Bengali characters. In the Durgotsava-viveka he deals with the worship of Durgā in Āśvina and also in spring (hence the deity is called Vāsanti). In the Durgotsava-viveka, besides such purāṇas as the Kālikā, Bhaviṣyottara, Bhāgavata, Devī, he names a host of writers and works as noted below.<sup>955</sup> In spite of Aufrecht's view

951 अनपत्या निर्धना अभर्तुका दुर्भगाश्च । ता विना अन्वयः पुत्रपौत्रादिः ।

952 असंसृष्टपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयान्न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभ्राता ।

953 'याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीकायां शूलपाणिः । अन्योदर्थः संसृष्टी नाम्नोदर्थभनं गृह्णीयात् । असंसृष्टपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयात् । न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभ्राता &c.' वीर० pp. 682-683.

954 ०. ४. आवेदयति चेदित्यनेन स्वयं विवादोत्थापनं राज्ञा न कर्तव्यमिति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायः । व्यवहारतत्त्व.

955 They are: कालकौमुदी, कालमाधवीय, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, चक्रनारायणी, जिकन, जीमूतवाहने, ज्योतिषार्णव, बालक, महाकविलपञ्चरात्र, वर्णकृत्य, वसन्तराज, शारदा-सिलक, श्रीकृष्ण, श्रीदत्तात्रेय, संवत्सरप्रदीप, समयप्रदीप ( of श्रीदत्त ). सार-कमुच्यते, स्मृतिस्मरण.



the Saṁvatsara-pradīpa is not his own work. A Sārasamuccaya is also mentioned in Hemādri (Dāna-khaṇḍa page 135). The Smṛtisāgara is probably the same as the Govindārṇava of Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha or the work of the same name which Kullūka appears to have composed. Śrīkaramiśra is probably the ancient author referred to even by the Mitākṣarā.

The Śrāddha-viveka has several commentaries by eminent writers such as Śrinātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi and Govindānanda. So there are commentaries on the Prāyaścittaviveka. Besides the above, the works and authors mentioned in the other vivekas are noted below.<sup>956</sup> The Śrāddha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi is referred to (as Gauḍīya-śrāddha-viveka) by Rudradhara,<sup>957</sup> by Vācaspati in his Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, by Govindānanda in his Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*.

We know very little about the personal history of Śūlapāṇi. In the colophons of his works<sup>958</sup> he is styled Sāhuḍiyāla (or -na) Mahāmahopādhyāya and Raghunandana also calls him Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Sāhuḍiyāla was a degraded section of the Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas in Bengal from the days of Ballālasena. As Rudradhara calls him Gauḍīya, it follows that Śūlapāṇi was a Bengal Brāhmaṇa. There is a tradition that he was the Judge of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. But this is impossible as the following discussion about his date will show.

There is some uncertainty about the exact age of Śūlapāṇi. As Śūlapāṇi names the Ratnākara of Candēśvara and the Kālamādhaviya, he must be later than about 1375 A. D., since some time must have elapsed before a work from Vijayanagar came to be regarded as an authority in Bengal. As Śūlapāṇi's works are mentioned by Rudradhara, Govindānanda and Vācaspati, the former must be earlier than about 1460. In this connection it has to be noted that Govindānanda not only comments upon Śūlapāṇi's

<sup>956</sup> कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, गोविन्दराज, धर्मप्रदीप, पारिजात, भवदेव, भुज-बलभीम, भोजदेव, महर्षण्वप्रकाश, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रत्नाकर, शङ्खधर, स्मृति-मञ्जरी, हलायुध.

<sup>957</sup> Vide folio 25 a of the Benares edition of रुद्रधर's श्राद्धविवेक (printed in संवत् 1920).

<sup>958</sup> Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1287 and D. C. ms. No. 98 of 1895-98.



works but probably looks upon Śūlapāṇi as an old writer along with Aniruddha.<sup>959</sup>

A ms. of the *Prāyaścittaviveka* was copied at Benares in *śake* 1410 (i. e. 1488 A. D.).<sup>960</sup> From all these data it follows that Śūlapāṇi flourished between 1375 and 1460 A. D.

From the *Śuddhittatva* it appears that Śūlapāṇi wrote *Parīṣiṣṭa-dīpakalikā* (probably a commentary on a *Gṛhyaparīṣiṣṭa*)<sup>961</sup>.

### 96. Rudradhara

This is a well-known Maithila writer on *Dharmaśāstra*, who composed several works. His *Śuddhi-viveka* has been published several times (at Benares in 1866, in 1878 and by the Venkateśvara Press in Bombay, *sahvat* 1978). That work is divided into three *paricchedas* and deals with purification from impurity on birth and death, the persons liable to undergo purifications, the meaning of the word *putra*, purification of the body and of various substances when polluted, purification of cooked food and water and women in their menses. He tells us that after<sup>962</sup> having examined seven works (*nibandhas*) on *śuddhi* and being encouraged by his father and brother he composed the *Śuddhiviveka*. He further says that he made the effort for the benefit of those who were not disposed to go through such works as the *Ratnakara*, *Pārijāta*, *Mitākṣara* and the *Hāralatā*.<sup>963</sup> Besides these he mentions the *Ācārādarsa*, *Śuddhi-pradīpa*, *Śuddhi-bimba*, *Śrīdattopādhyāya*, *Smṛtisāra* and *Harihara*.

The *Śrāddhiviveka* of Rudradhara is the most famous of his works. It was printed at Benares in *sahvat* 1920. The work is

959 यच्च मैथिलैरसन्नादानयोर्धे चाथ त्वेति मन्त्रो नास्त्युक्तं तदतिरुद्धशूलपाणिप्रभृतीनां प्राचामसंमतम् । p. 71 of *Śāstrakriyākaumudī*. The word प्राचा may here mean 'eastern writers.'

960 शाके गते दशसमुद्रहिमांशुसंख्ये मासे त्विषे शिवमुदे शिवशर्मणा यः ।

961 अत एव पितृदयिता-परिशिष्टप्रकाश-शूलपाणिकृत-परिशिष्टदीपकालिकाप्रभृतिषु मन्त्राभिधान-पूर्वकवाक्येन वृषोत्सर्ग इत्युक्तम् । शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II, p. 380).

962 युद्धो सप्त निषन्धान् इहानुमतः पितुस्तथा भ्रातुः ।

963 सन्त्येव रत्नाकरपारिजातमिताक्षराहारलतादयोन्त्ये । तथापि तत्रालसमानसानां भवेत्प्रमोदाय मम प्रयासः ॥



divided into four *paricchedas*. He first defines śrāddha, and then treats of several topics, viz. the varieties of śrāddha, the procedure at śrāddhas, the *mantras* that are recited, the proper time and place for śrāddhas, the Brāhmaṇas worthy to be invited at śrāddha and the proper food etc. Among the numerous works and authors referred to in the work the undermentioned ones deserve notice.<sup>964</sup> He refers to his own Śuddhiviveka as already written.

In several places he tells us that he follows a different tradition on certain matters from that of the Pitr̥bhakti or of the Sugatisopāna. He points out that the *prasatika* is a kind of grain known in Madhyadeśa as Śāṭhila.<sup>965</sup>

For his Vratapaddhati, *vide* Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 15, No. 1995. He says that he was urged by his brother's advice to write the work and that he follows the Samayapradīpa.<sup>966</sup>

Another work of his is the Varṣakṛtya which deals with festivals and fasts.

He was the son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara and youngest brother of Haladhara. His works are quoted by Vācaspati in his Dvaitanirṇaya, by Govindānanda in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*, by Kamalākara and Nilakaṇṭha.

As Rudradhara mentions the Ratnākara, the Smṛtisāra, Śrīdatto-pādhyāya and the Śrāddhaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, he is certainly later than 1425 A. D. A ms. of his Vratapaddhati is dated in Lakṣmaṇa *samvat* 344 i. e. 1463 A. D.<sup>967</sup> Besides he is quoted by Vācaspati and Govindānanda. Therefore he must have flourished between 1425 and 1460 A. D.

964 कल्पतरु, गोभिलगृह्यभाष्य, छन्दोगपरिशिष्टटीका, परिजात, पितृभक्ति ( of श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय styled प्राचीन ), भुजबलभीम, भोजराज, महार्णव, रत्नाकर, आदिकल्प, आद्वयलव, आद्विवेक ( गोडीय i. e. of शूलपाणि ), सुगतिसोपान ( styled भवशर्मप्रतिहस्तकग्रन्थ ), स्मृतिसार, हलायुधनिबन्ध.

965 प्रसातिका मध्यदेशे शाठीला इति प्रसिद्धं धान्यम् । folio 21 b of the Benares ed. of संवत् 1920.

966 एष श्रीधत्तचरणोन्नीतः समयप्रदीपानुसारी पद्यः । at the end of the व्रतपद्धति.

967 Vide M. M. Haraprasad Sastri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss. XIII and p. 73.



The Rudradhara who was a pupil of Caṇḍeśvara and author of the Kṛtyacandrikā, the Vivādacandrikā and the Śrāddhacandrikā appears to be a different author.

### 97. Misarumiśra

Misarumiśra is famous for his works called Vivādacandra and Padārtha-candrikā (on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system). There is a ms. of the Vivādacandra in the Deccan College (No. 57 of 1883-84). That work deals with the titles of Law (vyavahārapadas) such as ṛṇādāna (recovery of debt), nyāsa (deposit), asvāmivikraya, sambhūya-samutthāna (partnership), dāyavibhāga, stridhana; and then with procedure, viz. the plaint, reply, pramāṇas, witnesses, possession etc. It frequently quotes the Ratnākara (on vivāda and vyavahāra) of Caṇḍeśvara and several times criticizes him. Besides numerous smṛti writers the other authors and works named are: Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Balarūpa (often), Bhavadeva and Smṛtisāra (frequently).

In the mss. and colophons the name of the author seems to be Misarumiśra.<sup>968</sup> He tells us that he wrote the work under the orders of princess Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasimha who appears to have been the younger brother of Bhairavasimhadeva of the Kāmeśvara dynasty of Mithilā. The work was probably called Vivādacandra to connect it with the prince Candrasimha. The Vivādacandra first<sup>969</sup> speaks of king Bhavēśa of the Kāmeśvara dynasty, then of his son Harasimhadeva, then of his son Darpanārāyaṇa and the latter's queen Hirā or Dhīra and then of Candrasimha and his queen Lakhimā or Lachimā. We saw above that Caṇḍeśvara who had weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. wrote in his old age

968 श्रीचन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्दयिता लक्ष्मिमा महादेवी । रचयति पदार्थचन्द्रं मिसरुमिश्रोपदेशेन ॥  
Intro. verses 2 in Mitra's Notices vol. IX p. 12 No. 2901; vide I. O. cat. p. 454 No. 1500 'इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमिसरुमिश्रविरचितो विवादचन्द्रः समाप्तः'.

969 अभूदभूतप्रतिमलङ्घन्यो राजा भवेशः किल सार्वभौमः । अत्याजयद्यो बहुभर्तृकत्वं दोषं  
भुवोषि ममुहप्रधामा ॥ तस्मादनुजोजनि सनुसारो धीमान्रमासुनुसमानसारः । राजो-  
पजीव्यो हरसिंहनामा ततो नृपो दर्पनरायणोभूत् ॥ दर्पनरायणनृपतेः श्रीमद्दीरा  
महादेवी । अलभत तनयं तनयं नरपतिगुणराशिपूरितं शरम् ॥ श्रीमल्लसिमादेवी  
तस्य चन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्दयितस्य । नाम्ना मिसरुमिश्रद्वारा रचयति विवादचन्द्रमभिरामम् ॥  
Intro. verses in the Deccan College ms.



under Bhaveśa his work on Rājanīti. Lachimādevī was queen of the great-grandson of this Bhaveśa, who became king of Tirhut in the third quarter of the 14th century. Therefore Candrasimha must have flourished about the middle of the 15th century and Misarumiśra's work must be assigned to that period. M. M. Chakravarti points out (JASB for 1915, p. 425) that for Dbirasimha, a son of Darpanārāyaṇa, there is an authentic date, viz. 321 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era in Tirhut (i. e. 1438 A. D.), when a ms. of Śrinivāsa's Setudarpani (com. on Setubandha) was copied during Dhīrasimha's reign.

That the Vivādacandra is a work of authority on Hindu Law in Mithilā has been recognised from very early days in the British courts.<sup>970</sup> The Vivādacandra held that the word *strīdhana* was to be applied to such woman's property as was technically so called (by the sages) and not to all property that comes to a woman.<sup>971</sup>

### 98. *Vācaspatimiśra*

Vācaspatimiśra is the foremost *nibandha* writer of Mithilā. His Vivādacintāmaṇi has been recognised by the High Courts in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā.<sup>972</sup> Vācaspati was an extremely voluminous writer and appears to have composed dozens of works. In the Śrāddhakalpa *alias* Pitrbhaktitarāṅgiṇī, almost his latest work, he says that he wrote in his youth ten works on śāstra and thirty *nibandhas* on *smṛti* and composed the work in question in his declining years.<sup>973</sup> At least eleven works of his bearing the title 'cintāmaṇi' are known. They are briefly noticed below.

The Ācārācintāmaṇi deals with the daily rites of Vajasaneyins.<sup>974</sup> The Āhnikācintāmaṇi is quoted in his Śuddhicintāmaṇi. The

970 *Vide* 2 Moo. I. A. p. 132 at p. 147 and p. 152 (where there is a citation in English from the विवादचन्द्र).

971 'स्त्रीधनं परिभाषिकमेव न सर्वम्' folio 33 a of the D. C. ms.

972 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174 and 487 at p. 508, I. L. R. 20 All. 287 at p. 290 (P. C.), I. L. R. 10 Cal. 392 at p. 399, I. L. R. 12 Cal 348 at p. 351.

973 शास्त्रे दश स्मृतौ त्रिशन्नियन्त्रा येन योषणे । निर्मितास्तेन चरमे वयस्येव विनिर्ममे ॥  
vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730.

974 अहोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निबध्यते इति नत्वा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा ॥  
Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 169, No. 1857.



Kṛtyacintāmaṇi was published in Bengali characters at Benares in 1814 (vide JASB. for 1915, p. 395) and deals with the festivals that are celebrated on different days in the year. The Tirthacintāmaṇi has been published in the B. I. series. It is divided into five *prakāśas*, viz. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Puri), Gaṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī and deals with such topics as the purpose of pilgrimages, the preliminaries of pilgrimage, the various rites to be performed at the several *tirthas*, the subsidiary sacred places at the principal *tirthas* etc. He mentions the Kalpataru, Gaṇeśvaramiśra, Jayaśarmā, the Mitākṣarā, Smṛtisamuccaya and Hemādri. In the introduction he explicitly states that he composed the work after carefully examining the Kṛtyakalpadrūma and Pārijāta, the Ratnākara and other works.<sup>975</sup> The Dvaitacintāmaṇi is mentioned in his Kṛtyacintāmaṇi. The Niticintāmaṇi is mentioned in the Vivādacintāmaṇi (p. 72). The Vivādacintāmaṇi (text) was published at Calcutta in 1837 (which edition is used in this work) and was translated into English by Prasannakumar Tagore (in 1863) with a learned preface. It explicitly states that the author carefully studied the Kṛtyakalpadrūma, Pārijāta and Ratnākara.<sup>976</sup> The work deals exhaustively with the eighteen titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*). The principal authors and works, besides the usual smṛtis and purāṇas, mentioned in the work are noted below.<sup>977</sup> In this work he mentions several vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit terms. The Vyavahāracintāmaṇi<sup>978</sup> deals with judicial procedure, viz. the four principal topics thereof, viz. *bhāṣa* (the plaint), *uttara* (reply of defendant), *kriyā* (evidence),

<sup>975</sup> श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य यत्नात् । प्रणम्य मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिं तनोति ॥ तीर्थचिन्तामणि, vide p. 268 also.

<sup>976</sup> श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुम ... यत्नात् । वाचस्पतिः श्रीपतिनक्षत्रमौलिर्विधादचिन्तामणिमातनोति ॥

<sup>977</sup> कल्पतरु, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, पारिजात, प्रकाश, चालरूप, भाष्यकार ( of शङ्खलक्षित, p. 67, the same quotation occurring in the वि. र. p. 234 ), मिताक्षरा, मेधा-  
निधि, रत्नाकर, लक्ष्मीधर, स्मृतिसार, इत्यायुध. Note the following words  
' व्युत्क्रोचकरः गोवृत्तल इति प्रसिद्धः ' ( p. 63 ), ' आरक्षकः कोटाल इति प्रसिद्धः '  
( p. 85, i, e. Kotwal in Marathi ), ' संक्रमः साकम इति प्रसिद्धः ' ( p. 101;  
compare Marathi साकम ).

<sup>978</sup> भाषांतरक्रियापदा निर्णयः सप्तदेशकः । चतुष्पातस्वविषयो व्यवहारो निरूप्यते ॥  
I. O. cat. p. 417 No. 1400.



*nirṇaya* (decision). The *Śuddhicintāmaṇi* was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śake* 1814 (JASB for 1915, p. 396 n 2). The *Śūdrācārācintāmaṇi* deals with the duties of śūdras (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 22, No. 2001). The *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi* is a standard work and was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śake* 1814.

Besides the works and authors enumerated in the foot-note above, the others mentioned by him in his several *Cintāmaṇis* are noted below.<sup>979</sup>

Besides these there is a group of *Vācaspati's* works with the title 'nirṇaya'. The *Tithinirṇaya*<sup>980</sup> starts with an invocation of the highest Being (*paramātman*) while most of his works are begun with an obeisance to Hari or Kṛṣṇa. It first divides *tīthi*s into *śuddhā* and *viddhā* (commingled with another *tithi*) and then discusses all the *tīthi*s from the first to the fifteenth and also *amāvāsya*; it deals with the questions as to the rites of that *tithi* which is *kṣaya*, with *śivarātrivrata*, *naktavrata*, holidays, fasts, *jayantivrata*, *holikā* festival etc. The *Dvaitanirṇaya*,<sup>981</sup> as its name implies, is concern-

९७९ अनिरुद्ध, असहाय, आचारप्रदीप, उदयकर, कर्क, कर्मप्रदीप, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुलार्णव, गोविन्दराज, दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निणी, पितृभक्ति, प्रदीप, भयदेव, भीमचराक्रम, भोजराज ( or simply राज ), राजमार्तण्ड, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, विवेक, व्यसहरमातृका, शुद्धिसार, श्राद्धकल्पचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धपङ्कज, श्राद्धपञ्जी, श्राद्ध-विवेक, श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय, सुगतिसोपान, स्मृतिपरिभाषा, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिसागर, हरि-हरमिश्र, हरिहरपद्धति, हारलता.

९८० अद्वैतोद्बोधगम्याय निर्गुणस्थितिहेतवे ।  
जगतामादिभूताय नमस्ते परमात्मने ॥  
पिलोक्य मुनिवाक्यानि संप्रदायानुसारतः ।  
तिथिहेतुविधौ यत्कालिक्रियते तिथिनिर्णयः ॥

Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 149 No. 1139.

९८१ Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. I, p. 149 No. 275 and vol. V, p. 296 No. 1973 for the हेतुनिर्णय.



ed with the settlement of some doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra such as the names to be given to brāhmaṇas and the other *varṇas*, doubts on gifts and consecration of tanks and wells, doubts about daily bath, *sandhya*, *devapūjā*, *vaiṣvadeva*, daily offerings to manes, about judicial proceedings and the taking of interest, about various *vratas* like *ekādaśī* and *janmāṣṭamī*, about intercalary months, about the proper time for marriage and *upanayana*. The Mahādāna-nirṇaya<sup>982</sup> expatiates on the sixteen munificent gifts such as weighing against gold and silver. In the introductory verses Vācaspati gives the genealogy of his patron's family from Bhavēśa, whose son was Harasimhadeva, whose son was Narasiṃha, whose son Bhairavendra bore the *biruda* (appellation) Hari-nārāyaṇa. A verse<sup>983</sup> at the beginning and one at the end attribute the work to Bhairavendra and to Rūpanārāyaṇa respectively. Rūpa-nārāyaṇa was the *biruda* of Rāmabhadra, a son of Bhairavendra. Therefore it looks probable that the work was commenced in the reign of Bhairava and was completed in the reign of his son Rāmabhadra. M. M. Chakravarti says that Bhairava himself bore at one time the *biruda* Rūpanārāyaṇa. M. M. Haraprasad Sāstri (Nepal cat. p. 90) mentions a Vivādanirṇaya of Vācaspati. The Śuddhinirṇaya of Vācaspati deals with impurity on birth and death, the religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity, *sapinda* relationship, periods of impurity for the principal *varṇas* and mixed castes; periods of impurity on abortion, the deaths of infants and women, accidental deaths etc., over-lapping of several periods of *āśauca*; impurity arising from carrying a corpse; rites after the death of a *sannyāsī*; impurity from contact of lower castes, such as washermen and *cāṇḍālās*, freedom from impurity at tirthas and marriages etc.

982 Vide Haraprasad Sastri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss. p. 122 for the महादाननिर्णय.

983 श्रीवाचस्पतिधीरं सहकारितया समासाय । श्रीभेदेन्द्रनृपतिः स्वयं महादाननिर्णयं तनुते ॥ ;  
श्रीरूपनारायणभूमिपालकृतो महादाननिर्णयोऽयम् । यशःप्रसूनाश्रितदिक्षतीनामाकल्प-  
माकल्पतु भूपतीनाम् ॥ at end.



Besides these, Vācaspati appears to have either composed or contemplated writing seven works called Mahārṇava on kṛtya, ācāra, vivāda, vyavahāra, dāna, śuddhi and pitṛyajña. Of these the Kṛtya-mahārṇava is found and deals with festivals and fasts and the proper times therefor ( vide JASB for 1915, p. 398 ). He also wrote the Gayāśrāddhapaddhati, the Candana-dhenupramāṇa and the Dattaka-vidhi. Probably his last work, as stated above, was the Śrāddhakalpa *alias* Pitṛbhaktitarāṅgiṇī.

Apart from the works on dharmaśāstra, Vācaspati wrote also on the systems of philosophy. But it is not necessary for our purpose to go into that question.

Most of his works styled 'cintāmaṇi' are mentioned by Raghunānanda in the *tattvas* ( e. g. Kṛtyacintāmaṇi in Ekādaśitattva, Vivāda- and Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi in Dvayatattva ). The Śuddhicintāmaṇi is quoted in the Śuddhitattvārṇava of Śrinātha-ācārya-cūḍamaṇi, the Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi is quoted in the Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī ( pp. 265, 475 ) and in the Śuddhikaumudī ( pp. 89, 93 ) of Govindānanda, the Vivāda-cintāmaṇi is quoted in the Viramitrodaya ( p. 697 ) and the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi is criticized in the same work ( p. 288 ). His Pitṛbhakti-tarāṅgiṇī is mentioned in the Śuddhitattva and Śrāddhatattva. Vācaspati vouchsafes very little information about himself or his family. In the colophons of his works he is generally styled mahāmahopādhyāya and *miśra* or *sanmiśra*. In the colophon of the Śūdrācāra-cintāmaṇi<sup>984</sup> he is described as the *pariśad* ( the adviser of the king in finally deciding difficult points of Dharmaśāstra ) of *Maharājadbhirāja* Harinārāyaṇa. We saw above that his Mahādānānirṇaya connects itself with two kings Bhairava and his son Rūpanārāyaṇa. At the end of the Śrāddhakalpa we are told that Vācaspati who was the *pariśad* of Rāmabhadradeva *alias* Rūpanārāyaṇa, son of Hari-

984 महाराजाधिराजश्चमिद्वरितारायणपरिषदा सकलपण्डितमण्डलीशिरोमणिना श्रीवाचस्पति-  
मिश्रेण विरचितः शुद्धाचारचिन्तामणिः &c. Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 22  
No. 2001.

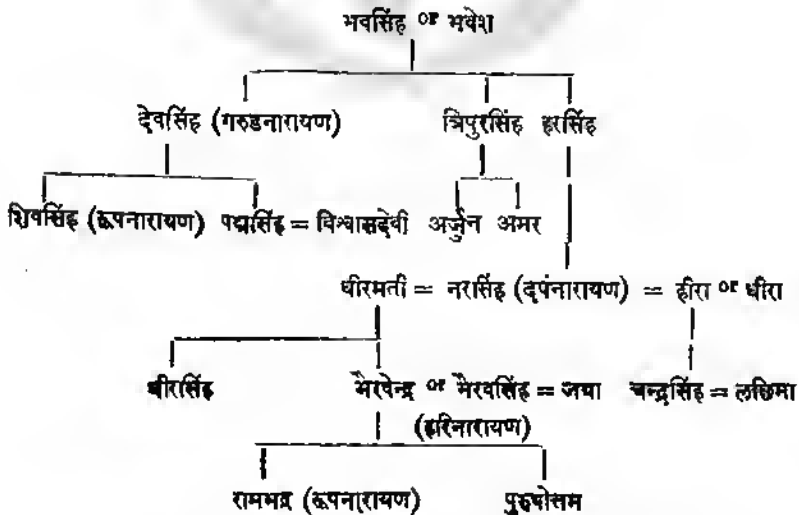


nārāyaṇa, composed the work at the bidding of his patron.<sup>985</sup> Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka says that one of his *gurus* was Vācaspati.<sup>986</sup> It is probable that it is this Vācaspati that is meant. But as against this we must remember that Vācaspati in his Śrāddha-kalpa quotes Vardhamāna Upādhyāya on śrāddha. Vardhamāna wrote his Daṇḍaviveka while king Bhairava was reigning and his Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka for Rāmabhadradeva. So Vācaspati was an elder contemporary of Vardhamāna.

Prasannakumar Tagore assigned 1423 A. D. as the time of the Vivādacintāmaṇi (vide preface p. xxviii). Ghose in his Hindu Law (vol. II p. xiv) says that Vācaspati wrote the Śrāddhacintāmaṇi by order of queen Jayā, widow of king Bhairavadeva and

985 समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहरिनारायणात्मज-समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरूपनारायणपदवीसमलङ्कृतमिथिलासण्डलसण्डलभीमद्वामभद्रदेवचरणविष्टेन तत्परिषदा धीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा विरचितोयं धातुकल्पः परिपूर्णः । I. O. cat. p. 356 No. 1730.

The pedigree of the कामेश्वर kings of Mithilā from भवेश is :



Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV, p. 196 for a detailed pedigree gathered from Pāśjas of Mithilā (though somewhat confused) and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, pp. 37-38.

986 उवाचान्ण्डकमिश्रः सकृदवाचस्पती च मे गुरवः । दण्डविवेक verse 6.



mother of Puruṣottamadeva,<sup>987</sup> that Harinarāyaṇa (i. e. Bhairava) ruled from 1513 to 1527 and that the latter was killed by Nasrat-shah, the Pathan king of Bengal. M. M. Chakravarti holds that the literary activity of Vācaspati lay between 1450 to 1480 A. D. Since Vācaspati mentions the Ratnākara (of Caṇḍeśvara) and Rudradhara as his authorities he must be later than about 1425 A. D. Vācaspati's works are quoted by Govindānanda and Raghunandana. Therefore Vācaspati is certainly earlier than 1540 A. D. The ms. of the Mahādānanirṇaya found in Nepal is dated in 392 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era (Monday of Vaiśākha, dark half, 12th *tithi* i. e. 22nd April 1511 A.D.) The ms. of the Śuddhinirṇaya (Mitra's Notices vol. X, p. 58, No. 3308) was copied in *samvat* 1416, which must in this particular case be taken as equivalent to *śake* 1416 i. e. 1494-95 A. D., since Vācaspati could not have flourished about 1360 A. D. (which corresponds to Vikrama *samvat* 1416). Hence the period assigned by Chakravarti for the literary activity of Vācaspati appears to be correct. That date is further corroborated by the fact that Vācaspati wrote under Bhairavendra and his son Rāmabhadradeva, that were 4th and 5th in descent from king Bhaveśa of Mithilā, who as we saw above began to rule over Mithilā in the third quarter of the 14th century.

This Vācaspati who flourished in Mithilā in the latter half of the fifteenth century is very often confounded with other authors bearing the same name. The great philosopher Vācaspati who was author of the Bhāmati on the Śārirakabhāṣya of Śaṅkara and of several other commentaries on other systems of philosophy flourished in the first half of the 9th century as he wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (most probably of the Vikrama era).<sup>988</sup> There was another (Candraśekhara) Vācaspati who wrote the Smṛtisārasaṅgraha (cat. of Calcutta San. College mss. vol. II, p. 181, No. 203) and flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

987 Compare विष्णोध्यक्तः(?) पुरमिव शम्भोर्गर्व देहवामार्धम् । देवीसन्नाभिरैषा जयति जयात्मा महादेवी ॥ श्रीभैरवेन्द्रधरणीपतिधर्मपत्नी राजाधिराजपुरुषोत्तमदेवमाता । वाचस्पतिं निखिलचन्द्रविदं नियुज्य द्वेते विनिर्णयविधिं विधिरुत्तनोति ॥ verses 5 and 7 of द्वैतनिर्णय, Mitra's Notices, vol. I p. 149.

988 न्यायसूचिनिबन्धोत्सावकारि सुधियां मुदे । श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वस्यङ्कवसुवःमरे ॥



## 99. Nṛsimhaprasāda

This is an encyclopaedic work on dharmasāstra, no part of which has been yet printed. The Benares Sanskrit College has a complete ms. of this vast work. I could examine the whole of it. Besides, the Deccan College collection has two mss. of portions of it, viz. of the Dānasāra (No. 353 of 1875-76) and of the Tirthasāra (No. 352 of 1875-76). The Dānasāra and Śāntisāra are also noticed in Mitra's cat. of Bikaner mss. (pp. 429-430) and six sections out of twelve are noticed in the I. O. cat. p. 434 No. 1467. Unless otherwise stated the references here are to the Benares Sanskrit College ms.

The Nṛsimhaprasāda is divided into twelve<sup>989</sup> sections called 'sāra' on saṃskāra, āhnikā, śrāddha, kāla, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta, karmavipākā, vrata, dāna, śānti (the averting of evil foreboded by natural portents and other strange occurrences), tirtha and pratiṣṭhā (consecration of temples, idols etc.). Each section<sup>990</sup> begins with an invocation of Nṛsimha (the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) after whom the work is named Nṛsimhaprasāda (the fruit of the grace of Nṛsimha). In the Saṃskārasāra, after invoking Nṛsimha, the introduction tells us that<sup>991</sup> when king Rāma ruled in Devagiri (modern Danlatabad), Śālavat was ruler of Delhi and that after the latter Nijāmasāha wielded power over the world. Then after pronouncing an eulogy on Nijāmasāha (verses 10-13) the author

989 संस्कारसारः प्रथमो द्वितीयस्त्वाह्निकाभिधः । श्राद्धसारस्तृतीयस्तु चतुर्थः कालनिर्णयः ॥  
पञ्चमो व्यवहाराख्यः प्रायश्चित्ताभिधो ... (torn) नाशकः (सप्तमस्त्वधनाशकः) ॥  
अष्टमो व्रतसारख्यः पुराणोक्ताभिधायकः । नवमो दानसारख्यः सर्ववर्णीधिकारकः ॥  
दशमः शान्तिसंज्ञो वै तैर्धे एकादशः स्मृतः । देवप्रतिष्ठासारश्च द्वादशः परिकीर्तितः ॥  
verses 17-20 of संस्कारसार.

990 e. g. verse 8 of the संस्कारसार. The first verse of आह्निकसार is प्रणम्य श्री-  
नृसिंहेन (हं तु ?) दलाधीशेन भूभुजा । श्रीनृसिंहमसादेन दितानुष्ठेयमुच्यते ॥; the  
श्राद्धसार begins 'श्रीनृसिंहं नमस्कृत्य दलाधीशमहोपतिः । श्राद्धसारं प्रकुरुते सर्ववेदिक-  
तुष्टये ॥'

991 श्रीमद्वेवगिरौ पुरन्दरपुरस्पर्धाधिचन्द्रादरे रामे राजानि शामवित्किल बभौ राजा स दिङ्मिश्वरः ।  
बिह्मिशातुपरि प्रभुः समभवन्नेजामसाहे महान् यद्दोर्दण्डनिजप्रतापमहिमा राज्यं वशे  
चानयत् ॥ verse 9.



speaks of himself. We<sup>993</sup> are told that the author was Dalapati ( or Dalādhiśa ), son of Vallabha, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and of the Yājñavalkya śākhā ( i. e. Śuklayajurveda ) and that he was the keeper of the imperial records of Nebajana (?). There are elaborate colophons<sup>994</sup> at the end of almost each section ( called sara ) in which we are told that Dalapati was the pupil of Sūryapaṇḍita, that he was a great exponent of the Vaiṣṇavadharma, that he was the chief minister and keeper of the records of Nijamasāha, who was the overlord of all Yavanas ( Mahomedans ) and ruler of Devagiri. In some colophons he is styled Mahārājadhīraja. It is doubtful whether Dalapati or Dalādhiśa was the real name of the author or was merely a title. It is not unlikely that Sūryapaṇḍita said to be the *guru* of the author is the same as Sūrya, the father of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha, who wrote his Bhāgavata at Benares in *śaka* 1495 ( i. e. 1573 A. D. ) and who states that he was born in a family of devout Vaiṣṇavas.

The Nṛsiṃhaprasāda names numerous authors and works. In the beginning of the Saṃskārasāra, he mentions a host of writers and works that he consulted.<sup>994</sup> Besides these he mentions Some-

992 श्रीद्विजराजवंशतिलकालङ्कारहीरः प्रमुखाद्विजकुलानुगः प्रथमया यः शास्त्रालङ्कृतः ।  
श्रीमन्नेबजनसमस्तकरणाधीशः सतामघणीः श्रीमद्वल्लभभूषिरं विजयते श्रीमान्दला-

धीश्वरः ॥ verse 14 of संस्कारसार. The third line is metrically faulty in the 6th syllable. This verse occurs in each सार at the end with variations.

In the D.C. ms. No. 358 of 1875-76 the last two lines are श्रीमद्वल्लभसुनुरा-  
त्मनिरतस्तत्संप्रदायाग्रणीः सारे दानकसेवकेतिचतुरे श्रीमान्दलाधीश्वरः ॥

993 e. g. at the end of the आद्वसार ' श्रीमत्पौढप्रतापमहाराजधिराज-सर्वपुरीसुन्दरीदेव-  
गिरिपुरवर्धाधीश्वर-समस्तयवनाधीश्वर-श्रीमन्निजामसाहसमस्तकरणाधीश्वर-सकलविद्यावि-  
शारद-याज्ञवल्क्ययलुप्तशास्त्रप्रवर्तक-द्विजराजकुलालङ्कारहीर-श्रीवैष्णवप्रवर्तक-श्रीवल्लभा-  
त्मज-श्रीवल्लभपण्डितप्रसादासादितसूर्यपण्डिताभिधगुरु-मन्वादिप्रणीतनीतिशास्त्राभिज्ञ-महा-  
प्रभुस्वकार्यवीक्षणपतिनिधीलन-श्रीमहाराजदलपतिराजविरचिते श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादे &c.

994 कालादर्शननभट्ट-विज्ञानेश्वर-भट्टहेमाद्रि-दीपिकाविवरण-असहाय-प्रयोगपारिजात-मदनपारि-  
जात-रुतयकल्पतरु-माधव-स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-स्मृतिरत्नावलि-स्मृतिदर्पण-स्मृतिचिन्तामणि-स्मृ-  
तिभास्कर-मेधातिथि-विज्ञाननिलक-अपरार्क-विज्ञानमार्कण्ड-भोजराजीय-विश्वरूपनिबन्ध-  
नारायणीय-गणेश-वाक्यमीमांसा-स्मृतिमीमांसा-निबन्धसर्वस्व-स्मृतिमहार्णव-शातातपीयूष-  
मैविषाकसमुच्चय-माधवीय-मैलुगिकर्मविषाक-प्रवराध्याय-प्रवरमञ्जरी-जालिविवेकप्रमुसाल-  
नेकनिबन्धान् &c. folio 3b.



śvara (commentator of the Tantravārtika) and Kāladīpa in the Saṁskārasāra; the Purāṇasāra in the Āhnikasāra; Pārijāta and Vāḍibhayaṅkara in the Vyavahārasāra; Kāmika, Jñānarātnāvali, Balārkaśāstra in the Dānasāra.

The contents of some of the sections of the Nṛsiṃhaprasāda may be set out here. In the Saṁskārasāra the author treats of the meaning of *dharma*, śruti, smṛti, the authoritativeness of purāṇas, kalivarjya (usages prohibited in the kali age), puṇyāhavācana, madhuparka, vṛddhiśrāddha, garbhādhāna, pūṣasavana, jātakarma, nāmakarana, upanayana, marriage and other *saṁskāras*, the duties of brahmacārins, snātakas, householders, vānaprasthas and saṁnyāsins. In the Āhnikasāra the author after dividing the day into eight parts speaks of the actions appropriate to each viz : in the first getting up from bed at the brāhma-muhūrta, śauca, brushing the teeth, decoration of the hair, bath etc; in the second study; in the third, looking after dependents and pursuit of one's livelihood; in the fourth midday bath, brahmayajña, tarpaṇa, vaiśvadeva, daily śrāddha; in the fifth dinner and foods prescribed and forbidden; in the sixth and seventh reflecting over itihāsa and purāṇa; in the 8th decision about worldly affairs, evening saṁdhyā etc. In the Kālasāra (which is incomplete in the Benares ms.) he defines the nature of *kāla* and gives rules and decisions about months, *tithis* and such festivals as Navarātra, Janmāṣṭami etc. In the Vyavahārasāra the author deals with the meaning of vyavahāra, the eighteen titles of law, the four-fold method of deciding dharma, the pramāṇas (means of proof), dāyavibhāga etc. In the Vratasāra he speaks of the several principal *vratas* in each month, some of which are for both men and women, some for men only and some for women only. In the Dānasāra he dilates upon the nature of dāna, its varieties, the various results of dānas, the proper time and place for dānas, proper recipients of dāna, what things can be the subjects of gifts, units of gold, silver etc., the description of kuṇḍa, maṇḍapa and vedi, the sixteen great dānas such as tulā, hiranyagarbha, brahmāṇḍa, kalpapāḍapa etc. and three *atidānas*, viz. land, cows and learning; gifts of images, food, ornaments, bed-stead etc.; gifts on saṁkrānti and eclipses etc. The Tirthasāra is interesting for this that as the author hailed from Devagiri he speaks principally of *tirthas* of the Deccan and Southern India. In this work he speaks



of Setubandha, Puṇḍarika<sup>995</sup> or Pauṇḍarika ( modern Pandharpur in the Sholapur District, it seems ), Gayātiṛtha, eulogies of Godāvari, Kṛṣṇa-Veṇyā, Narmadā, Malaprahāriṇi etc.

The Nṛsiṃhaprasāda being a work from the Deccan held the view that marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter was sanctioned by the Veda and was not to be censured.<sup>996</sup> It says that where there is ( irreconcilable ) conflict between the smṛtis and purāṇas there is an option.<sup>997</sup>

As the Nṛsiṃhaprasāda relies upon the Mādhaviya and the Madanapārijāta, it is certainly later than 1400 A. D. As it is mentioned as an authority in the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and in the Mayūkhas of Nilakanṭha it must be earlier than about 1575 A. D. If by the Dipikāvivaraṇa which it enumerates among its principal authorities is meant the com. of Nṛsiṃha, son of Rāmacandrācārya, on his father's commentary of the Kālanirṇaya ( which is most probable ), then the Nṛsiṃhiaprasāda must be later than about 1500 A. D. Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>998</sup> says that Rāmacandrācārya lived about 1450 A. D. A ms. of the Dipikāvivaraṇa was copied in *śaṃvat* 1604 ( 1548 A. D. ).<sup>999</sup> The Benares Sanskrit College ms. appears to have been copied for Rāmapaṇḍita Dharmādhikari at Benares, who is said to have been the father of Nandapaṇḍita<sup>1000</sup> ( see sec. 105 below ). At the end of several *sāras* either *śaṃvat* 1568 ( 1511-12 A. D. ) or 1569 occurs as the date.<sup>1001</sup> This may be said to be the

995 भैरवाश्चैव तदे देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् ... घर्मरीरा नदी यत्र करवीरकुशाकुशैः ।  
शोभिता सङ्गता भैरवास्तस्माद्योजनमन्ततः । पौण्डरीकमिति स्यात् तत्तीर्थं तीर्थपूजितम् ।  
पाण्डुरङ्गस्तत्रास्ते &c.

996 वस्तुतस्तु मातुलसुतापरिणयनं वेदाभिहिततया न दोष इति ... विस्तरेण वक्ष्यामः ।  
संस्कारसार folio 9.

997 यत्र स्मृतिपौराणयोर्विरोधस्तत्र विकल्पः । संस्कारसार folio 14a.

998 Report, 1883-84, pp. 58-60.

999 Vide I. O. cat. p. 530, No. 1662.

1000 Vide Benares ' Pandit ' ( New series ) vol. V. pp. 377-78 for an announcement about the नृसिंहप्रसाद by a learned descendant of नन्दपण्डित.

1001 At the end of the colophon of the 'अहिकसार' we have the date ' संवत् १५६८ समये आश्विनवदि १३ शुक्रवारे ' and on the back of that part of the ms. the date ' संवत् १५६९ वैशाखवदि ७ शुके ' i. e. 7th May 1512 A. D. At the end of the कर्मविपाकसार we have ' संवत् १५६९ समये कासीपुरी-श्रीविश्वेश्वरचरणसंनिधाने '. At the end of the तीर्थसार we have ' संवत् १५६८ समये वैशाखसुदि द्वितीया रवौ '.



date of the actual composition of the work or of the copying of the ms. for Rāmapaṇḍita. It seems difficult to believe that Rāmapaṇḍita for whom the ms. was copied in 1511-12 A. D. was the father of the famous Nandapaṇḍita. We know that Nandapaṇḍita composed his *Vaijayanti* in 1623 A. D. Rāmapaṇḍita must have been a man of middle age before he could order the copying of a huge ms. like the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda*. If he did this in 1511-12 A. D. his son could hardly have been alive 120 years later. Therefore it looks probable that the dates ( *samvat* 1568 and 1569 ) are not the dates when the ms. was copied for Rāmapaṇḍita, but rather the dates of the composition of the original work or of the copying of the ms. from which Rāmapaṇḍita got his own ms. copied. At all events it is clear that the *Nṛsiṃhaprasāda* could not have been composed later than 1512 A. D. As the author was a minister of Nijāmasāha who ruled over Devagiri, it appears that he is referring to Ahmad Nizam Shah who ruled from 1490-1508 A. D. or to his son Burhan Nizam Shah ( 1508-1533 A. D. ), most probably the former.<sup>1002</sup> It may be taken as certain that the work was composed between 1490 and 1512 A. D.

### 100. Pratāparudradeva

The *Sarasvativilāsa* was compiled by Pratāparudradeva, a king of the Gajapati dynasty who ruled at *Cuttack* ( *Kāṭakanagari* ) in Orissa. The *Dāyabhāga* portion of this work was published with an English translation by Rev. Thomas Foulkes in 1881. An edition of the whole of the *vyavahāra* section of the *Sarasvativilāsa* has recently been published in the Mysore Government publication Series. Through the kindness of the Editor, Dr. Shamasastri, I was able to secure the printed sheets of 352 pages before publication. In the following reference is made to the paragraphs of Foulkes' edition and the pages of the Mysore edition.

After invoking deities the work starts with the *prastāvi* of the king and his family ( pp. 2-11 ). Descent is traced to the Sun himself through Daśaratha, Rāma and his sons. Kapilendra was the founder of the Gajapati family whose son was Puruṣottama. His queen was Rupāmbika. Pratāparudradeva or Vira-Rudra-deva

<sup>1002</sup> Vide Lane-Poole's ' *Muhammadan dynasties* ' ( ed. of 1925 ) p. 320 for the names and dates of the Nizam Shahs.



was the son of Puruṣottama. He is spoken of as having given protection to Sultan (Suratrāṇa) Husanshah who threw himself on his mercy.<sup>1003</sup> In the colophons<sup>1004</sup> the king is styled Gajapati, Gauḍeśvara (king of Gauḍa), lord of Kalubariga (modern Gulbarga) in the Karpātaka country of nine crores (probably of revenue) and as the protector of Sultan Husanshah of Jamunapura. It is significant that the same titles are applied to Puruṣottama<sup>1005</sup> in his Potavaram grant of *śaka* 1412 (1490 A. D.) and in other inscriptions. Pratāparudradeva, while ruling his capital<sup>1006</sup> Kāṭakānagari, called together an assembly of *Pandits* and compiled an extensive digest of civil and religious law. The royal author feels qualms of conscience on the question of eulogising himself and his family but stifles them easily by saying that a poet can also be an appreciative critic of his own productions.<sup>1007</sup> He boasts that he composed the work for saving scholars the trouble of bringing harmony among the conflicting dicta of Vijñānayogī, Aparārka, Bhāruci and others, that there was no work that could equal his own and that his literary effort would make his predecessors' works afford illustrations of the maxim that when a certain purpose is served by one the existence of others is superfluous.<sup>1008</sup> Then it

1003 p. 11 'शरणगतहुसनसाहिसुरत्राणवप्रपञ्जरः.'

1004 इति वीरश्रीगजपतिगौडेभ्वरनवकोटिकर्णाटककलुवरिगेभ्वर-शरणगतजमुनापुराधीश्वर-  
हुसनसाहिसुरत्राण-शरणरक्षण-श्रीदुर्गावरपुत्र-परमपवित्रचरित्र-राजाधिराज-राजराजधरमे-  
भ्वर-वीरप्रतापरुद्रदेवमहाराजविरचिते स्मृतिसंग्रहे सरस्वतीविलासे व्यवहारकाण्डे &c.  
I. O. cat. p. 419 No. I404.

1005 वीरश्रीगजपतिगौडेभ्वरनवकोटिकर्णाटककलुवरिगेभ्वरप्रतापरुद्रोत्तमदेव &c. E. I. vol. XIII p. 153; vide Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II, appendix pp. 165-167, Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 335 and M. M. Chakravarti's article on 'Uryia Inscriptions of 15th and 16th centuries' in JASB vol. 62, part 1, pp. 88-104 for inscriptions of this dynasty.

1006 'स चायं वीररुद्रो गजपतिरथोऽयामिवायोऽया ... भूकान्ताकटकं कटकनगरीं समा-  
नयन्' p. 11.

1007 अत्र वर्णयितुं वर्णयोरभेदे कनियतथोरपि अवस्थाभेदेन भेदकथनमेकस्यैव कवेः कवि-  
सङ्क्षयत्ववन्न विरुध्यते । p. 11.

1008 यथाविहितसामान्यपान्तरे सम्ययाङ्गविवेकामात्यपुरोहितज्योतिर्विदादिसहितो विद्वान-  
योगि-भाइरूपराकं-मेधाविध्यसहाय-चन्द्रिकादिबहुग्रन्थैकवाक्यतःपर्यालोचनवशायात-  
तत्केशो मा भूदिति सकलरूपविसमुच्चयमतिगम्भीरं नातिविस्तृतं प्रबन्धं प्रस्तौति । ...  
इति गर्वमहो नैव नैव गर्वमहोधिके । समे तु गर्वं शङ्केत न समास्ति समस्तु नः ॥  
pp. 11-12; एकेन चरितार्थत्वादितरानर्थतानयः । पूर्वप्रबन्धेर्विषयीभवेदिति ममोद्यमः ॥  
p. 14.



is said that the *vyavahārakāṇḍa* was first taken in hand even before the *ācārakāṇḍa* following the special desire of the king Virarudra Gajapati.<sup>1009</sup> But it appears from references in the *vyavahārakāṇḍa* itself that before that part was finished the *ācārakāṇḍa* had been completed.<sup>1010</sup> The *Sarasvativilāsa*, being a work composed under the express orders of a king for the benefit of his subjects, makes the nearest approach to the Austinian conception of law as a command addressed by political superiors to political inferiors and enforced by a sanction.

The principal topics dealt with in the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa* are : the hall of justice, the method of judicial procedure, the plaint, the reply, documents, possession, *ṛṇādāna*, *dāyavibhāga*, *sahasa* and other titles of law. In the beginning of the work he sets out at great length the views of ancient writers on politics about the constitution of the *maṇḍala*, such as those of Parāśara, Uśanaś, Viṣṇu, Brhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Maun etc. He generally follows the views of Vijñāneśvara on *dāyavibhāga*, but here and there strongly criticizes him, e. g. he says that Vijñāneśvara gave a very far-fetched interpretation<sup>1011</sup> of Yājñavalkya's verse 'rikthagrāha ṛṇam dāpyah.' The *Sarasvativilāsa* is a work of authority in Southern India on matters of Hindu Law, though inferior to the *Mitākṣarā*.<sup>1012</sup> It informs us that, though the *Smṛticandrikā* passed over the ordeals of water and poison on the ground that they had gone out of vogue, in Utkala the ordeal of water alone was resorted to and in Śūrasena ( Mathurā ) and Magadha ( Bihar ) the ordeal of poison alone was administered.<sup>1013</sup>

1009 ततश्चाचारकाण्डाद् व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रथमारब्धः । ... तथापि वीरहृद्रगजपतिमहाराज-  
म्याकाक्षानुसारेण प्रथमं व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रक्रम्यते ॥ p. 15.

1010 अत्र यद् यद् वक्तव्यमस्ति तदस्माभिरपि आचारकाण्डे विवाहप्रकरण एव प्रपञ्चितमिति  
तत् एवावधायम् । p. 343.

1011 एतद्व्याख्यानक्रमं (1) विज्ञानयोगिना पूर्वाचार्यच्छयानुगच्छता (च्छायामनुगच्छता ! )  
अधिक्षेपसमाधानाभ्यामतिक्लेशमाश्रित्य कृतम् । p. 262 ; vide p. 207 for another  
example of the criticism of विज्ञानेश्वर.

1012 Vide 2 Mad. H. C. R. 206 at p. 217, 33 Mad. 439 at p. 441, 35 Mad. 152 at  
p. 156.

1013 यथोक्तं चन्द्रिकाकारेण जलविषयोक्तमन्तनुष्ठानत्वात्तद्विधिमाख्याय कोशविधिरुच्यत  
इति । उत्कलादिषु कचिद्देशेषु जलविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन व्यवह्रियमाणत्वात् । शूरसेन-  
मगधादिषु कचिद्देशेषु विषविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन परिगृहीतत्वात् । p. 200.



Besides the usual dharmasūtras and other smṛtis, the principal authors and works named in the *Sarasvativilāsa* are noted below.<sup>1014</sup> The *Sarasvativilāsa* presents in the case of the dharmasūtras, particularly of Viṣṇu and Gautama, great variations from the printed texts of these works (vide sec. 10, p. 70 above). The *Sarasvativilāsa* in scores of places gives the conflicting views of Bhāruci and the *Mitākṣarā* (for which see under Bhāruci, sec. 6 t). The *Sarasvativilāsa* also contains valuable information about the views of such authors as Asahāya, Bhavadeva and Śrīkara whose works have not yet come to light.

Burnell (introduction to *Varṇa Brāhmaṇa* p. vii) took *Pratāparudradeva* to be the king of that name who belonged to the Kūkatiya-Gaṇapati dynasty of Warangal and who was carried captive to Delhi in 1322 A. D. But in this he was wrong. It has been shown above that the king connected with the composition of the *Sarasvativilāsa* belonged to the Gaṇapati dynasty that ruled at Cuttack and not at Warangal. *Pratāparudradeva* ruled from 1497 to 1539 A. D. Therefore the *Sarasvativilāsa* must have been composed in the first quarter of the 16th century. Foulkes thinks (Intro. p. xx) that the work was composed about 1515 A. D. His argument is that though the commentary of Mādhavācārya was written about two hundred years before the *Sarasvativilāsa*, the latter is entirely silent about it in his work and that the reason of this is to be sought for in the rivalry of the two dynasties of *Pratāparudra* and *Kṛṣṇarāja* of Vijayanagara which was set at rest by a marriage alliance about 1516 A. D. Vide Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'sources of Vijayanagar History' (p. 116), where we are told that the daughter of the Orissa king married to Kṛṣṇadevarāja was named Jaganmohini (according to some) or 'Tukka' (according to others) and Sewell's 'A forgotten empire' p. 320. Another argument advanced by Foulkes for 1515 A. D. as the date of the work is that during the latter part of his reign *Pratāparudradeva* had come

<sup>1014</sup> अपराक, असहाय, कर्किभाष्य, कुलार्क, गुरु (प्रभाकर), चन्द्रिका (i. e. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका), देवरान, देवस्वामी, धारेश्वर, निचन्धनकार, प्रदीप, प्रदीपिकाकार, भवदेव, भवनाथ, मारुचि, मिताक्षरा, यज्ञपति, मेधातिथि, राजलसक, लक्ष्मीधर, वरदराज (called आधुनिक as contrasted with मारुचि), विज्ञानेश्वर, वृत्तिकार (on आप० श्रौत), वैखानस-संहिता, शालिकानाथ, श्रीकर, संग्रहकार, सोमशेखर, सोमेश्वर,



under the influence of the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya, who made Puri his residence during the last years of his life and that the *Sarasvativilāsa* has in the beginning an invocation of Śiva. Caitanya was born in śake 1407 Fālguna Full-moon (i. e. in 1486 A. D.); vide Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' (p. 83) and Caitanya is said to have gone to Puri about 1510 A. D. and died in 1533 A. D. (Beames in Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 1 ff.). Both these arguments are not of much weight. As a matter of fact in some mss. there is an invocation of both Viṣṇu (Hayagrīva) and Śiva; vide Descriptive Cat. of Government S. mss. at Madras vol. VI, p. 2426 No. 3221. The latest work of certain date that the *Sarasvativilāsa* names is the *Smṛticandrikā* and it is rather matter for surprise that no work belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries is quoted or named by the *Sarasvativilāsa*. But this circumstance alone is hardly of any worth in face of the positive statement in the work itself that it was composed by Pratāparudradeva Gajapati. Vide JBORS. vol. V, pp. 147-148 and Ind. Ant. for 1929, pp. 28-33 for information about the Empire of Orissa and its emperors, Kapilendra (who died in 1470 A. D.), Puruṣottamadeva (1470-1497) and Pratāparudra-deva.

There is a ms. of a work called *Pratāpamārtanḍa* or *Praudha-pratāpamārtanḍa* (D. C. ms. No. 48 of 1872-73) which is ascribed to Pratāparudra, ruler of Utkala, whose capital was Kaṭaka on the banks of the Citrotpalā. It mentions Kapileśvara Gajapati, his son Puruṣottama, father of Pratāparudra. In the colophon the king is described as 'Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-karṇāṭa-kalabarageśvara-rūpa-nārāyaṇa' &c. The work is divided into five *Prakāśas* on *Padārthanirṇaya*, *Vatsarādinirṇaya*, *Tithinirṇaya*, *Vratānirṇaya* (such as Navarātra &c.), *Viṣṇubhakti*. He expressly mentions as his authorities Hemādri, Kalpataru, Ratnākara, Mitākṣarā, Mādhaviya, Anantabhaṭṭa, *Smṛticandrikā*, Apararka, Parijāta, Kālādarśa, Deva-dāsa. Here there is an express mention of Mādhava which refutes Foulkes' theory set out above.

### 101. Govindānanda

Govindānanda wrote several works out of which four have been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica series, viz: the *Dānakaumudī*, *Śuddhikaumudī*, *Śraddhakaumudī*, *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī*. The last work deals with *tithinirṇaya*, *vratas* on several *tithis* all the year



round, festivals like Durgotsava, Kojāgara etc. All these works appear to have formed part of a general digest called Kriyākaumudī. Besides these he wrote a commentary called Arthakaumudī on the Śuddhidīpikā of Śrīnivāsa which was printed in Bengali characters, and also a commentary called Tattvārtha-kaumudī on Śulapāṇi's Prāyaścittaviveka (published by Jivānanda at Calcutta). His works are of great utility on account of the numerous authors and works quoted therein. The following deserve special mention.<sup>1015</sup> He was the son of Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa and was styled Kavikaṇkaṇācārya. From the introductory and final verses of his works it appears that he was a Vaiṣṇava. His father was a resident of Bāgri in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

Since he quotes the Madanapārijāta, the Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he must be later than about 1500 A. D. He is quoted by Raghunandana in his Malamāsattva and Ahnika-tattva. So he cannot be later than 1560 A. D. His Śuddhi-kaumudī examines intercalary months<sup>1016</sup> from *śaka* 1414 to *śaka* 1457 (i. e. from 1492 A. D. to 1535 A. D.). Therefore it appears that he wrote his Śuddhikaumudī immediately after *śaka* 1457 (i. e. 1535 A. D.). He wrote the Śrāddha-kaumudī and Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī after the Śuddhi-kaumudī. Therefore we shall be very near the truth if his literary activity be placed between 1500 and 1540 A. D.

*Vide* M. M. Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 355 for information about Govindānanda.

<sup>1015</sup> कुल्लूक, चण्डीदास, ( com. of काव्यप्रकाश ), गङ्गावाक्यावलीकार, मदनपारिजात, राजमार्तण्ड, रुद्रधर, वधमनोपाध्याय, वाचस्पति, विशारद, शुद्धिविवेक, सायणभाष्य.

<sup>1016</sup> अत एव विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे-समाह्वये साष्टमासे तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते । स चाधिमासकः प्रोक्तः काम्यकर्मसु गर्हितः ॥ इति । तथा चतुर्दशवर्षाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे वैशाखो मलमासः । ततः परं षोडशाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे भाद्रे ऊनविंशद्मासे मलमासः । ... ततः परं द्वाविंशत्यधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे ज्येष्ठे पञ्चविंशद्मासे मलमास इत्याद्यनेकशो व्यभिचारो दृश्यते । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 266; vide p. 270 for intercalary month in *śaka* 1440 and 1457.



## 102. Raghunandana

Raghunandana is the last great writer of Bengal on dharmasāstra. He compiled an encyclopaedic work on the different branches of dharmasāstra styled *Smṛtitattva*, divided into 28 sections called *tattvas*. He cites the names of over 300 authors and works in his encyclopaedia, which have been collected together by M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1915 pp. 363-375). His wonderful mastery over *smṛti* material and his erudition displayed in the *Smṛti-tattva* earned for him the appellation *smṛtabhāṭṭācārya* or simply '*smārta*' from later writers. For example, the Viramītrodaya refers to him in that way and so does Nilakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha*.<sup>1017</sup> His *Smṛtitattva* was printed at Serampore in Bengali characters so far back as 1834-35 A. D. and it has also been published by Jivananda (in two volumes). Some *tattvas* have been separately published as e. g. the *Vyavahāra-tattva* and the *Dāyatattva* (published at Calcutta in 1828 by the Department of Public Instruction). His *Dāyatattva* was translated into English by Golapendra Sarkar. In his *Malamasatattva* the names of his *tattvas* are given.<sup>1018</sup> Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 50 No. 1081 and I. O. cat. p. 420 No. 1405 for an enumeration of the *tattvas* and for reference to the volumes and pages in the Serampore edition. The *tattvas* are not arranged in the verses quoted below according to their chronological order, but according to the exigencies of the metre. In this work I have used Jivananda's edition.

1017 Vide बी० प. 697 on गौतम's sūtra 'स्मिधनं दुहितृगामप्रदानामप्रतिष्ठितानां च'; व्यवहारमयूख (text p. 112 of my edition) 'स्मार्तहरितायावयवमेव'.

1018 मल्लभुचं तथा द्वाये शुचौ च दशसंस्कृतौ । प्रायश्चित्ते विवाहे च तिथ्यां जन्माष्टमीव्रते ॥  
दुर्गोत्सवे व्यवहृतवैकादश्यादिनिर्णये । तडागभवतोत्सर्गे वृषोत्सर्गत्रये व्रते ॥ प्रतिष्ठायां  
परीक्षायां ज्योतिषे वास्तुयज्ञके । दीक्षायामाह्निके कृत्ये क्षेत्रे श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे । सामधाद्रे  
यजुःधाद्रे शुद्धकृत्यविचारणे । इत्यष्टाविंशतिस्थाने तत्त्वं वक्ष्यामि यत्नतः ॥

The 28 तत्त्वस् are on मल्लभुच (intercalary month), द्वाय, शुद्धि, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, तिथि, जन्माष्टमी, दुर्गोत्सव, व्यवहार, एकादशी, तडागभव-  
नोत्सर्ग, वृषोत्सर्ग ( 3 तत्त्वस् on छन्दोगवृषो०, यजुर्वृषो०, and ऋग्वृषो० ), व्रत, प्रतिष्ठा ( two on देवप्रतिष्ठा and मनुप्रतिष्ठा ), दिव्य ( i. e. परीक्षा ), ज्योतिष, वास्तुयज्ञ, दीक्षा, आह्निक, कृत्य, पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्र, सामधाद्र, यजुःधाद्र, शुद्धकृत्य.  
In the Serampore edition ऋग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not printed (vide Chakravarti in JASB 1915 p. 363). In Jivananda's edition also the ऋग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not included and the जन्माष्टमीतत्त्व seems to be included under तिथितत्त्व.



It is not feasible to give even brief summaries of Raghunandana's *tattvas*. Their vary names indicate the subject matter. But one of them, the *Dāyatattva*, deserves special mention. It treats of partition made by father, partition among brothers after their father's death, persons not entitled to a share, property not liable to partition, evidence of separation, *stridhana* and its devolution, inheritance to one dying sonless etc. His *Tithi-tattva* contains a description in Sanskrit of the game called *Caturāṅga* played on the full moon of Āśvina by four players.

Besides the 28 *tattvas* Raghunandana is said to have composed several other works. There is a commentary on the *Dāyabhāga* attributed to him. Colebrooke suspected its genuineness, but the colophon of the commentary<sup>1019</sup> gives the same details about Raghunandana as are found in his admitted works. It is to be noticed that the *Dāyatattva* of Raghunandana sets forth the same principles of Hindu law that are peculiar to *Jimūtavāhana*, though in matters of detail they disagree in a few cases. The *Vīramitrodaya* styles the author of the *Dāyatattva* a follower of *Jimūtavāhana*.<sup>1020</sup> It has been held by the Calcutta High Court that Raghunandana's is the best commentary on the *Dāyabhāga* and that the authority of Raghunandana is acknowledged and respected universally in the Bengal School.<sup>1021</sup>

Besides the above, Raghunandana wrote also *Tirthatattva* or *Tirthayātravidhiritattva*, the *Dvadaśyātrātattva* (on the principal festivals at Jagannāthapuri, one in each month), *Tripuṣkaraśānti-tattva*, *Gayāśrāddhapaddhati* and *Rāsayātrāpaddhati*. His works however are not very much in vogue elsewhere than in Bengal.

Raghunandana was the son of Hariharabhaṭṭācārya and was a Bengal Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa. He was a pupil of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, whose works are frequently quoted in the several *tattvas* (vide Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 351 n. 2). According to tradition Raghunandana and the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vasudeva Śārvabhauma, who was

1019 इति श्रीधन्यघटीयहरीहरभट्टाचार्यात्मजर्घुनन्दनभट्टाचार्यरुता दायभागटीका समाप्ता ।

1020 जीमूतवाहनस्तु ब्राह्मणदिविवाहेषु यद्धनं तदेवानेन व्यवस्थाप्यते न तु तत्तद्विवाहोदयाः सर्वे धनम् । ... इत्याह । तदनुगामी दायतत्त्वरुद्वयेषुम् । वीर० p. 703.

1021 I. L. R. 4 Cal. 550 at p. 554 ; I. L. R. 22. Cal. 347 at p. 351.



the shining light of the new logic ( navyanyāya ) at Navadvīpa and were residents of that place ( Sarvadhikari's Tagore Law Lectures, first edition p. 403ff. ).

Among the authors and works quoted in his encyclopaedia by Raghunandana those noted below deserve mention.<sup>1022</sup>

Aufrecht placed Raghunandana between 1430-1612 A. D. Dr. Jolly ( Tagore Law Lectures p. 10 ) places him early in the 16th century. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 ( F. B. ) at p. 695 it is said that Raghunandana belongs to the latter half of the 15th century. As Raghunandana's works are quoted and criticised by the Viramirodaya ( pp. 79, 531, 683, 697, 703 etc., ) and by Nilakantha, Raghunandana is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. As he names Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuta, Rudradhara and Vacaspati, he is later than about 1500 A. D. If tradition is to be believed that he was a fellow-student of Caitanya he must have been born about 1490 A. D. Caitanya is said to have been born in 1485 or 1486 A. D.<sup>1023</sup> In his Jyotistattva he mentions *śake* 1421<sup>1024</sup> in connection with the position of Viṣṇu. That shows that the work was not composed probably very much long after that date ( i. e. 1499-1500 A. D. ) In the same Tattva ( vol. I. p. 568 )

1022 अद्भुतसागर, अनन्तभट्ट, अनिरुद्ध, अपिपाल, आचारचन्द्रिका, आचारचिन्तामणि, आचागदर्श, कर्मोपदेशिनी, कलरतक, कविकान्तसरस्वती, कामधेनु, कामरूपयनिवन्ध, कालकौमुदी, कालनिर्णय ( of माधव ), कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुल्लुकभट्ट, कृत्य-कौमुदी, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव, गङ्गावाक्यावलि, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, गोविन्द-भट्ट, गोविन्दमानसोल्लास, चण्डेश्वर, जिह्वन, जीमूतवाहन, दुष्टदुपद्धति, तीर्थचिन्तामणि, दानवाक्यावलि, दीपकलिका, दुर्गाभक्तिरत्निणी, द्वैतनिर्णय, नवयवर्धमानोपाध्याय, निर्णयामृत, पण्डितसर्वस्व, पशुपति, पारिजात, पितृदयिता, पितृभक्ति, पितृभक्तिरत्निणी, पृथ्वीधरमिश्राचार्य, प्रयोगसार, प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, बल्लालसेनदेव, बालक, ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व, भवदेवभट्ट, भीमपराक्रम, भुजबलभीम, भोज, मदनपारिजात, महादाननिर्णय, माधवाचार्य, युद्धजयार्णव, योगलोक, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, रायमुकुट, रुद्रधर, राचस्पतिमिश्र, विद्यापति, विवादचिन्तामणि, व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शूलपाणि, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका ( of his teacher ), श्रीदत्त, सुगतिसोपान, हरिनाथ, हरिमक्ति, हरिहर, हेमाद्रि.

1023 Vide Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's ' Chaitanya's pilgrimage and teachings ' for 1485 ( as birth date ) and M. T. Kennedy's ' Religious life of India ' ( 1925 ) p. 13 for 1486 A. D.

1024 विष्णु मीनकम्पार्थं त्वेकाक्षिन्ने शकाब्दके । ( Jivananda vol. I. p. 562 ).



for calculating ravi-samkrānti he takes śake 1489 as the basis (i. e. 1567 A. D.). So that Tattva was composed just about that year. A ms. of the Chandoga-śrāddha-tattva was copied in śake 1497 (1575-76 A. D.)<sup>1025</sup> and a ms. of the Maṭha-pratiṣṭhā-tattva was copied in śake 1498 (i. e. 1576-77 A. D.).<sup>1026</sup> Therefore he must have flourished before 1575. Thus he flourished between 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity, which must have been spread over a long period if we consider the number of his works, lies between 1520-1570. Vide an interesting discussion about his date in JASB for 1915, pp. 354-357 by M. M. Chakravarti who places Raghunandana between 1510-1565 A. D.

### 103. *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the most famous of the celebrated family of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. For a detailed account of the family and the contribution of the several members thereof to dharmaśāstra, vide my Introduction to the Vyavahāramayūkha (v-xvi). M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri has brought to light a biography of this family written by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, a son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Ind. Ant. for 1912 vol. 41, pp. 7-13). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's father Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa whose gotra was Viśvāmītra migrated from Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) in the Deccan to Benares. Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa was a very learned man and his learning drew to him students from the whole of India. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was born according to Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's biography in śake 1435 in the month of Caitra (i. e. about March 1513 A. D.). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the eldest of three sons, the other two being Śrīdhara and Mādhava. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa learnt all the śāstras at the feet of his father. Pandits all over India looked up to him as their leader and patron and he was an assiduous collector of Sanskrit mss. It is said that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa brought down by his holiness rain in a season of drought and thereby induced the Mahomedan ruler that had razed the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares to the ground to allow him to rebuild it. For his erudition and piety Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was honoured with the title 'Jagadguru' and his family was given the first place of honour in the assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas and at the recitations of the Vedas. It was Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his equally worthy descendants that raised dākṣiṇātya *pandits* to the

1025 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 50 No. 1081.

1026 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 53 No. 1083.



position of high eminence at Benares which they still hold. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote numerous works on dharmaśāstra among which may be mentioned the Antyeṣṭipaddhati (printed by Nirṇayasāgara Press), the Trīsthalīsetu (dealing with the ceremonies to be performed genetally at all sacred places and particularly at Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā) and the Prayogaratna (printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1915 A. D.). This last contains detailed descriptions and rituals of the saṁskāras from *garbhādhāna* to *vivāha*. His are standard works on the subjects they deal with and are used even now almost throughout the whole of India. He composed a commentary on the introductory verses contained in the Kālamādhava (vide Madras Triennial cat. vol. III. Sanskrit C. p. 4114 No. 2852) and a commentary on portions of the Śāstradīpikā of Pārthasārathimīśra. He composed a work on ordeals which is referred to in the Vyavahāratattva of Nilakaṇṭha (vide p. 457 of my edition and Bikaner cat. p. 387 No. 832 for a Divyānuṣṭhāna-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa) and also paddhatis on the dedication of gardens, tanks etc. He exercised a profound influence over later writers directly and indirectly through his sons and grand-sons.

As he was born in 1513 A. D. and composed the commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara in 1545 A. D., his literary activity must be placed between 1540 and 1570 A. D. This is further corroborated by the fact that his grandson Kamalākaraḥṭṭa composed the Nitṇayasindhu, one of his earliest works, in 1612 A. D.

There is a work on dharmaśāstra called Dhatmavṛtti composed by a Nārāyaṇa. Mr. K. P. Jayasval holds that this was composed by *jagadguru* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts III-IV, p. IX). The same view is held by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri (Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 7). But this identity is extremely doubtful. The benedictory verses<sup>1027</sup> in the Dharmavṛtti are different from those of the Prayogaratna and Trīsthalīsetu, the method of treatment and the style are different and the colophons are also different. The author of the Dharmavṛtti does not mention his ancestors as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa does. Nilakaṇṭha in his Vyavahātamayūkha

1027 The introductory verse is नारायणं नमस्कृत्य कामदां च सरस्वतीम् । गणनाथं  
गुरुं भेष धर्मसंरक्षणाय वै ॥ धर्ममवस्थे कियते कलौ नारायणेन तु । I. O. cat. p. 480  
No. 1360.



finds<sup>1028</sup> fault with the Dharmaprayṛtti by saying that certain quotations therein are unauthoritative.

#### 104. *Todarānanda*

Rājā Tōdaramalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar, compiled an extensive encyclopædia of civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine. The several parts of that encyclopædia dealing with *ācāra*, *dāna*, *vyavahāra*, *brāddha*, *viveka*, *prāyaścitta*, *samaya* were called *saukhyas*. An account of some of the *saukhyas* that were available to me may be concisely given here. The *Vyavahārasaukhya* ( D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76 ) begins with an invocation of Śiva, speaks of the *pārasika* emperor<sup>1029</sup> ( Akbar ) of Hind ( India ) and then deals with the several topics of judicial procedure such as the king's duty to look into disputes, the *śabha*, judge, meaning of the word *vyavahāra*, enumeration of 18 *vyavahārapadas*, time and place of *vyavahāra*, the plaint, the reply, the agent of the parties ( *pratinidhi* ), *pratyākālita*, the superiority of one mode of proof over another, witnesses, documents, possession, inference, ordeals and oaths, grades of punishments and fines. The *Vyavahārasaukhya* does not dwell on the exposition of the several titles of law. Besides the *smṛti* writers, it principally relies on the *Kalpataru*, the *Parijāta*, *Bhavadeva*, the *Mitākṣarā*, the *Ratnākara*, *Harihara* and *Halāyudha*. The several sections are styled *harṣas*.

The *Viyāhasaukhya* ( D. C. ms. No. 868 of 1884-87 ) is concerned with the astrological aspects of marriage ( e. g. the proper year, month, day, sign, *nakṣatra* &c., for marriage ). It names numerous authors and works, some of which are noted below.<sup>1030</sup>

1028 Vide p. 134 of व्यवहारमयूख ( my edition ).

1029 श्रीमान्हेन्दुवपारसीकधर्षणशिकस्य राजाघणी राजा टोडरमल्लचण्डकिरणस्तीव्रप्रतापोदयः ।  
लोकनामतिगाढदुर्नयतमोऽध्वंसाय पद्मोत्सवानातन्वन् व्यवहारनिर्णयकरश्रेणीं तनोत्यु-  
ज्ज्वलाम् ॥ 2nd verse.

1030 उत्पल, चण्डेश्वर ( ०११ राजामिषेक ), चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, जयतुङ्ग, त्रिविक्रम,  
देवतमनोहर ( देवज्ञ ? ), देवज्ञचिन्तामणि, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, भीमपराक्रम, भुजचल, माहेश्वर,  
राजमार्तण्ड, रत्नकोश, लल्लट, विवाहपटल ( of वराह ), विवाहवृन्दावन, व्यवहार-  
चण्डेश्वर, व्यवहारोच्चय, श्रीपति, सत्याचार्य, सारावलि, संहिताप्रदीप, सिद्धान्त-  
शिरोमणि.



The Śrāddhasaukhya ( D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87 ) is an extensive work and deals with the usual topics such as the different kinds of śrāddhas, the time and place for śrāddha, the proper brahmanas, sapinḍikaraṇa &c. The sections of this work also are divided into *barṣas*. Besides those enumerated above the authors and works mentioned are noted below.<sup>1031</sup>

The Jyotiḥsaukhya ( D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92 ) constitutes the Sāmhitā branch of Indian astronomy and deals with such topics as the results of eclipses, the appearance of comets, the rise of Agastya, Ursa major, the signs of the Zodiac &c. It frequently refers to Kāśyapa, Garga ( or Vṛddhagarga ), Parāśara, Mayūracitra, Varāha. The colophons state that Toḍaramalla was a scion of the Taṇḍala ( or - na ) family and that the work was compiled by Nilakaṇṭha at the order of Toḍaramalla.<sup>1032</sup> This Nilakaṇṭha appears to be the author of the Saṅgītanātra on which a commentary was written by his son Govinda in 1622 A. D., in which it is stated that Nilakaṇṭha was honoured by Akbar and had composed the Toḍarānanda.<sup>1033</sup> In the Tajika-Nilakaṇṭhī of Nilakaṇṭha it is stated that the author composed works on the three branches of Jyotiḥsa which gave delight to Toḍara.<sup>1034</sup>

The Jyotiḥsaukhya was composed in śaka 1494<sup>1035</sup> ( i. e. 1572 A. D. ). The ms. of the Vyāvahārasaukhya bears at the end the date *samvat* 1638 ( 1581-82<sup>1036</sup> A. D. ) which seems to be the date of its composition. Toḍaramalla was a man of versatile genius. He distinguished himself as an able commander as well as a great

1031 कर्क, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, नारायण, प्रकाशकार, माधवीय, वर्धमान, वासुदेव, श्राद्धपल्लव, श्राद्धविवेक, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिमञ्जरीकार.

1032 इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीटंडलवंशानिलकण्ठोदरमल्लकारिते श्रीदैवज्ञवर्धनीलकण्ठ-विरचिते टोडरानन्दे ज्योतिःसुक्ते संहितास्कन्धे &c. folio 23a.

1033 Vide cat. of BBRAS mss. part I, p. 187 No. 262.

1034 यन्नाम प्रथितं हि भूमिबलये शिष्यप्रशिष्यैर्महद् भूमिपालसमूहसेवितपदायोकव्यरेणा-  
न्वितः । श्रीदिल्लीप्रभुणा हि टोडरविभोरानन्दं ज्योतिषं त्रिस्कन्धं स्वकृतेः सुपदानिव-  
हेस्तसाजिकं चाकरोत् ॥ 9th verse, Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss., extract  
No. 502.

1035 ' तथा च सांप्रतिकः शकः १४९४ षट्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः ४०२० ' folio 38.

1036 ' संवत् १६३८ समये कुरुमुदि २ शुक्रवार ' D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76.



financier and statesman. For a brief account of his life, vide Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I. pp. 351-352. It is there stated that he was *Khetri* by caste, that, though it is generally stated that he was born at Lahore, he was really born at Laharpur in Oudh (p. 620) and that he died at Lahore on the 11th day of 998 of the Mussulman era<sup>1037</sup> (i. e. 1589 A. D.). The Marathi magazine '*Itihāsa-saṅgraha*' publishes an inscription on a stone found in the *Draupadikuṇḍa* at Benares wherein it is said that Toḍara of the *Taṇḍana* family constructed that beautiful reservoir in 1646 of the Vikrama era<sup>1038</sup> (i. e. 1589 A. D.). Therefore it follows that literary works were compiled under the patronage of Todarmal between 1565-1589 A. D.

#### 105. *Nandapaṇḍita*

Nandapaṇḍita was a voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra. An account of his principal works on dharmaśāstra is given below, particularly because most of them are yet unpublished.

He composed a commentary called *Vidvanmanoharā* on the *Parāśarasūpti*. He expressly mentions therein that he follows the commentary of *Mādhavācārya*.<sup>1039</sup> This commentary is referred to in his *Vaijayantī*.<sup>1040</sup>

He also appears to have written a commentary called *Pramitākṣarā* or *Pratītākṣarā* on the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara*.<sup>1041</sup> This com-

1037 Vide also 'Akbar' in the *Rulers of India series* (1890) p. 134 where the date of his death is given as 10th Nov. 1589 A. D.

1038 Vide *इतिहाससंग्रह* ed. by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, vol. I, part 4, p. 20. ऋतुनिगमसत्मासंमिमे (१६४६) वत्सरे सुकृतिकृतिहिनेषी रोडरक्षोणि-पालः । विहितविधपूर्तोचीकस्वचावर्षी विमलसलिलसारां चद्रसोपानपङ्क्तिम् ॥

1039 धर्माधिकारिकुलकैवकाननेन्दुश्रीरामपण्डितसुतेन विनायकेन । व्याख्यायते कलियुगो-चितवर्णधर्मशास्त्रं पराशरमुसोद्गतमल्पशब्दैः ॥ माधवाचार्यनिर्दिष्टव्याख्यामार्गानुसारिणः । स्तलत्रयि (स्तलत्रये ?) न मे दोषः परमव्ययगामिनः ॥ verses 3 and 5, I. O. cat. p. 377 No. 1301.

1040 विवृत्तं चैतत्पराशरसूत्रिविवृतो विद्वन्मनोहरायां दत्तकर्मिणासायां चास्माभिरिति नेह प्रतन्यते । वैजयन्ती on *विष्णुधर्मसूत्र* 15. 42.

1041 On *विष्णुधर्मसूत्र* 15. 9 he says 'स्वैरिण्याः पुनःसंस्कारमावश्रोषपादितोस्मानिः सविस्तरं मिताक्षराटीकायां प्रतीताक्षरायामिति नेहोच्यते ।' folio 86 b of the I. O. ms. (of वैजयन्ती), on *विष्णु* 16. 1 'विशेषस्तु मिताक्षराटीकायां प्रमिताक्षरायाममृतकलायामवगन्तव्यः' (folio 93 b).



mentary was probably not completed, as only fragments are found with his descendants.

Nandapaṇḍita also composed a work called Śrāddhakalpalatā, which is referred to in his Śuddhicandrikā<sup>1042</sup> and in the Vaijayanti. In this work<sup>1043</sup> he refers to a city called Sādharaṇa (probably modern Saharanpur) where the Sahagila family ruled. He speaks of Siuhamalla, Vasāvana, Rūpacandra, Bhūpacandra and Paramānanda as successive members of the dynasty and says that he was urged to write the work by the last of them and that he relies upon the Śrāddhadīpikā of Govindapaṇḍita.<sup>1044</sup> At the end of the ms. of the Vaijayanti in the Deccan College Collection it is said that the Vidvanmanoharā, the Smṛtisindhu and the Śrāddhakalpalatā were the commentaries composed by Nandapaṇḍita.<sup>1045</sup> But from the contents given in the India Office Catalogue it does not appear that the work was a commentary. It is divided into five *stabhakas* and deals with the usual topics, viz. what is śrāddha, the proper time and place for it, the proper brāhmaṇas, various kinds of śrāddhas &c. The principal authors and works named therein are given below.<sup>1046</sup> The Śuddhicandrikā, a commentary on the Śaḍaṣṭi or Āśaucanirṇaya of Kauśikaditya, is also one of the works of Nandapaṇḍita. It is referred to in his Vaijayanti<sup>1047</sup>. The Bhadkamkar collection made by Prof. Velankar contains a ms. of this work and it has recently been published in the Chowkhamba S. series. The principal authors and works quoted therein are noted below.<sup>1048</sup>

1042 'स च ज्येष्ठ एवेत्युपपादितं श्राद्धकल्पलतायाम्' folio 31 b of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका, on विष्णु 21. 19 'अत्रान्यो विशेषः श्राद्धकल्पलतायामस्माभिः उपपादित इति नेहोच्यते' । folio 123 b (वैजयन्ती).

1043 Vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1731 for श्राद्धकल्पलता.

1044 गोविन्दपण्डितरुतमवलम्ब्यातिव्यन्तः । श्राद्धकल्पलतामेतां कुर्वे तां श्राद्धदीपिकाम् ॥ I. O. cat. p. 557.

1045 'पराशरस्मृतेष्टीका विद्वन्मनोहरा स्मृतिसिन्धुः । श्राद्धकल्पलता चैता नन्दपण्डितरुता टीकाः ॥' D. C. ms. No. 39. of 1866-68.

1046 कालविधान, कालादर्श, चन्द्रप्रकाश, धर्मप्रदीप, निर्णयप्रदीपिका, पुराणसमुच्चय, श्राद्धकमल, श्राद्धकशिका, श्राद्धचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धनिर्णय, श्राद्धप्रदीप, स्मृतिद्वय, स्मृतिरत्नावलि, स्मृतिसार.

1047 on विष्णु 22. 8 'विस्तरस्तु शुद्धिचन्द्रिकायामवगन्तव्यः' folio 125 b of वैजयन्ती.

1048 अमृतभ्याख्या (on पारस्करगृह्य), धर्मप्रदीप, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, नारायणसर्वज्ञः, भट्टभालूक (1), मदन, माधव, ललित, लोहट, वर्धमान, विज्ञानेश्वर, विश्वादर्श, विश्वेश्वर, शङ्कर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरदत्त (on गौतमधर्मसूत्र), हारलता, हारलताविवरण.



Another work of Nandapaṇḍita is the *Smṛtisindhu*, which seems to have been an extensive digest of *smṛti* material. Portions of it have been recovered. In the Deccan College Collection there is a ms. of the *Samśkāra-nirṇayatarāṅga* of the *Smṛtisindhu*, which, according to a verse at the end, was composed by Nandapaṇḍita at the command of king Harivaṛṣa-varman of the Mahendra family and son of king Maṅga.<sup>1049</sup>

It appears that he compiled a summary of the doctrines of his work *Smṛtisindhu*. That summary was called *Tattvamuktāvali*.<sup>1050</sup> It is almost certain that the fragment of the *Tattvamuktāvali* noticed in the BBRAS cat. at p. 217 is part of this work. That fragment contains 8 verses on upakarma and three on holika with commentary and the verses are numbered from 557 to 564 and then 607-609. If the above surmise be correct, the work was a large one and contained over 610 verses. Two of the verses name Hemādri and Pārijāta.<sup>1051</sup>

The *Vaijāyanti* or *Keśava-Vaijāyanti* is a famous work of his. It is a commentary on the *Viṣṇudharma-sūtra*. Extracts from it have been published by Dr. Jolly in his edition of *Viṣṇu*. This is an extensive work. The following account is taken from the ms. in the India Office Library (vide cat. p. 393 No. 1342 for a brief description). In this work he refers to a *Brāhmaṇa* dynasty of the *Vasiṣṭha gotra* at *Vijayapura* (*Vijayanagara*?) in *Karṇāṭa* country, in which was born *Koṇḍapanāyaka*, whose son was *Keśavanāyaka*, whose son was *Ananta alias Vāvarasa*, whose sons were *Keśava* and *Rudra*. *Keśava*, son of *Koṇḍapa*, seems to have gone

1049 'अस्ति श्रीहरिवंशवर्मनृपतिर्मङ्गोत्पत्त्यात्मजो माहेन्द्रान्वयमौलिभूषणमणिः सङ्कल्पचिन्ता-  
मणिः । निर्वन्धेन नियन्धराजमसृजत्तत्कीर्तिचन्द्रोज्ज्वलं तस्याज्ञामनु नन्दपण्डित इमं  
धर्माधिकारी भुवः ॥ D. C. ms. No. 612 of 1883-84 : vide Bhandarkar's Report  
for 1883-84 p. 353 for extract.

1050 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 476 No. 1204 for a ms. of the तत्त्वमुक्तावली  
with the commentary बालभूषा. The last verses are: तत्त्वमुक्ताः समुद्धृत्य  
स्मृतिसिन्धोः स्वयं कृताः । तत्त्वमुक्तावलीमिता निर्मेमे नन्दपण्डितः ॥ तत्त्वमुक्तावलीव्याख्या  
बालभूषा कृता मया । बाललीलाधरः कृष्णः प्रीयतामनया सदा ॥

1051 It begins श्रावणे श्रवणे कुर्युरुपाकर्माश्चलायनाः । 557; verse 561 is घटिकाद्वय-  
मप्युक्तं पारिजातमतश्चुतेः । and 564 is हेमाद्रिरप्युवाचात्र पञ्चमी केवलापि ।



to Benares with his sons and grand-sons and made extensive gifts of all kinds.<sup>1052</sup> There is a hyperbolic description of his great gifts (*mahādānas* including *tula*, i. e. weighing against gold or silver). Keśavanāyaka enjoined upon Nandapaṇḍita the task of composing a commentary on the Viṣṇusmṛti.<sup>1053</sup> In the colophons at the end of the chapters of Viṣṇu, Koṇḍapanāyaka is styled Mahārājādhirāja and it is said that Nandapaṇḍita was encouraged in the task by Keśavanāyaka *alias* Tammasānāyaka. At the end of chapter 101, we are told that Keśavanāyaka, Nandapaṇḍita's patron, secured *mokṣa* by breathing his last on the Maṇikarnika in Benares.<sup>1054</sup> There are six verses at the end one of which says that in the Kali age there is no one more liberal than Vāvarasa (a son of Keśavanāyaka) and no one more learned than Nandapaṇḍita.<sup>1055</sup> As he wrote on the encouragement of Keśava, the commentary is also styled Keśava-Vaijyanti. Among the authors and works mentioned in this commentary are Devasvami, Budhasmṛti, Bhavadeva, Mādha-vācārya, Vācaspati, Sarvajña, Subodhini (com. on the Mit.), Haradatta, Hemādri. In the Vaijyanti he refers to no less than six of his works viz : the Vidvan-manoharā, the Pramitākṣarā, the Śrāddha-kalpalatā, the Śuddhicandrikā, the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā (vide note 1040 above). But in the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā itself he refers to his Keśava-Vaijyanti as already composed.<sup>1056</sup> Therefore it follows that both works were probably being composed at the same time. The Vaijyanti is one of the leading authorities of the Benares School of modern Hindu Law.<sup>1057</sup>

1052 श्रीविष्णुधिक्षणकाम्ययासौ पुत्रैश्च पौत्रैश्च युतः प्रपौत्रैः । गम्भीरवेदीव गजः स्वयूध्यैः  
कदाचिदानन्दवनं विवेश ॥ (verse 63).

1053 धर्माद्यथापि कोटिशोत्रं विद्विताः संतोषमन्तस्ततो नैव प्राप यदा तदा रचयितुं विष्णुस्मृते-  
भ्यर्कितम् । ऐच्छन्नत्र च रामपण्डितसुतं श्रीकेशवः क्षमापतिर्विद्वत्संसादि नन्दपण्डितमति-  
श्रित्या भ्ययुक्तं स्वयम् ॥ verse 91.

1054 कामो वावरासाक्षणमभृतिभिः पुत्रैः शुभैः ख्यापितो मोक्षः श्रीमणिकर्णिकामुवि तनुत्यागेन  
संपादितः ॥

1055 कलौ वावरासादन्यो वदान्यो न महीतले । श्रीनन्दपण्डितादन्यो विद्वान्मण्यो न  
जानुचित् ॥

1056 ' अस्मत्कृतायां विष्णुस्मृतिटीकायां केशववैजयन्त्यामवधेयम् ' । ( on priority among  
the twelve kinds of sons ) p. 112 of दत्तकमीमांसा.

1057 Vide I. L. B. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.



Nandapaṇḍita, though he generally follows the Mitākṣarā, was not a slavish admirer of Vijñāneśvara. He does not accept the explanation the Mitākṣarā gives of Yāj II. 17 (sākṣiṣūbhayataḥ etc.). Similarly on Viṣṇu S. 12, 22. 41, 23. 11, 27. 2 he emphatically says that the Mitākṣarā is wrong.<sup>1058</sup> He prefers the father to the mother as an heir (on Viṣṇu 17. 6-7) and seems to have placed the paternal grandmother as an heir after the mother but before the brother (folio 101 b). He explains *sapiṇḍa* relationship in the same way as the Mit.<sup>1059</sup> does. He says that the word 'bhrātaraḥ' in Yāj. should be explained as standing for 'brothers and sisters' and that in the father's line, after the brother and brother's son, the brother's grandson succeeds and, on failure of the brother's grandson, the paternal grandfather, his son and grandson are heirs one after another, i. e. in each line three generations succeed and then there is a devolution in favour of the next higher line. This view is opposed to that of the Subodhini and the Smṛticandrikā, which take only the son and grandson of each paternal ancestor. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha for fuller details (pp. 253-254). Nandapaṇḍita stands alone among modern *nibandhakāras* in having recognised a uterine brother<sup>1060</sup> (i. e. the son of the same mother but of a different father) as an heir. It is remarkable that Nanda-

1058 एतेन पुंसवनस्य क्षेत्रसंस्कारतयासकृत्करणं मन्यमानो विज्ञानेश्वरोऽपि परास्तः । वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 27. 2.

1059 पिण्डो देहो जनकः स समानो येषां ते सपिण्डास्तेषां भावः सपिण्डता । वैजयन्ती on विष्णु. 22. 5 (folio 124 a).

1060 Vide वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 17. 8 (folio 102 a). The important portion is 'तत्र प्रथमं समानमातापितृका भ्रातरो गृहीयुः । पित्रवयवाधिक्येन प्रत्यासन्नतरत्वात् । तदभावे समानमातापितृका भगिन्यो गृहीयुः । तासां भिन्नमातृकघात्रपेक्षया संनिहितत्वात् । भिन्नोदराणां मात्रा भिन्नबीजानां पित्रा विप्रकर्षात् । तदभावे तु तेऽपि गृहीयुः । ... तत्रापि प्रथमं समानपितृकाः पश्चात्समानमातृका बीजस्य प्राधान्यात्प्रत्यासत्तेश्च क्रमनियामकत्वात् । तद्यथा । एकस्य द्वे पत्न्यौ । तत्रैकस्यां द्वौ पुत्रावन्यस्यामेकः पुत्रस्तेन जनितोऽनन्तरं च द्विपुत्रान्यपतिमाश्रित्य पुत्रान्तरं जनयामासेति तस्मादयः पुत्रा बभूवुः । तत्र पूर्वयोरन्यतरस्मिन्प्रतीति तद्धनं समानमातापितृक एव प्रथमं गृहीयात् । तदभावे समानपितृको भिन्नोदरोऽपि गृहीयात् । यजिप्राधान्यात् । तदभावे समानमातृको भिन्नपितृकोऽपि ।'



paṇḍita preferred a person's predeceased son's widow (i. e. widowed daughter-in-law) as an heir to that man's own daughter.<sup>1061</sup>

The Dattaka-mīmāṃsā is the most famous work of Nandapaṇḍita. It was translated very early by Sutherland (comprised in Stoke's Hindu Law Books). In the following the edition of Bharatacandra Śiromaṇi (published in 1885 with his own commentary) has been used. In this work he lays down rules as to the person who may adopt, when he may adopt, who can give in adoption, who may be adopted, the motives of adoption, the necessary ceremonies of adoption, the results of adoption. Among the authors and works quoted or referred to those mentioned below may be noted.<sup>1062</sup>

From very early days of the British rule in India the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā came to be regarded as the standard work on adoption. In *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga*<sup>1063</sup> the Privy Council says "Again of the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā of Nandapaṇḍita and the Dattaka-candrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, two treatises on the particular subject of adoption, Sir William Macnaghten says that they are respected all over India; but that, when they differ, the doctrine of the latter is adhered to in Bengal and by the southern jurists, while the former is held to be the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithilā and Benares." That this estimate is somewhat too strongly put has been said by the Privy Council itself in *Bhagwansingh v. Bhagwansingh*<sup>1064</sup> 'to call it infallible is too strong an expression and the estimates of Sutherland and of West and Bühler seem nearer the true mark; but it is clear that both works must be accepted as bearing high authority for so long a time that they have become embedded in the general law.' The Privy Council further lays down 'their Lordships cannot concur with Knox J. in saying that

1061 वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 17. 4 ( folio 100a ) श्वशुरमरणे श्वश्रूस्तुषयोः स्वत्वसाध्येन श्वश्रू-  
मरणे स्तुषया एव साधारणसाम्यत् ( 1 ) । तदभावे क इत्याह । तदभावे दुहितृगामि ।  
तेषां पुत्रादिस्तुषान्नानामभावे दुहितरो धनं गृह्णीयुः । Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at  
p. 376 where this view is referred to.

1062 अपराकं, कल्पतरु, देवस्वामी, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रवरमञ्जरी, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, वाच-  
स्पति, वैजयन्ती, सर्वज्ञ, सुबोधिनी, शबरस्वामी ( com. on सत्याषाढश्रौत ), स्मृति-  
चन्द्रिका, हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि.

1063 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 437.

1064 L. R. 26 I. A. 153 at p. 161.



their (of the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā and Dattaka-candrikā) authority is open to examination, explanation, criticism, adoption or rejection like any scientific treatise on European jurisprudence'.<sup>1065</sup> Even in those parts of the Bombay Presidency where the Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority, the Dattakamīmāṃsā has on the subject of adoption been preferred in certain matters to the Vyavahāramayūkha. For example, the Bombay High Court, following the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā, has laid down that among the three higher castes a man cannot adopt his own daughter's, sister's, or mother's sister's son. The view of the Vyavahāramayūkha, on the contrary, is that he can take these in adoption. The limits to which Nandapaṇḍita will be followed by the courts are laid down in *Ramachandra v. Gopal*: 'The authority of Nandapaṇḍita must be accepted except where it can be shown that he deviates from or adds to the *smṛtis* or where his version of the law is opposed to such established custom as the Courts recognise'.<sup>1066</sup>

Several views expressed in the Dattakamīmāṃsā have been set at naught in the various provinces by the British Indian Courts. Nandapaṇḍita held that a widow could not adopt at all.<sup>1067</sup> Except in Mithilā this view has nowhere been entertained in India and the Courts have held that the Law of Benares, Bengal, Madras and Bombay is different. Nandapaṇḍita put forward the position that the brother's son must be preferred for adoption over any other *sagotra* or *sapinda*.<sup>1068</sup> This has, however, been treated in all provinces as no more than a mere recommendation and that failure to observe it entails no legal or religious consequences whatever. The expression 'putracchāyā' in 'putracchāyāvahanī' occurring in the text of Śaunaka was explained by Nandapaṇḍita to mean 'similarity to a son born' and he said that the similarity consisted in the possibility of being begotten by means of *niyoga* and the like.<sup>1069</sup> Sutherland wrongly introduced the word 'marriage' after

1065 L. R. 26 I. A. 113 at p. 132.

1066 I. L. R. 32 Bom. 619 at p. 624.

1067 अनेन विधवाया भर्तृनुज्ञानासंभवात् अनधिकारो गम्यते ।

1068 संनिहितसगोत्रसपिण्डेषु च भ्रातृपुत्र एव पुत्रीकार्यं इति ।

1069 पुत्रच्छाया पुत्रसादृश्यं तच्च नियोगादिना स्वयमुत्पादनयोग्यत्वं यथा भ्रातृसपिण्डसगोत्रादिपुत्रस्य । ततश्च भ्रातृपुत्रव्यमानुलदौहित्रभागिनेयादीनां निरासः ।



*niyoga* in his translation and some of the High Courts in India, following this wrong translation, evolved the rule that no one could be adopted whose mother the adopting father could not have legally married in her maiden state.<sup>1070</sup> But the Bombay High Court has laid down that the rule is restricted to the three specified cases of the daughter's son, the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son.<sup>1071</sup> From the text ( *brāhmaṇāditraye nāsti bhāgineyaḥ sutaḥ kvacit* ), Nandapaṇḍita evolved the curious rule that a widow cannot adopt to her deceased husband her own brother's son. But the Privy Council has refused to follow this *dictum* on the ground that the gloss of Nandapaṇḍita is an extension not based on the authority of any *smṛti* and has upheld such an adoption.<sup>1072</sup>

About the personal history of Nandapaṇḍita we do not know much. Mandlik in his *Hindu Law* ( LXXII, n. 3 ) gives what information he could gather from descendants of Nandapaṇḍita living in Benares. According to him the founder of the family was Lakṣmidhara who was a resident of Bidar ( now in the Nizam's dominions ) and who went to Benares. Nandapaṇḍita was the sixth in descent from him. Dr. Jolly visited at Benares Pandit Dhundirāja Dharmādhikārī who was 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita ( Tagore Law Lectures, p. 15 ) and Mandlik's information also was gathered from persons who were 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita. Mandlik also gives a detailed genealogical tree. We learn from several works of Nandapaṇḍita and their colophons that he was also named Vināyakapaṇḍita and was the son of Rāmapaṇḍita of Benares who is styled Dharmādhikārī. Nandapaṇḍita also is described as Dharmādhikārī in the *Saṃskāranirṇaya-taraṅga* of the *Smṛtisindhu* ( vide note 1049 above ). It appears that Nandapaṇḍita was at different times patronised by rich patrons from different parts of India. He composed the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* for Paramānanda of the Sahagila family of Sādhārāṇa, the *Smṛtisindhu* for Harivaṃśavarman of the Māhendra family and the *Vaijayanti* for Keśavanāyaka of Madhura.

1070 Vide I. L. R. 11 Mad. 49 ( F. B. ), I. L. R. 27 All. 417, I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830.

1071 Vide I. L. R. 32 Bom. 619, I. L. R. 36 Bom. 533, 15 Bom. L. R. 824 ( paternal aunt's son could be validly adopted ), I. L. R. 39 Bom. 410 ( adoption of half-brother held valid ).

1072 *Pattulal v. Parbati* I. L. R. 37 All. 359 ( P. C. ).



Mandlik notes that Nandapaṇḍita is credited with the authorship of 13 works. Eight works of Nandapaṇḍita have been named and described above. Mandlik names six of these. Besides these he is said to have written Navarātra-pradīpa, three sections of a work named Harivarṇśavilāsa (viz. dānakautuka, āhnikakautuka and saṁskāra-kautuka), Bālabhūṣā, Tīrthakalpalatā, Kālanirṇayakautuka, Kāṣiprakāśa, Mādhavānanda. But we saw above (note 1050) that the Bālabhūṣā is only a commentary on the Tattvamuktāvalī (probably composed by another writer). The Kāṣiprakāśa was certainly composed by Nandapaṇḍita as he is described in the India Office ms. to have been the son of Rāmapaṇḍita.<sup>1073</sup> That work was composed at the order of one Sarvabhaṭṭa, who was the *guru* of Kṛṣṇanāyaka of Madhurā. In Mitra's Notices two works, Jyotiḥśāstrasamuccaya and Smārtasamuccaya, are described as composed by Nandapaṇḍita, son of Devaśarman and Vṛndā.<sup>1074</sup> The latter seems to have been an extensive work and dealt with *tithinirṇaya*, intercalary month, marriage, sapinda relationship, the saṁskāras, daily observances, *antyeṣṭi* (funeral rites), *āśauca*, *śuddhi*, *brāddha*, *prayaścitta*, *dayabhāga* and *vyavahāra*. Though the name of the father, Devaśarman, creates suspicion in one's mind, both these works must be regarded as the works of Nandapaṇḍita, son of Rāmapaṇḍita, as in the Smārtasamuccaya the author refers his readers to his Dattakamimāṁsā for the subject of adoption. It is not unlikely that just as Nandapaṇḍita had the *alias* Vināyaka, his father Rāmapaṇḍita was also called Devaśarman.

Mandlik (Hindu Law LXXII, n. 3) notes that on a copy of the Mādhavānanda-kāvya composed by Nanda the year *samvat* 1655 (1599 A. D.) is given, probably in Nandapaṇḍita's own handwriting. The Vaijayanti was one of Nandapaṇḍita's latest works. That work, we are told, was composed at Kāśi in Vikrama *samvat* 1679 (Nov. 1623) on the Full moon of Kārtika when the sun was in Scorpio and the moon in Taurus.<sup>1075</sup> Therefore the literary

1073 Vide I. O. cat. p. 391 No. 3701.

1074 Vide vol. V. p. 80 No. 1762 and vol. VI, p. 165 No. 2105.

1075 वर्षे विक्रमभास्करस्य गणिते नन्दाद्रिषड्भूमिभिः

पूर्णे कार्तिकमासि वृश्चिकगते भानौ वृषस्थे विधौ ।

काश्यां केशवनायकस्य नृपतेराज्ञामवाप्य स्मृते-

विष्णोर्ष्याकृतिमाचकार विमलां श्रीनन्दशमां सुधीः ॥ 7th verse at the end.



activity of Nandapāṇḍita must be placed between 1595 and 1630 A. D. Mandlik in his *Hindu Law* (p. 281) says that the Vaijayanti of Nandapāṇḍita is referred to in the *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha. I have not been able to find the reference in the latter work.

### 106. Kamalākaraḥṭṭa

Kamalākaraḥṭṭa was one of the foremost scions of the Bhaṭṭa family. He was a grandson of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa. He was one of three brothers, the eldest being Dinakara *alias* Divakara<sup>1076</sup> and the youngest was Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa,<sup>1077</sup> who studied under Kamalākaraḥṭṭa. Kamalākaraḥṭṭa's father Rāmakṛṣṇa also was a very<sup>1078</sup> learned man and a profound *mīmāṃsaka* and his mother Umā immolated herself as a *sati*. Kamalākara was a man of profound erudition and composed works on almost every śāstra. In some of his own works there are high eulogies of his learning and proficiency in Tarka, Nyāya, grammar, *mīmāṃsa* (in both the schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara), Vedānta, Poetics, dharmaśāstra and Vedic sacrifices.<sup>1079</sup> He composed more than twenty-two works. At the end of his *Vivādatāṇḍava*, it is said that he composed the *Nirṇayasindhu*, a commentary on the *Vārtika* (of Kumārila), a work on the *mīmāṃsā* (śāstratattva) and a series of 20 other works.<sup>1080</sup> At the end of a ms. of the

1076 चिन्दुमाधवपादाब्जरोलम्बीकृतविग्रहम् । ज्यायासं भ्रातरं भट्टदिवाकरमुपास्महे ॥  
6th Intro. verse of निर्णयसिन्धु.

1077 अधीत्य लक्ष्मणाख्येन कमलाकरसोदरात् । आचाररत्नं सुधिया यथामति वितन्यते ॥  
7th Intro. verse of आचाररत्न.

1078 यो भाट्टतन्त्रगहनार्णवकर्णधारः शास्त्रान्तरेषु निखिलेष्वपि मर्ममेत्ता । योत्र श्रमः किल  
रुतः कमलाकरेण धीतोमुनास्तु सुरुती बुधरामरुष्णः ॥ शूद्रकमलाकर.

1079 तर्के दुस्तर्कमेधः कण्ठितमणिनिः पाणिनीये प्रपञ्चे न्याये प्रायः प्रगल्भः प्रकटितपटिमा  
भाट्टशास्त्रप्रवर्ते । प्रायः प्राभाकराये पथि प्रथितदुरुहान्तवेदान्तसिन्धुः । श्रौते साहित्यकाव्ये  
प्रचुरतरगतिर्धर्मशास्त्रेषु यन्त्र ॥ from काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या D. C. ms. No. 433 of  
1895-1902.

1080 येनाकारि मोद्गटा वार्तिकस्य टीका चान्या विंशतिग्रन्थमाला । श्रीरामाङ्कुरयोरपिना  
निर्णयेषु सिन्धुः शास्त्रे तत्त्वकौतूहले च ॥ Vide I. O. cat. p. 455 No. 1502; also vide  
D. C. ms. No. 122 of 1883-84 for a ms. of कमलाकर's commentary on the  
first pāda of the 2nd chap. called भावार्थ of the तन्त्रवार्तिक.



Śāntiratna in the Bhau Daji collection there is a list of 22 works of his out of which the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been the first.<sup>1081</sup> More than half of these works are concerned with topics of Dharmaśāstra, viz. the Nirṇayasindhu, the Danakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Pūrtakamalākara, Vratakamalākara, Prāyaścittaratna, Vivādatāṇḍava, Bahvṛcāhnika, Gotrapravaradarpaṇa, Karmavipākaraṭa, Śūdrakamalākara, Sarvatīrthavidhi. The Śūdrakamalākara, the Vivādatāṇḍava and the Nirṇayasindhu are the most famous of his works on dharmaśāstra. Brief references may be made here to some of the works of Kamalākara-ḥṭṭa other than the three mentioned above. It appears from the introductory verses of the Vratakamalākara that Kamalākara intended to compose a digest on dharma called Dharmatattva in ten paricchedas<sup>1082</sup> and not only carried it out but added some more works on dharma. It will be noticed that nine out of these 10 sections are enumerated under the same names at the end of the Śāntiratna quoted above, the one not named being the section on *ācāra*. Burnell mentions a work called *Ācaradīpa* by Kamalākara on daily duties and on the same page notices another work on *āhnika* by Kamalākara.<sup>1083</sup> It is difficult to say whether both are names of the same work. It is not unlikely that the *ācāra* section of the digest Dharmatattva is the same as the Bahvṛcāhnika enumerated at the end of the Śāntiratna. There is a ms. of the Bahvṛcāhnika at Bikaner.<sup>1084</sup> It deals with daily duties commencing with rising

1081 आदौ निर्णयसिन्धुस्तु वार्तिके दिव्येण पुनः । काव्यप्रकाशेण व्याख्यादाने च कमलाकरैः ॥ शान्तिरत्नं ततः पूतमृतयोः कमलाकरः । ग्रन्थो वेदान्तरत्नं च समादर्शकुतूहलम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्ते रत्नमेकं व्यवहारे तथापरम् । बहुव्याहिकमन्यच्च गोत्रधैरदर्पणः ॥  
रत्नं कर्मविपाकौख्यं कार्त्तवीर्यस्य पद्धतिः । सोमप्रयोगैः शुद्राणां धर्मो हृदस्य पद्धतिः ॥  
दिप्यणी च तथा शास्त्रदीपिकालोकसंज्ञिता । मीमांसायां तथा शास्त्रतत्त्वस्य कमलाकरः ॥  
सर्वतीर्थविधिश्चैव भक्तिरत्नं तथोत्तमम् । रामकृष्णसुतेनेत्यं कमलाकरधर्मणः । द्व्यधिकं विंशतीनां च ग्रन्थानां रत्नमालिका । सेवां कर्तुमशक्तेन हर्षिता रामपादयोः ॥  
concluding verses of शान्तिरत्न.

1082 रामकृष्णतनूजेन कमलाकरशर्मणा । क्रियते धर्मतत्त्वानां कमलानामिहाकरः ॥ व्रतदाने कर्मपाकः शान्तिपूर्तं तथैव च । आचारो व्यवहारश्च प्रायश्चित्तमथापरम् ॥ शुद्रधर्मस्तीर्थविधिः परिच्छेदा द्वात्रिंशत् । Intro. verses to व्रतकमलाकर, vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 499, No. 1071.

1083 Vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 135 b.

1084 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 355 No. 767.



from one's bed at the *brāhma mubarta*. In this work Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa refers to his own *Prāyaścittaratna*, and to the *Madanapārijāta*, *Madanaratna*, *Mādhava* and *Śulapāṇi*. The *Pūrtakamalākara*<sup>1085</sup> was an extensive work and dealt with the dedication of tanks, wells, trees and gardens to the public, the dedication of *Aśvattha* tree and five sacred trees, dedication and laying the foundation of public buildings, consecration of sacred images, of *Śalagrāma*, of temples and flags, repairing of images, accidental breaking of temples, consecration of *Vināyaka*, pacification of planets, coronation of kings and emperors. In this work he mentions his own *Dāna-kamalākara*.

The *Śāntiratna* or *Śāntikamalākara* is a huge work.<sup>1086</sup>

It deals with various rites for propitiating *Vināyaka*, the nine planets, and for averting the consequences of portentous occurrences and evil omens, birth on such constellations as *mūla*, the observances known as *Ekādaśinī*, *Laghurudra*, *Mahārudra*, *Śatacaṇḍi* &c. He refers to his own *Nirṇayasindhu* in this work.

For his *Gotrapravaradarpaṇa* or *Gotrapravarānirṇaya*, vide I. O. cat. p. 579 No. 1780. He follows the *Pravaramaṭṭhari* in this work. This work is referred to in his *Nirṇayasindhu*.

In the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library there is a ms. of his *Samśkāra-prayogakamalākara* which appears to be over and above the 22 works enumerated above.<sup>1087</sup> He starts with an enumeration of the 48 *saṁskāras* mentioned by Gautama, deals with the several *saṁskāras* of *pūṁsavana*, *jātakarma*, marriage &c., and with *utsarjana* and *upākarma*, propitiatory rites on the first appearance of menses, the *Aṣṭaka śrāddha* &c.

His *Śāstratattva-kautūhala* or *Tattva-kamalākara* appears to have been a work of considerable interest dealing with the bearing of the doctrines and maxims of the *Mīmāṃsā* system on ritual and *dharma-śāstra*.<sup>1088</sup> A ms. of it is dated *saṁvat* 1695 *caitra śukla* 4 Friday (i. e. 9th March 1638 A. D.).

1085 Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 138 No. 1881 for पूर्वकमलाकर; in the

Bombay Asiatic Society's collection there is a portion of this.

1086 Vide I. O. cat. p. 568 No. 1758 and BBRAS cat. p. 234 No 729 for शांतिरत्न.

1087 Vide I. O. cat. p. 514 No. 1630 for संस्कारकमलाकर.

1088 Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III. p. 335 No. 1331 for तत्त्वकमलाकर.



For the *Prāyaścittaratna*, vide Bühler's report, 3, p. 108.

I was able to secure a ms. of the *Vivādatāṇḍava* from the Mandlik collection in the Fergusson College at Poona. That work closely resembles in method and matter the *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Kamalākara's cousin Nilakanṭha, the section on ordeals being almost the same in both. It treats of the following subjects : the *sabha* ; members of the *sabha* ; Judge, *amātya* ; the scribe and the accountant ; conflict of *smṛtis* ; the plaint, the reply, the modes of proof, viz., documents, witnesses, possession ; modes of punishment ; the principal and secondary sons ; the enumeration of the eighteen titles of law ; partition of heritage and detailed description of the other titles. Like the *Vyavahāramayūkha*, the *Vivādatāṇḍava* quotes the *Madanaratna* as frequently as ( or perhaps more frequently than ) the *Mitākṣarā*. The other writers and works quoted are noted below.<sup>1089</sup> As it mentions several works of his own, viz. *Nirṇaya-sindhu*, the *Dānakamalākara*, the *Prāyaścittaratna* and the *Śūdra-dharma* ( i. e. *Śūdrakamalākara* ), the *Vivādatāṇḍava* was one of his latest works. On several points he differs from his own cousin Nilakanṭha. For example, he prefers the mother to the father as an heir and does not give the sister a high place among the *gotraja* heirs as Nilakanṭha does. The *Vivādatāṇḍava* has been frequently noticed in judicial decisions.<sup>1090</sup>

The *Śūdrakamalākara* ( also called *Śūdra-dharmatattva* or *Śūdra-dharmatattvaprakāśa* ) has been printed in Bombay several times ( with Marathi translation ). I used the *Nirṇayasāgara* edition of 1895. In this work he refers to his own *Dānakamalākara*, *Pūrtakamalākara*, *Prāyaścittaratna* and *Nirṇayasindhu*. Out of about two hundred authors and works quoted therein, prominent ones are noted below.<sup>1091</sup> This work is a standard treatise on the duties and religious observances of *Śūdras*.

1089 अपराक, कल्पतद, गोविन्दराज, जीमूतवाहन, दिव्यतरङ्ग ( of गौड i. e. रघुनन्दन ), भोज, मनुटीका, माधवीय, रत्नाकर, विश्वरूप, शिरोमणि, शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य.

1090 Vide I. L. R. 33 Bom. 452 at p. 459, I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324, I. L. R. 39 Cal. 319 at p. 331 for references to विवादाण्डव.

1091 आचार्यचूडामणि, तिथितत्त्व, मदनरत्न, माधवीय, रूपनारायणीय, गृहिविवेक ( of दक्षर ), शूलपाणि, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिकौमुदी, हरिहरभाष्य.



He first starts with the discussion that the Śūdra is not authorised to study the Vedas, but that he can listen to the recitation by Brāhmaṇas of smṛtis and purāṇas and religious rites are to be performed for Śūdras with Purāṇic *mantras*. Then the following subjects are dealt with:— worship of Viṣṇu and other deities by Śūdras and the observances of *vratas* and fasts by them; Śūdra can make gifts of works of public utility (*pūrta*); Śūdra can adopt a son; the conflicting views as to the number of saṁskāras for a Śūdra, most authors holding that he is entitled to ten saṁskāras (without Vedic *mantras*), viz. garbhādhāna, puṁśavana, sīmanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, śiṣumīkramana, annaprāśana, cūḍākarma, karṇavedha and vivāha; the five great daily yajñas were to be performed for the śūdra according to the Vājasaneyāśakha;<sup>1092</sup> śrāddhas for Śūdra (to be performed with uncooked food); actions prescribed and forbidden in the case of Śūdras; the details of various rites and saṁskāras of Śūdras; the daily duties of Śūdras; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; duties of wives and widows; persons of mixed castes who have to follow the rules laid down for Śūdras; rules for those who are born of *pratiloma* connections; about *Kāyasthas*.

The Nirṇayasindhu or Nirṇayakamālākara is the most famous of Kamalākara's works. It is a monument of erudition, industry and lucidity. It has been judicially referred to as a work of authority.<sup>1093</sup> I have used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1905 (with Marathi translation). In the whole range of nibandhakāras there is hardly any other writer, except perhaps Nilakaṇṭha and Mitra-miśra, who lays under contribution as many works as Kamalākara does. In the Nirṇayasindhu about one hundred smṛtis and over three hundred nibandhakāras are mentioned by name. In the introductory verses he expressly says that he pondered over the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and other learned writers. The work is divided into three *paricchedas*. The following is a very concise

1092 This is interesting 'तथा शूद्राणां पञ्चमहायज्ञाश्च भवन्ति । ... ते च वाजसनेयि-  
शाखया कार्याः । शूद्रा वाजसनेयिन इति गौडनिबन्धे दक्षोक्तेः । हरिहरभाष्ये विवाह-  
प्रकरणेऽप्येवमुक्तम् ' शूद्रकमलाकर p. 51; vide शूद्रस्यविचारतत्त्व (Jivananda  
vol. II p. 634) and मलमासतत्त्व ( vol. I, p. 792 ) for an explanation of this.

1093 I. L. R. 3 Bom. at p. 197; *Khushalchand v. Bai Mani* I. L. R. 11 Bom.  
247 at p. 254; I. L. R. 46 Bom. at p. 556; I. L. R. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 757;  
I. L. R. 9 Cal 315 at p. 324.



statement of the contents of this voluminous work. The principal subject is to give decisive opinions as to the proper times for various religious acts; the various views about the year being solar, lunar, sidereal etc., months of four kinds, lunar, solar etc., *sāhkrānti* rites and gifts; intercalary month; *kṣayamāsa*; about *tithis*, *śuddhā* and *vidhā* (combined with another *tithi* on same day); *vratas*; the various *vratas* and festivals during the twelve months of the year; the *samskāras* from *garbhādhāna* onwards; *sapinda* relationship; consecration of images; auspicious times (*muhūrtas*) for various actions such as sowing operations, buying horses and cattle &c.; *śrāddha*; impurities on birth and death; rites after death, rites for *satī*; *samnyāsa*.

The time when Kamalākara flourished can be determined with great accuracy. We saw above that the *Nirṇayasindhu* was one of his earliest works and that it is referred to in several works of his. According to a verse at the end of the *Nirṇayasindhu* the work was composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha when cyclic year was Raudra (i. e. on the 20th February 1612 A. D.). In a ms. noticed by M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstri the same verse is read differently, so as to refer the composition to Vikrama *samvat* 1678; but it is clearly a copyist's error or misreading, since the cyclic year Raudra cannot tally with Vikrama 1678.<sup>1094</sup> We saw above that a ms. of the *Tattvakamalākara* is dated 1638 A. D. Kamalākara was a voluminous writer and therefore we shall be not far wrong if his literary activity be assigned to the period between 1610 A. D. and 1640 A. D. This date is corroborated in several ways. His grandfather Nārāyaṇbhaṭṭa was born in 1513 A. D. and he quotes in his *Nirṇayasindhu* the *Ṭoḍarānanda* compiled in the last quarter of the 16th century. Gāgabhaṭṭa *alias* Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, who officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D., was Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's nephew.

1094 वसुक्रतुक्रतुभूमिने गतेब्दे नरपतिविक्रमतोथ याति रौद्रे । तपसि शिवतियो समापितोयं  
रघुपतिपादसरोरुहेर्षितश्च ॥ 6th verse at end; vide Notices of mss. by Haraprasad Śāstri vol. X, p. 324, No. 4233 where the reading is वसुधातुक्रतुभूमिने.



## 107. Nīlakanthabhaṭṭa

In my introduction to the Vyavahāramayūkha ( Poona, 1926 ) I have dealt exhaustively with the personal history of Nīlakanṭha, his works, their contents, their position in dharmasāstra literature, the period of Nīlakanṭha's literary activity and his position in modern Hindu Law. In the following a brief résumé of the conclusions there arrived at is given.

Nīlakanṭha was a grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was a profound *mīmāṃsaka* and composed several works on *mīmāṃsā*, viz. a com. on the Śāstradīpikā, the Vidhirasāyaṇadūṣaṇa, the Mīmāṃsābālaprakāśa. He also wrote Dvaitanirṇaya ( vide Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol, III part 2. pp. 67-72 for an account of it ) and the Dharmaprakāśa or Sarvadharmaprakāśa. Nīlakanṭha composed an encyclopaedia of religious and civil law, styled Bhagavantabhāskara, in honour of his patron Bhagavantadeva, a Bundella chieftain of the Seṅgara clan, that ruled at Bhareha near the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal. This work is divided into 12 sections ( called *mayūkhās* ' rays ' ) on *saṁskāra*, *ācāra*, *kāla* ( or *samaya* ), *śrāddha*, *nīti*, *vyavahāra*, *dāna*, *utsarga*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *prāyaścitta*, *suddhi*, *śānti*. These have been printed at Benares and some of them have been printed in Bombay at the Gujarati Press and by Mr. Gharpure. Besides this encyclopaedia he composed also a work called Vyavahāratattva, which is a summary of the Vyavahāramayūkha, and probably a work styled Dattakanirṇaya. The Vyavahāratattva has been for the first time published by me as appendix I to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha.

Nīlakanṭha is one of the foremost *nibandhakāras*. Being brought up in a family that had made the study of *mīmāṃsā* its own for several generations, he is very acute in applying the maxims and rules of *mīmāṃsā* to dharmasāstra. He stands unsurpassed by any mediaeval Sanskrit writer on dharmasāstra in mastery over the vast *smṛti* lore, in lucidity of exposition, in conciseness and ease of style, in clarity of vision and sobriety of judgment. Though he admired the learning and labours of such predecessors as Vijñāneśvara, Hemādri and others, he does not slavishly follow their dicta and expresses his dissent from them most frankly.



His Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu law according to the decisions of the Bombay High Court in Gujerat, the island of Bombay and northern Konkan.<sup>1095</sup> Even in the other parts of the Bombay Presidency such as the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District the Vyavahāramayūkha occupies a very important place though it is subordinate to the Mitākṣarā.<sup>1096</sup> The general principle on which the Bombay High Court acts in construing the rules laid down in the Mitākṣarā and the Vyavahāramayūkha is that the two works are to be harmonized with one another wherever and so far as that is reasonably possible.<sup>1097</sup> Though the Mitākṣarā is a paramount authority in the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District and though it is silent about the sister's right as a *gotraja* heir, the courts, in deference to the authority of the Vyavahāramayūkha, have assigned to the sister a high place as an heir even in the Maratha country and in Ratnagiri. Among the other Mayūkhas, the Saṁskāramayūkha has been frequently relied upon by the courts.<sup>1098</sup> The Prāyaścittamayūkha and the Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha<sup>1099</sup> have also been relied upon in the High Court.

The period of Nilakanṭha's literary activity can be settled within very narrow limits. He was the youngest son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. In the Dvaitanirṇaya, Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa quotes the views of the Tōḍarānanda which, as we saw above, must have been composed between 1570 and 1589 A. D. So the Dvaitanirṇaya could not have been composed before 1590 A. D. Nilakanṭha, the youngest son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, could hardly have commenced his literary career earlier than Kamalākara who was the second son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's elder brother. Kamalākara composed his Nirṇayasindhu in 1612

1095 Vide *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* I L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 418; I. L. R. 6 Bom. 541 at p. 545; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at pp. 623-624; I. L. R. 24 Bom. 367 (F. B.) at p. 373.

1096 Vide *Krishnaji v. Pandurang* 12 Bom. H. C. R. 65 at pp. 67-68; 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) 181 at p. 185; 7 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) at p. 169; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at p. 616.

1097 *Gojabai v. Shrimant Shahajirao* I. L. R. 17 Bom. 114 at p. 118 and *Kesserbai v. Hunsraj* I. L. R. 30 Bom. 431 at p. 442 (P. C.).

1098 I. L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 425; I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361; I. L. R. 32 Bom. 81 at pp. 88 and 96; 46 Bom. at p. 884.

1099 Vide *Parami v. Mahadevi* I. L. R. 34 Bom. 278 at p. 283 (for प्रायश्चित्त-मयूख) and 22 Bom. L. R. p. 334 (for प्रतिष्ठा-मयूख).



A. D. So Nilakaṇṭha's literary activity must have commenced a good deal after 1610. One ms. of the Vyavahāratattva bears the date *saṁvat* 1700 ( 1644 A. D. ). This shows that the Vyavahāratattva was composed not later than 1644 A. D. The Vyavahāratattva refers to the Vyavahāramayūkha as already composed. Hence we may say, without being far from the truth, that Nilakaṇṭha's literary career falls between 1610 and 1645 A. D. This date is confirmed by the fact that Nilakaṇṭha's son Śaṅkara wrote the Kuṇḍabhāskara in 1671 A. D. and Divākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Nilakaṇṭha's daughter, composed his Ācārarka in 1686 A. D. It appears that there was probably a rivalry between the two great consins Kamalākaraḥṭṭa and Nilakaṇṭha. On many matters their views diverged. Though the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era, yet from the references to several works of his own in the Nirṇayasindhu it looks as if Kamalākara revised it from time to time by adding on references to his own other works and to those of others. The Nirṇayasindhu ( III *pariccheda*, section on Dattakagrahaṇa ) emphatically says that he who asserts the absence of ownership in one's son in spite of Vedic indications is a fool.<sup>1100</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that this is a hit at Nilakaṇṭha who must have been younger than Kamalākara and who tries hard in his Vyavahāramayūkha to establish that there is no ownership in one's wife and children.

### 108. The Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra

The Viramitrodaya is a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra embracing almost all branches of dharmatāstra. Excepting the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri, this work is probably the largest known on dharmatāstra. But it surpasses in interest and usefulness even Hemādri's work since it deals with vyavahāra also. It was divided into sections called *prakāśas*. So far the *prakāśas* on vyavahāra, paribhāṣā, saṁskāra, rājaniti, āhnikā, pūjā, tīrtha and lakṣaṇa have been published, the first by Jivananda ( Calcutta 1875 ) and the rest in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The text of the dāyabhāga portion of the Vyavahāraprakāśa was also published by Golapchandra Sarkar Sastri with an English translation ( Calcutta 1879 ). It appears that

1100 ' पुत्रे स्वत्वाभावं वदन् मूर्ख एव ' निर्णयसिंधु, contrast व्यवहारमयूक p. 92 ' गवा-  
दाविष भार्यायां स्वत्वाभावेन तस्यामुत्पन्नेष्वप्ये तदभावात् । '



Mitramiśra wrote on *prāyaścitta* also.<sup>1101</sup> But that work has not yet been met with. The very names of the sections of the *Viramitrodaya* convey an idea of the subjects dealt with in them. The *Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa* deals with the auspicious signs of men, women, the several parts of human body, elephants, horses, thrones, swords, bows and with the characteristics and qualities of the queen, the ministers, the astrologer, physician, doorkeeper, description of *śalagrāma*, *śivaliṅga*, *rudrākṣa* beads etc. In the *ābhiṅga-prakāśa* he dilates upon the daily duties beginning with one's rising from bed on *brāhma-muhūrta*, *śauca*, *ācamana* and ending with going to bed. The *Vyavahāra-prakāśa* is probably the largest *nibandha* on *vyavahāra*. This is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the meaning of *vyavahāra*, the constitution of the *saṁhā* (court of justice), the appointment of judges, conflict of *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*, assessors, the various grades of courts, the procedure about plaints and defendant's replies and their faults; the burden of proof and the means of proof. The second gives a detailed exposition of the means of proof, viz. witnesses, documents, possession and ordeals. The third treats of the eighteen titles of law including *dayaviḥbhāga* and the fourth very briefly speaks of those matters which were to be started *suo motu* by the king and not by a private individual. The *dayaviḥbhāga* portion of the *Vyavahāra-prakāśa* occupies a little more than one-fourth of the whole of the work.

In the *Tīrthaprakāśa* he deals with the nature of *tīrthas*, the utility thereof for men, the persons entitled to undertake pilgrimage, the proper times for pilgrimage, the ceremonial acts to be performed at *tīrthas* such as shaving, fasts, bathing, gifts, the description of the several *varṣas* and *dvīpas* and of sacred rivers like the Ganges, Narmadā, sacred places like Gayā, Prabhāsa, Badrī, Puṣkara and Pūrī.

In the *Pūjāprakāśa* he speaks of the definition of *pūjā*, persons entitled to perform *pūjā* (worship of gods), the rewards of *pūjā*, proper times and places for *pūjā*, *śalagrāma*, the proper articles and clothes for the worship of idols, proper flowers, fragrant substances, *naivedya*, the detailed method of worshipping Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Durgā, Brahmā etc. In the printed edition there are no introductory verses here.

1101 अथोद्भूत्यात्तदकुर्वन्तीनां त्वनेनापि निष्कासनमित्यादि प्रायश्चित्तप्रकारो ( प्रकरणे १ ) विवेक्ष्यामः । दीर्घः p. 640 ( व्यवहार section, Jivananda ).



In the *Saṁskāra-prakāśa* the author enumerates the *saṁskāras* and describes in detail *garbhādhāna*, *pumsavana*, *anavalobhana*, *simantonnayana*, *jātakarma*, *nāmakarana*, *śīṣuniṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *cūḍā*, *upanayana*, *vivāha* etc., the duties of *brahmacārins*, *gotras*, *pravaras* and *sāpiṇḍya*, all astrological matters in connection with marriage, *piṇḍapitrayajña*, *sarpabali*, *aṣṭakāśrāddha*, *śūlagava*.

The *Rājantiprakāśa* treats of the definition of *rajan*, the proper time and procedure of coronation, the daily routine for kings, the qualifications of ministers, commander-in-chief and the dependents of the king, forts, capital, palaces, the four expedients of *sāma* etc., the six *guṇas*, auspicious and evil signs, marching for battle, *Kaumudī* and *Indradhvaja* festivals etc.

In all his works *Mitramiśra* mentions hundreds of authors and works. The portion on *vyavahāra* is full of long-drawn controversies in which he refutes the views of numerous predecessors. The *Viramitrodaya* enters into polemics far more frequently than *Nilakaṇṭha*. He generally upholds the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara* against all its critics, particularly the writers of the Bengal school. But he does not slavishly admire the *Mitākṣarā* in every thing. Now and then he rebukes even *Vijñāneśvara*. For example, he does not approve of what the *Mitākṣarā* says about the son called *Kanina*.<sup>1102</sup> He finds fault with *Vijñāneśvara*'s explanation of the verse 'anyodaryastu' as extremely forced and far-fetched and as simply exhibiting the author's pedantry.<sup>1103</sup> Out of the host of works and writers that he names in the *vyavahāra* section the important ones are noted below.<sup>1104</sup>

1102 या तु मिताक्षराकृता यद्यनूदायामुत्पन्नस्तर्हि मानामहस्ततोव्यूढायां तदा बोद्धुरेवेति व्यवस्था कृता सापि मनसि न चमत्कारमादधाति । वीर० p. 606.

1103 विज्ञानेश्वरेणापि मानवसंवादायान्योदयस्तु संसृष्टी नाम्योदयो धनं हरेदिति पाठेन योगीश्वरवचनस्य यत्तदप्यानृत्यश्वाहारादिना क्षिप्तमत्यन्ताप्रतीक्षमानार्थकं स्वप्रज्ञाविलसितमात्रम् । वीर० p. 681 ; vide वीर० pp. 183, 668 for other criticisms of the *Mitākṣara*.

1104 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, गोपाल, चण्डेश्वर, जीमूतवाहन, तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धि ( of उद्घन ), दायतत्त्व, धारेश्वर, नयविवेक, परिजात, पार्थसारथि, प्रकाश, प्रदीप, भवदेव, भवनाथ, मदनरत्न, माधवीय, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रघुनन्दन, रत्नाकर, लीलावती, वाचस्पति, वादभयङ्कर, विज्ञानयोगिन्द, विद्यारण्य, व्यवहारतत्त्व, व्यवहारतिलक ( of भवदेव ), व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शारदातिलक, शास्त्रदीपिका, शूलपाणि, सोमेश्वर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतितत्त्व, इन्द्रायुध.



The Viramitrodaya is a work of high authority in the Benares School of Hindu Law. The Privy Council has laid down that 'the Viramitrodaya is properly receivable as an exposition of what may have been left doubtful by the Mitākṣarā and declaratory of the law of the Benares school.'<sup>1105</sup> Similarly it has been said by the same high tribunal that the Viramitrodaya may be referred to even in Bengal where the Dāyabhāga is silent.<sup>1106</sup> But where the text of the Mitākṣarā on any point is quite clear, the gloss of the Viramitrodaya on the text of any sage which is in conflict with the rule laid down in the former cannot be referred to for the purpose of casting a doubt on the clear rule of the Mitākṣarā.<sup>1107</sup> The Viramitrodaya is inferior to the Vyavahāramayūkha in Western India<sup>1108</sup> and its doctrines are not followed in those provinces when in conflict with those of the other two works. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Vedachala v. Subramania*<sup>1109</sup> 'although the Smṛticandrikā in the Southern Presidency is regarded as the most authoritative commentary on Viṣṇuśaṣṭa's work, the Viramitrodaya holds, as in Western India, a high position. It supplements many gaps and omissions in the earlier commentaries and illustrates and elucidates with logical preciseness the meaning of doubtful prescriptions.'

There is a ms. of the Dānaprakāśa in the Deccan College (No. 305 of 1884-1887). It is an extensive work and contains the usual topics about gifts.

Besides the digest called Viramitrodaya Mitramiśra composed a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. There is a ms. in the Deccan College (No. 58 of A 1883-84) which contains portions (with gaps) of the commentary on the three kāṇḍas (ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta). From the portion available it appears that

1105 *Vide Gridharilal v. The Bengal Government* 12 Moo. I. A. 448 at p. 466 (where following the Viramitrodaya the maternal uncle was held to be an heir as a *bandhu*); vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438.

1106 *Moniram v. Keri Kolitani* I. L. R. 5 Cal. 776 (P. C.) at p. 789 (where it was held that unchastity in the case of a widow subsequent to her inheriting her husband's property does not work forfeiture of her rights).

1107 I. L. R. 25 Cal. 354 at pp. 367-368.

1108 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438 and I. L. R. 3 Bom. 369.

1109 I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 (P. C.) at p. 764 = L. R. 48 I. A. p. 349.



the commentary was of considerable extent, though not as voluminous and as full of polemics as his digest. The ācāra portion had at least 446 folios (with 6 lines on each side and 30 letters in each line), the vyavahāra at least 257 and prāyaścitta a great many more than 153. Besides the works noted above he quotes the Karma-pradipa and the Smṛtisāra. In this work he does not quite approve of the reasons for the preference shown to the mother over the father as an heir by the Mitākṣarā, viz. the occurrence of the word 'mātā' as the first word when the word 'pitarau' is dissolved and the greater propinquity of the mother as compared with the father, since the latter can beget sons from another wife.<sup>1110</sup> The commentary gives three varieties of *dāsi*.<sup>1111</sup> Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 and Peterson's 2nd report pp. 49-53 for further details about this commentary.

In the Ācaraprakāśa he quotes besides some of the works mentioned above the following also, viz. Kullūka, Prayogapārijāta, Prāyaścittaviveka, Madanapārijāta, Śrīdatta (vide I. O. cat. p. 437 No. 1471).

In the introductions to the several sections of his digest and also in the colophons therein Mitramiśra furnishes considerable information about himself, his family and the family of his patron. Mitramiśra was the son of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita and grandson of Haṁsapaṇḍita. Haṁsapaṇḍita seems to have been a native of Gopācala (Gwalior) and was endowed with the rare combination of wealth and learning. One Caṇḍeśvara of Kāśī was the *guru* of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita. Mitramiśra indulges in hyperbolic<sup>1112</sup> descrip-

1110 इत्थं च विग्रहवाक्ये मातृशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातात् पित्रपेक्षया वैमात्रेयाजनकत्वेनासाधारण-प्रत्यासात्तिसत्त्वाच्चेति मिताक्षरालिखनं चिन्त्यम् । folio 149 of the com. on व्यवहार section of चाङ्ग०; compare वरिमित्रोदय p. 666 (Jivananda) where Mitramiśra is apologetic about the same reasons of the Mit.

1111 दासी पुरुषविशेषेण विवाहापरिगृहीता । सा च त्रिविधा । एकेन पुरुषेण स्वभोगार्थं पुरुषान्तरभोगतो निरुद्धा भुजिष्या वेश्या चेति । भुजिष्या च स्वाभिन्ननियतपुरुषान्तरो-भोगविषया स्वपरिचर्याकारिणी । folio 247.

1112 मा कुर्वन्तु मुधा बुधाः परिचयं ग्रन्थेषु नानाविधेष्वत्यन्तं न हि तेषु सर्वविषयः कश्चित् कचिद्वर्तते । पश्यन्तु प्रणयादनन्यमनसो ग्रन्थं मदीयं त्विमं धर्मोपमं सप्तनिर्णयविधिर्यस्मिन्दरीदृश्यते ॥ verse 39 of आह्निकप्रकाश.



tions of his own learning and naively tells his readers that they need study only his work and may neglect all other *nibandhas*. Mitramiśra was commanded by Virasimha to compose his great digest.<sup>1113</sup> The introduction to the *Ahnikapraśāsa* starts with king Medinimalla who was a scion of the Kāśirāja family. His son was Arjunadeva who became ruler of Bundelkhand. His son was Malakhāna, whose son was Pratāparudra (founder of the capital Orccha). His son was Madhukarāsāha, whose son was Virasimha. Virasimha's son was<sup>1114</sup> Jujhāra who is described as 'young' (yuvā in verse 23). His son was Vikramārka whose son was Narasimhadeva. There is no such introduction to the printed *Pūjāprakaśa* and Narasimhadeva is not mentioned in the introductions to the other *prakaśas*. From the article of Mr. Lala Sitaram in the *Calcutta Review* (May and July 1924) further information can be gathered about Birsinghdeo (i. e. Virasimhadeva). In the article it is shown how and under what circumstances Virasimha killed Abul Fazal, the friend of Emperor Akbar and a great literary genius. We are told there that there is a work called *Virasimhadeva-carita* composed in Vikrama year 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) by Keśavadāsa, author of *Kavipriyā* and *Rasikapriyā*. Virasimha was 7th out of the eight sons of Madhu-

1113 स्वस्ति श्रीयुतवीरसिंहनृपतेराज्ञावशादुत्सुकः

श्रीमित्रामिधपण्डितः प्रतिदिशं कीर्त्यानिशं मण्डितः ।

नानानिर्णयवर्णनं व्यसनिनां संख्यावतां प्रीतिदं

संप्राप्त्यवहारसाधकमिमं कुर्वे प्रकाशं परम् ॥ 2nd Intro. verse to व्यवहारप्रकाश (Jivananda).

1114 राज्यं प्राप जुष्टारसिंहनृपतिर्यस्यायतो भूषणे-

स्तत्पुत्रोपि गुणार्णवः समजनि श्रीविक्रमार्को नृपः ।

तत्पुत्रुर्नरसिंहदेवनृपतिस्तं वीरसिंहं विना।

लेभे राज्यपरम्परासुसमिदं मन्ये महेन्द्रोपि किम् ॥ verso 27 of आह्निकप्रकाश.

The colophon at the end of the first part of व्यवहारप्रकाश is इति श्रीमत्स-  
कलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमञ्जरीधिमञ्जरीनिराजितचरणकमलश्रीमहाराजाधिराजप्रतापरुद्र-  
तनूजः श्रीमन्महाराजमधुकरसाहसूनु-श्रीमहाराजाधिराजचतुर्दधिवलयवसुन्धराहृदयगुण्ड-  
रीकविकासदिनकरश्रीवीरसिंहदेवोद्योजित-श्रीहंसपण्डितात्मज -श्रीपरशुराममिश्रसूनुसकल-  
विद्यापारावारपारिणधुरीणजगद्दूरिद्रमहागजपारीन्द्रविद्वज्जनजीवातु-श्रीमन्मित्रमिश्रकृते  
वीरमित्रोदयामिधमिधये व्यवहारप्रकाशे &c.

Vide Pogson's 'History of the Boondelas' pp. 10-11 for Arjunadeva and his descendants.



karasāha. Not only was he a soldier, but he was a great builder. He built the palace forts of Orchha and Datia, the temple of Keśava-deva at Mathurā, several lakes called Birasāgara, Siṃhasāgara and Deosāgara (after the three parts of his own name). He is said to have ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627 A. D. From the introduction to<sup>1115</sup> the commentary on Yājñavalkya it appears that Virasimha commanded Mitramiśra to write it and that a learned man Sadānanda, the ornament of Tirabhukti (Tirhoot), was also connected with its composition. It will be seen that the title Viramitrodaya very cleverly suggests that Mitramiśra wrote it under the patronage of Virasimhadeva. The title may mean 'the rise of Vira and Mitra' or 'the rise of the friend of Vira' or 'the rise of the sun, viz. Vira'.

The time when Mitramiśra flourished can be easily settled on account of his relations with Virasimhadeva. In his Āhnikaprakāśa he mentions the great-grand-son of Virasimha. Therefore that section must have been written when Virasimha was advanced in age. Virasimha ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627. Hence the literary activity of Mitramiśra must be placed in the first quarter of the 17th century. This date agrees with the fact that he names Vacaspati and Raghunandana. We thus see that Mitramiśra was almost a contemporary of Kamalākaraḥṭṭha and Nilakaṇṭha. The two latter do not refer to him nor does Mitramiśra name them.

In the Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī of Anantāśrama<sup>1116</sup> of Puṇya-stambha (Puṇtāmbe) on the Godāvari, a commentary on the Rasamañjarī of Bhānudatta, the author gives a pedigree of his patron. He describes the Kāśīrāja family at Benares, in which was born Pratāparudra whose son was Madhukarasāha, whose son was Virasimhadeva. Ananta wrote the commentary for Candrabhānu, a son of Virasimhadeva, in 1635 A. D. This corroborates the dates above given by Mr. Lala Sitaram. Therefore it is almost beyond doubt that the literary activity of Mitra-miśra lies between 1610 and 1640 A. D.

1115 I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 'वित्तं मत्वाप्यसारं वितरद्विरतं याज्ञवल्क्योक्तिमुक्त्वा वारं स्मृत्यर्थसारं रचयितुमथ स प्रादिष्टमित्रमिश्रम् । उत्तंसस्तीरमुक्तेरसिलबुधगुहः श्री-सदानन्दधीमान् श्रीभाजो मित्रमिश्राज्जगदुपकृतये विश्वदादेशदीपम् ॥ ज्ञानानां देव्य-दोषापहमकलिमयं याज्ञवल्क्योक्तिकोशाद् दृष्ट्वा स्मृत्यर्थसारं समचिनुत यशो धर्मलक्ष्मी-विहारम् । verses 15 and 16.

1116 Vide I. O. cat. p. 356 No. 1224.



## 109. Anantadeva

Anantadeva compiled a vast digest called *Smṛtikaustubha* divided into several sections on *saṁskāra*, *ācāra*, *rājadharmā*, *dāna*, *ut-sarga*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *tithi* and *saṁvatsara*. The section on *saṁskāras* and that on *rājadharmā* are also called *Samśkāra-kaustubha* and *Rāja-dharma-kaustubha*. Each *Kaustubha* is subdivided into parts called *didhiti*. The *Samśkāra-kaustubha* is the most popular and most well-known work of his. It has been printed several times, the best editions being that of the *Nirnayasāgara Press* (1913) and that issued at *Baroda* (1914) under the patronage of H. H. the *Maharaja Gaikwad* (with a *Marathi* translation by *Sastri Venkatakarya Upadhyaya*). I have used the latter. The *Samśkāra-kaustubha* is recognised as an authoritative work by the highest court for India.<sup>1117</sup> The following is a very brief summary of the contents:—

The sixteen *saṁskāras*, the first being *garbhādhāna*, the astrological aspects of the first appearance of menses and the various propitiatory rites therefor; the proper times for *garbhādhāna* and the several rites connected therewith; *puṇyābhavācāna*, *nāndiśrāddha*, *matrkāpūjana*; *nārāyaṇabali* and *nāgabali*; *pañcagavya*, *kṛcchra* and other *prāyaścittas*; *cāndrayānavrāta*; adoption, who is entitled to adopt, who can be adopted, rites of adoption, *gotra* and *sāpiṇḍya* of the adopted son, mourning to be observed by the adopted, succession of the adopted; *putrakāmeṣṭi*; *puṁsavana*; *anavalobhana*; *simantonnayana*; rites on the birth of a child or son; impurity on birth; propitiatory rites for evil aspects at birth; *nāmakarana*; *niṣkramaṇa*; *annaprāśana*; piercing the ear; celebration of birth day; *caula*; *upanayana*, proper times for it, the necessary materials for it, the *gāyatrī*, the vows of a *brahmacārin*; *saṁāvartana*; marriage, *sāpiṇḍya* for it, *gotras* and *pravaras*, proper times for marriage, forms of marriage, *vāg-niścaya*, *simāntapūjana*, *madhuparka*, *kanyā-dāna*, *vivahahoma*, *saptapadi*, *homa* on the entrance of the married couple etc.

The portion of the *Samśkāra-kaustubha* on the subject of adoption is frequently cited separately as *Dattakadidhiti* and is so entered in the catalogues of mss. It is a treatise of great importance and deserves to be studied along with the *Dattakamimāmsā*, the *Vyava-*

1117 *Vide Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 498; *Sakharam v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361.



hāramayūkha and other similar works. The more important of his views are set out below. Like the Dattakamīmāṃsā he recommends that the nephew is the most suitable for adoption, then one may select any *sagotra*, *sapiṇḍa*, then an *asagotra sapiṇḍa*, then a *sagotra* but *asapiṇḍa*, then any one of the same caste though not *sagotra*, but a daughter's or sister's son cannot be adopted nor can a brother, a paternal or maternal uncle be adopted. A Śūdra may adopt a daughter's or sister's son. The person to be adopted must not be an only son or the eldest. A wife can adopt with the consent of her husband and a widow does not require the express permission of her husband. The boy to be adopted may be below five or above five and may be taken before or after the *cuḍā* ceremony is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva refers to the<sup>1118</sup> view of some that the verses of the Kālikāpurāṇa on this subject are not found in several mss. and so are unauthoritative and tells us that others hold that the whole passage refers to the adoption of an *asagotra* boy. Anantadeva himself holds, like the Vyavahāramayūkha, that even an *asagotra* boy may be adopted after his *upanayana* is performed in the natural family. When the ceremony of *caula* and the rest are performed in the family of the adopter, the adopted boy belongs to the *gotra* of the adopter, but where the *upanayana* alone is performed in the adoptive family or the adoption is made after *upanayana* the boy belongs to both *gotras*. But this holds good only as regards obeisance, śrāddha etc. while for marriage every adopted boy has to avoid the *gotra* and *pravara* of both families. If a natural son be born to the adopter after he takes a boy in adoption, the adopted boy becomes an equal sharer with the *aurasa*, if all the saṁskāras up to *upanayana* are performed by the adoptive father for the adopted boy, or he takes only a

1118 एषां वचसां बहुषु कालिकापुराणपुस्तकेष्वदर्शनाभिर्दूळत्वादिति केचित् । अन्ये तु समूलत्वेपि आद्यश्लोकत्रयस्यासंगोत्रदत्तकविषयत्वात्तत्रापठितत्वेनान्यश्लोकस्यापि तद्विषयत्वमेवोचितम् । अतः संगोत्रस्य दत्तकस्य नायं नियम इति परिणीतिरिति दत्तको भवेदित्याहुः । वस्तुतस्तु नासंगोत्रेऽप्युपनयनान्तसंस्कारोत्तरं दत्तकत्वसामान्यनिषेधः कर्तुं शक्यः पुराणवचोभिर्वैदिकलिङ्गविरुद्धस्मृतिवचसां प्रामाण्यासंभवस्य अलाघलाधिकरणवार्तिकराणकसिद्धत्वात् । संस्कारकोस्तुम् pp. 169-170 ; compare व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 for remarks on the कालिकापुराण passage. The निर्णयसिंधु appears to regard the कालिकापुराण verses as genuine and holds on their strength that the adoption of a boy after *upanayana* is prohibited.



fourth share if only some of the *saṁskāras* ending with *upanayana* are performed by the adopter and he gets no inheritance but only provision for marriage if he was adopted after *upanayana* is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva, disagreeing with Nilakaṇṭha, holds that a girl may be adopted.<sup>1119</sup>

Like the *Nirṇayasindhu* and the *Mayūkhas* of Nilakaṇṭha, Anantadeva in the *Samśkārakaustubha* and elsewhere names several hundred authors and works. It is not necessary to set out the whole lot. His authorities are practically the same as those of the former. He principally relies among *nibandhas* upon the *Mitākṣarā*, *Aparārka*, *Hemādri*, *Mādhava*, *Madanaratna*, *Madanapārijāta*. The *Smṛtikaustubha* was divided into several *dhīhitis* (rays, parts). In the *Smṛtikaustubha* published by the *Nirṇayasāgara* Press it is expressly stated that the *tīthidīdhiti* has been already<sup>1120</sup> expounded. At the end also it is said that the work is only the complete *ābdadīdhiti* (i. e. portion dealing with *saṁvatsaras* of five kinds). The year is said to be of five kinds; *cāndra*, *saura*, *sāvana*, *bārhaspatya* and *nākṣatra*. The printed work treats of the several rites, observances, festivals and *vratas* on the important *tīthīs* of the twelve months of the *cāndra* year with the intercalary month and observances thereof, the rites proper to *saura* year and *saṁkrāntis* (the sun's passage from one sign into another), the rites of the *sāvana* year, the rules about rites when Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the rites of the *nākṣatra* year, the actions forbidden and allowed in Kali age according to Anantadeva and discussion of the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and the *Madanapārijāta* thereon.

The *Rajadharmaustubha*<sup>1121</sup> was divided into several parts (*dhīhitis*). The first deals with the characteristics and defects of

1119 दत्तकपुत्र्या अपि स्वीकार उक्तविधिना कार्यः । वक्ष्यामि पुत्रसंग्रहमित्यादिगतपुत्रस्य पुमान् पुत्र इत्यादिर्षेदिकप्रयोगमूलकेन वृत्तिरुक्तकन्यायेन पुत्रीसाधारण्यात् । दानप्रति-ग्रहविधिषु उद्देश्यविशेषपुंस्त्वविवक्षायाश्च । इतिहासपुराणेषु कुन्त्या दत्तकत्वोक्तेश्च । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 188 ; contrast व्यवहारमयूक्त p. 108 ' दत्तकश्च पुमानेव भवति न कन्या &c. ' ( my edition, Poona ).

1120 तिथिदीधितिर्इका प्राग्वक्ष्यामोद्बोधदीधितिम् । अब्दभेदाद्द्वयमेनां माधवोक्त्यनुसारतः ॥ Intro. verse 20 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

1121 Vide Mitra's *Bik. cat.* p. 444 :No. 955 at the end ' राज ( राज ! ) चाहदुर-चन्द्रभूषतेः कोस्तुमेन नृपधर्मोचरे । दीधितिः प्रथमभाग ईदृशस्तोषकसुरुतिनां व्यजायत ' ; vide also Mitra's *Notices* vol. I p. 196 No. 346 for the same.



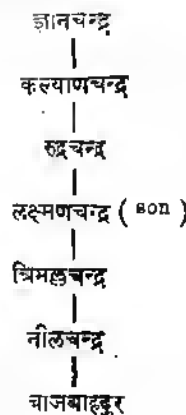
kings, the qualities and characteristics of queens, ministers, *purohita*, astrologer, the rites to be performed at coronation, duties to be observed after coronation. Another portion of the same work deals with *vyavahāra* viz., the *sabhā*, the judge, the plaint, the reply, means of proof, ordeals etc.

It is unnecessary to go into details about the other treatises on *prāyaścitta*, *pratiṣṭhā*<sup>1122</sup> &c. Anantadeva also wrote several *prayogas* such as the *Agnihotraprayoga*, *Cāturmāsya* *prayoga*. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is a ms. of a drama called *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-candrikā* composed by Anantadeva in which the characters are a *Śaiva*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Mīmāṃsaka*, *Tāṛkika* &c.

In the *Smṛtikaustubha* (*Nirṇayasagara* edition of 1909) Anantadeva gives a pedigree<sup>1123</sup> of his patron's family. The family claimed descent from the moon. Whether the first three kings mentioned in the *Smṛtikaustubha* were related as father and son is doubtful. *Lakṣmaṇacandra* is said to have been the son of *Rudracandra* and it was he who conquered several chiefs wielding sway over the Himalayan territories.<sup>1124</sup> *Trimallacandra*, the successor

1122 Vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 272b where there is a reference to प्रतिष्ठादीधिति 'अथ राजधर्मा उत्पद्यन्ते तत्र राज्याभिषेकदीधित्युक्तलक्षणलक्षितो राजा मासादप्रतिष्ठादीधित्युक्तवक्त्रेण दुर्गगृहनिर्माणं भद्रासनं च निर्माय ... व्यवहारा निरूप्यन्ते ।', vide also Mitra's Notices, vol. II. p. 21 No. 556 for the same.

1123 The pedigree is as follows :--



1124 तेनानेकहिमाचलस्थवृषतीन् दुष्टान्धित्य स्वके राज्ये वृद्धिरकारि तुष्टिरमिता चाधायि विद्वद्भूदि ॥ verse 5.



(and probably the son) of Lakṣmanācandra, is praised for his continual liberality to the learned men of Benares.<sup>1125</sup> It was at the command of Baz Bahadurcandra and for pleasing him that Anantadeva compiled his *Smṛtikaustubha*.<sup>1126</sup> At the end Anantadeva tells us that Baz Bahadurcandra conquered several mountain forts in the Himālayas.<sup>1127</sup> After giving a pedigree of his patrons' family Anantadeva gives some information about himself. He was a descendant of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha whom he describes as endowed with Vedic sacrifices and as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>1128</sup> That this Ekanātha is the same as the great Maratha saint is vouchsafed by Kāśinātha, author of *Dharma-sindhu*, in another work of his.<sup>1129</sup> Anantadeva was the great-great-grand-son of Ekanātha and he was the grandson of Ananta and son of Āpadeva, the author of the *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa* *alias* Āpadevi-.

1125 काशीस्थ विद्वद्दिभ्यो धनराशिनदास्तदा ॥ verse 6.

1126 तस्यात्मजं वैदिकशास्त्रविज्ञं सन्तोसकृत्पादुरमन्तदेवम् ।

बाजाह्वानो वचसा विधेयं निबन्धसारोद्धरणं स्वयेति ॥

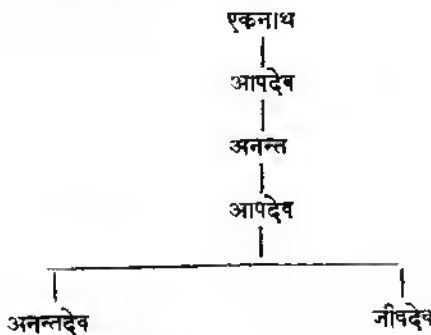
अनन्तदेवन नदाज्ञायाथो मुदं हरेः पूर्वनिबन्धम् ।

क्षीराम्बुधिं बुद्धिगुणैर्मथित्वा प्रकाशयन्त्यं स्मृतिकौस्तुभः कां ॥ verses 17-18.

1127 येनाजितानि युधि सर्वरिपून् विजित्य दुर्गाणि दुर्गहनगराणि धनैर्युतानि । श्रीबाजबाह-  
दुरचन्द्रनृपस्य तस्य वाचा हिमाचलगतावनिदेवतुष्टये ॥ अनन्तदेवकलमन्थनसन्निबन्ध-  
क्षीराब्धिजोय सतनं हरिणा धृतो यः । नित्यं निजे हृदि सतां प्रमुदेस्तु तस्य सर्वाब्द-  
दीप्तिविरियं स्मृतिभास्करस्य ॥ verses 2 and 3.

1128 आसीद्वोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः । श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः ॥  
verse 13 of *स्मृतिकौस्तुभ*.

The pedigree of अनन्तदेव is



1129 Vide his *विठ्ठलकृष्णसाराभाष्य* folio 37 a (D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70).



Mīmāṃsā lore seems to have been a hereditary endowment in the family as in the case of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. In all his works, particularly in the *Samśkārakaustubha*, Anantadeva applies at every step the maxims and doctrines of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* for the decision of doubtful points of *Dharmaśāstra*. Anantadeva had a younger brother Jivadeva whose *Gotrapravarānirṇaya* he draws upon in the *Samśkārakaustubha* while dealing with *sāpiṇḍya* for marriage.<sup>1130</sup> Bhandarkar notices an *Āśaucanirṇaya* of Jivadeva in which the *Nirṇayasindhu* is cited as an authority.<sup>1131</sup>

West and Bühler in their digest<sup>1132</sup> thought that Anantadeva flourished about the same time as the author of the *Nirṇayasindhu*. But this requires some correction. Baz Bahadur, the patron of Anantadeva, seems to have been a scion of the Candra (or Chand) family and ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A. D. It is said in the *Imperial Gazetteer*<sup>1133</sup> that the first of the Chandra-*rājas* was Somachand who hailed from Jhūsi near Allahabad and came to the Himalayan regions in the 10th century and that in 1563 the capital was transferred to Almora by Kalyāncand, whose son Rudracandra was a contemporary of Akbar and made his obeisance to the latter in 1587 A. D. at Lahore. The *Smṛtikaustubha* does mention the ancestors Kalyānacandra and Rudracandra of Baz Bahadur. Between Baz Bahadur and Rudracandra there are three names. Supposing that they are the three direct ascendants of Baz Bahadur and allowing a period of 25 years for each after Rudracandra's known date of 1587 A. D., we get the year 1662 A. D. for Baz Bahadur. We are told in the *Gazetteer* that in 1672 Baz Bahadur introduced a poll tax, the proceeds of which he remitted to Delhi as tribute. Therefore Anantadeva must have been patronised by Baz Bahadur between 1645 and 1675 A. D. A greater approximation can be made in another way. The saint Ekanātha finished his Marathi *Bhāgavata* at Benares in śake 1495 and 1630 of the Vikrama era on Kārtika full-moon day (i. e. 9th November

1130 अथ गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयो मदनुजजीवदेवरुत एवास्मिन्नवसरे प्रदर्शयते । संस्कारकौस्तुभ  
p. 687.

1131 Vide Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 53 ( for जीवदेव ).

1132 Vide Digest p. 24 ( 3rd ed. ) and p. 25 ( 4th ed. ).

1133 Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India* vol. XVIII. p. 324 and vol. V. p. 245.



1573 ) as he himself tells us.<sup>1134</sup> Anantadeva was the fourth in descent from him ( exclusive of Ekanātha ). Counting 25 years for each of the four generations, Anantadeva should have been a grown up man in 1673 A. D. There are controversies about the dates of the birth and death of Ekanātha, the commonly accepted dates being śake 1450-1521 (b. 1528-d. 1600 A. D.).<sup>1135</sup> The date of his death is śake 1521 Fālguna dark half 6th day (25th February 1600 ). Others give 1548-1599 A.D. as the dates. Whichever date is correct, the literary activity of Anantadeva must be assigned to the third quarter of the 17th century. This date is confirmed by the fact that in the Āśaucanirṇaya of Jivadeva, younger brother of Anantadeva, the Nirṇayasindhu composed in 1611-12 A. D. is cited as an authority.

### 110. Nāgojibhaṭṭa

The learning of Nāgojibhaṭṭa was of an encyclopaedic character. Though his special *forte* was Vyākaraṇa ( grammar ) he wrote standard works also on poetics, dharmasāstra, yoga and other śāstras. The total number of his works is about thirty. On dharmasāstra he composed several works, viz. Ācārenduśekhara, Āśaucanirṇaya, Tithinduśekhara, Tīrthenduśekhara, Prāyaścittenduśekhara or Prāyaścittasārasaṃgraha, Śrāddhenduśekhara, Sapiṇḍimañjari and Sapiṇḍyadipikā or Sapiṇḍyanirṇaya. Of his far-famed works on the Pāṇinian system, such as the Mahābhāṣya-pradipoddyota, the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā ( in large and small recensions ), the Subdenduśekhara ( big and small ) and of his

- 1434 वाराणसी महामुक्तिक्षेत्र । विक्रमशक वृषसंवत्सर ।  
 शके सोळाशें तिसोत्तर । टीका एकाकार जनार्दनरुपा ॥  
 महामंगल कार्तिकमासी । शुक्लपक्ष पूर्णिमेसी ।  
 सोमवार शिवयोगेंसी । टीका एकादशी समाप्त झाली ॥  
 स्वदेशीचा शक संवत्सर । दण्डकारण्य श्रीरामक्षेत्र ।  
 प्रतिष्ठान गोदावरीतीर । येथील उच्चार तो ऐका ।  
 शालिवाहनशक वैभव । संख्या चौदाशें पंचाणव ।  
 श्रीमुख संवत्सराचें नांव । टीका अपूर्व तें जाहली ॥

verses 552-555 of the last अष्टाध्याय ( Nirṇayasāgara edition ).

- 1135 Vide Mr. Bhavé's महाराष्ट्रसारस्वत ed. of śake 1846 part I p. 245 and Mr. L. R. Pangarkar's life of Ekanāth ( Marāṭhi ) chap. II ( ed. of 1911 ).



commentaries on the Kāvya-prakāśa-pradīpa, the Kuvalāyānanda, the Rasagaṅgādhara, the Rasatarāṅgiṇī, the Rasamañjarī, nothing can be said here for want of space.

For his Prāyaścittenduśekhara, *vide* Mitra's Notices vol. V, p. 23 No. 1735, where detailed contents are given; for the Śrāddhendūśekhara, Ulwar cat. extract No. 360 p. 139, for the Tīrthenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. p. 120, extract No. 312.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa was the son of Śivabhaṭṭa and Sati and was a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kāla (Kale). At the beginning and end of several works of his (such as the Rasagaṅgādhara-marmaprakāśa, the Mañjuṣā) he tells us that he was patronised by Rāma of the Bisena family,<sup>1136</sup> the ruler of a city named Śṛṅgavera (which seems to be on the Ganges above Allahabad). He was the pupil of Haridikṣita,<sup>1137</sup> son of Vireśvara and pupil of Ramāśrama and grandson of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭoji-dikṣita.<sup>1138</sup> Tradition says that he composed the grammatical work Śabdaratna and ascribed it to his teacher Haridikṣita in gratitude. In the<sup>1139</sup> commentary on the Praudhamanorama Haridikṣita refers to the Śabdaratna as his own work and to the Śabdenduśekhara as that of his pupil.

Bhaṭṭojidikṣita was a pupil of the Mīmāṃsaka Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and of Śeṣa Śrīkṣṇa and almost a contemporary of Jagnnāthapaṇḍita. Bhaṭṭoji's pupil Nilakaṇṭha Śukla wrote a work in saṁvat 1663 (Dr. Belvalkar in 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar', p. 47). Therefore he flourished in the first half of the 17th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji's grandson. Therefore Nāgojibhaṭṭa must have flourished towards the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa's literary activities, looking

1136 याचकानां कल्पतरोररिकसद्गुतशानात् । नागेशः शृङ्गवेरेशरामतो लब्धजीविकः ॥ रस-गङ्गाधरमर्मप्रकाशः ।

1137 अधीत्य कणिभाष्याब्धिं सुधीन्द्रहरिदीक्षितात् । at the end of the मञ्जूषा.

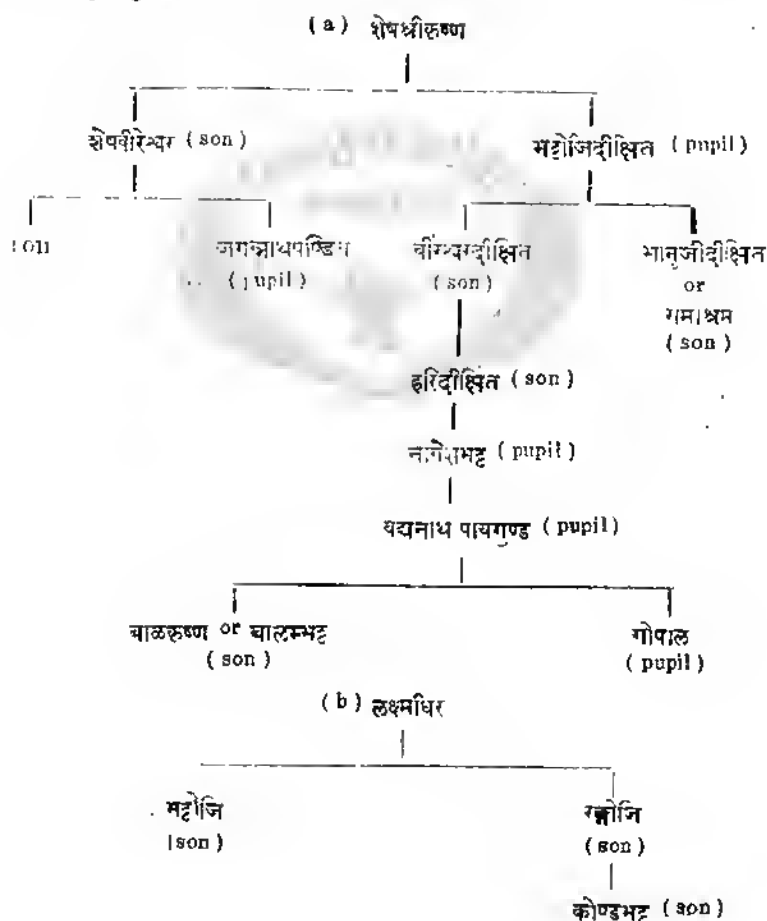
1138 गूढोक्तिप्रथितां पितामहकृतां विद्वत्प्रमोदप्रदां भक्त्याधीत्य मनोरमां निरूपमा-  
द्रामाश्रमास्तद्गुरोः । तत्त्वाज्ञानवशात्परेण कलितान्दोषान् समुन्मूलयन् व्याचष्टे हरि-  
रेष तां कणिमतान्यालोच्य वैरेभ्यरिः ॥ 2nd Intro. verse to the शब्दरत्न,  
I. O. cat. p. 174 Nos. 651-52.

1139 विस्तरस्तु अस्मत्कृते शब्दरत्ने मदन्नेवासिक्तशब्देन्दुशेखरादा च द्रष्टव्यः । at end of  
D. C. ms. No. 520 of 1886-1892 and Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for  
1919-22 p. 4913 (1st verse).



to his vast out-put, must have extended over a long period of more than 50 years. The pedigree<sup>1140</sup> from Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, through a succession of teacher and pupils or father and son, is given below. Vide introduction to the Rasagaṅgādhara (Nirn. ed.); Trivedi's introduction pp. 18-20 to the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣana of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a nephew of Bhaṭṭoji (B. S. series); Dr. Belvalkar's Systems of Sanskrit grammar pp. 46-50 and Kielhorn's preface to the Paribhāṣenduṣekhara p. xxv (where the succession of teacher and pupil is brought down to the days of Kielhorn himself) for further details. In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 41 p. 247, Mr. S. P. V. Ranganātha

1140 The pedigrees are:—





Svāmi makes Bhaṭṭoji a pupil of Śeṣa Vireśvara and not of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. But the passage of the Manoramākucamardana, if properly interpreted, makes it clear that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and not of Vireśvara.<sup>1141</sup> A ms. of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's commentary on the Rasamañjari is dated *samvat* 1769, Māgha 7th bright half, Wednesday, i. e. 21st January 1713 A. D. ( vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 365 ). It is not unlikely that Nāgojibhaṭṭa first composed his commentaries on the comparatively easy śāstra of poetics and that he then worked upon Dharmasāstra and Vyākaraṇa. The edition of the Rasagaṅgādhara in the Kāvya-mālā series says that there is a tradition that Nāgoji was invited by king Savai Jaising of Jaipur to a horse-sacrifice in 1714 A. D., but that Nāgoji declined on the ground of *Kṣetra-saṁnyāsa*. Therefore his literary activity must be placed between 1700 and 1750 A. D. Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri says ( Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 12 ) that Nāgoji died about 1775. But this appears rather improbable. If one of his works was copied in 1713 A. D. he could hardly have lived up to 1775, unless he was about 100 years old at that time.

### III. Balakṛṣṇa or Bālabhaṭṭa

The Lakṣmivyākhyāna *alias* the Bālabhaṭṭi is a commentary on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, ascribed to a lady named Lakṣmidevī. The commentary is a voluminous one and displays uneven workmanship. The commentary on the ācāra section of the Mitākṣarā is the most learned part of the whole book and is almost an

1141 इह केचित् ... शेषवंशावतंसानां श्रीकृष्णपण्डितानां चिरायार्चितयोः पादुकयोः प्रसादादादितशब्दानुशासनाः तेषु च पारमेश्वरं पदं प्रयातेषु ... तत्रभवद्विरहसितं प्रक्रियाप्रकाशमाशयानिवबोधनिबन्धनेर्द्वयैः स्वयं निर्मितायां मनोरमायामाकुल्यकार्षुः । सा च प्रक्रियाप्रकाशकतां पौत्रेः ... अस्मद्गुरुपण्डितवीरेश्वराणां ननयेर्द्विजापि स्वमति-परिक्षार्थं पुनरस्माभिर्निरीक्ष्यते ॥ p. 3 of the Intro. to the रसगङ्गाधर. If पादुका means 'pupil' here as Mr. Ranganath Svāmi contends ( Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 251 ), why should the dual be necessary or be used and not the singular or plural? The प्रक्रियाप्रकाश is a com. on the प्रक्रियाकोमुदी of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Vide Journal of Oriental Research vol. III, part 2, p. 146 where it is said that Jagannātha was a pupil of वीरेश्वर, son of शेषकृष्ण, who lived under the patronage of Giridhārī, son of Todarmal and that Bhaṭṭoji was pupil of शेषकृष्ण and later of अण्णदीक्षित.



independent work. The ācāra portion has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. The vyavahāra portion of the Bālabhāṭṭi was published by Mr. S. S. Setlur, Advocate, Bombay in 1911 and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (1914). This portion of the commentary explains the Mitākṣarā word by word and also engages in lengthy discussions on important topics. The portion of the commentary on the prāyaścitta section has not yet been published; but Mr. Govinda Das who examined it (vide Mr. Gharpure's edition of the ācāra portion, p. 27 at end) reports that it is meagre as compared with the preceding sections. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used.

In the Bālabhāṭṭi the author quotes by name a host of writers and works. As the Bālabhāṭṭi is almost the latest work on Dharmaśāstra worth special mention in this work, no useful chronological purpose will be served by giving the names of all such writers and works. It may however be stated that he names the Nirṇayasindhu, the Viramitrodaya, the Mayūkha of Nilakanṭha, the Sāṅkṣāra-kaustubha, Siddheśvarabhāṭṭa the nephew of Nilakanṭha, Khaṇḍadeva the author of Bhāṭṭadīpikā on the Mīmāṃsāsūtra, the Kāyastha-dharmapradīpa of Gāgabhāṭṭa and the author's father's commentary thereon.

Of the Bālabhāṭṭi ascribed to Lakṣmidevi, West and Bühler say 'she generally advocates latitudinarian views and gives the widest interpretation possible to every term of Yājñavalkya. Her opinions are held in comparatively small esteem and are hardly ever brought forward by the *śāstris*, if unsupported by other authorities'.<sup>1142</sup> For example, in the Bālabhāṭṭi the word 'bhrātaraḥ', occurring in Yājñavalkya's verses laying down the order of succession to a man dying without male issue, is interpreted as including sisters and the author says that sisters succeed immediately after brothers.<sup>1143</sup> This dictum of Bālabhāṭṭa taken along with the words of the Vyavahāramayūkha seems to have influenced their Lordships of the Privy Council in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai* on the question of the rights of the sister as an

1142 Digest of Hindu Law, 3rd ed. p. 17.

1143 'भ्रातृपुत्रो इत्येकशेषेण प्रागुक्तसिद्धान्तरीत्या पूर्वं भ्राता तदभावे स्वसा ।' बालम्भटी p. 209 (Gharpure) on याज्ञ. II. 135; 'तत्पुत्रा इति भ्रातुः पुत्राः कन्याश्च स्वतः पुत्राः कन्याश्रेत्यर्थः' p. 210.



heir.<sup>1144</sup> In *Sakharam v. Sitabai*<sup>1145</sup> Sir Michael Westropp C. J. went so far as to say on the construction of the term 'brethren' in the Mitākṣarā as including sistets, which construction was adopted in that case (in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai*) both by the Supreme Court and the Privy Council, "we must treat the Mitākṣatā also as preferring sisters to half brothers, whom it brings in after brothers." But this was a mere *obiter dictum*, since the case in which these observations were made was governed by the law of the Vyavahāramayūkha which expressly prefers full sistets to half brothers. It has been laid down in several cases in Bombay<sup>1146</sup> that Bālabhāṭṭi's doctrine that the word 'brothers' includes 'sisters' has not been accepted in that Presidency and that Sir Michael Westropp was under a misapprehension as to the exact drift of the Bālabhāṭṭi which nowhere says that the term 'brothers' excludes half brothers and which does not bring in the full sister before the half brother, but expressly says that the full brother inherits first, then the half brother and then comes the sister. The Bālabhāṭṭi not only brings in the sistets after full and half brothers, but places the sons and daughters of sisters after the sons and daughters of brother's, full or half. This is in direct conflict with the order of succession expressly mentioned by the Mitākṣarā and the Bombay High Court has refused to give the sister's son the place which the Bālabhāṭṭi assigns to him and treats him as a mere *bandhu*.<sup>1147</sup> The Bālabhāṭṭi is regarded as of little authority in the interpretation of the Mitākṣarā in the Bombay Presidency and its interpretations cannot be accepted without due caution and examination.<sup>1148</sup> Even in the Benares<sup>1149</sup> School where the Bālabhāṭṭi has been accepted as one of the leading authorities, the authority of Bālabhāṭṭa has been held to be inferior to that of Nandapaṇḍita in matters of adoption, it being held that a widow cannot adopt in the Benares School without express authority from her husband (while Bālabhāṭṭa holds that she can adopt without such authority). Similarly it has

1144 9 Moo. I. A. 516 = 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at pp. 122-123; *vide also Sakharam v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at pp. 360 and 363.

1145 I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 363.

1146 *Vide Mulji v. Cursandas Natha* 24 Bom. 563 at p. 579 and *Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 305.

1147 *Vide Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 312.

1148 *Vide Dattatraya v. Gangubai* I. L. R. 46 Bom. 557 at p. 558.

1149 *Vide Tulshi Bam v. Behari Lal* I. L. R. 12 All. 328 at p. 368 (F. B.).



been held that the Bālabhāṭṭi cannot prevail over the views of the Vīramitrodaya and that a daughter-in-law is not in the line of heirs at all though the Bālabhāṭṭi says that she is so.<sup>1150</sup>

The author of the Bālabhāṭṭi is somewhat of an enigma. Such women as Śīlā, Vijjā, Avanti-sundarī have been worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of Poetry. A lady has been associated with the composition of a work on Mathematics, viz. the Līlāvatī. Inspiration for several works on Dharmaśāstra was, we know, derived from queens and princesses, as in the case of the Vivādacandra compiled by Queen Lakṣmidevī through Misarumīśra, the Dānavā-kyāvalī compiled by Mahādevī Dhīramatī of Mithilā through Vidyāpati, the Dvāitānirṇaya composed by Vācaspati at the bidding of queen Jayā, wife of king Bhairavendra. It gives one great pleasure to contemplate that at least one work on Dharmaśāstra, the Bālabhāṭṭi, is claimed by a lady as her own. But this pleasure receives a rude shock if the question of the authorship of the Bālabhāṭṭi is dispassionately considered. The introductory verses no doubt start by saying that Lakṣmī, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagūṇḍa, and the daughter of Mahādeva of the Mudgala *gotra* and surnamed Kheraḍā, composed the work, her maiden name being Umā.<sup>1151</sup> The colophon at the end of the *acāra* portion says that the work was composed by Lakṣmī, the daughter of Mahādeva and Umā, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyagūṇḍa and the mother of Bālakṛṣṇa.<sup>1152</sup> At the end of the *vyavahāra* section in the printed editions we have the words 'mother of Lālākṛṣṇa' but this is obviously a misreading of the mss. or a mistake of the copyists. The pretence that the work was composed by a lady is made extremely plausible by

1150 I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324; vide also I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at pp. 376-77 (about brother's widow).

1151 श्रीलक्ष्मीरमणं तस्मा लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मी शिशुप्रदः । खेरदामुद्रलापत्यगणेशपत्यरुच्यकः ।  
महादेवः सुतस्तस्य वेदमूर्तिर्जैष्ठान्तवित् । श्रीतस्मार्तार्थनिपुणो दीक्षितो राजपूजितः ॥  
पत्नी तस्य ह्यमारुपा साध्व्युमा तस्य कन्यका । पायगुण्डोपाख्यवैयनाथपत्नी पति-  
व्रता । मितक्षराया विवृतिं तनुते सर्वसंविदे ॥ बालम्भट्टी, Intro. verses of  
आचारकाण्ड.

1152 इति श्रीमन्मिताक्षराव्याख्याने महादेवभट्टात्मजोमाङ्गलवैयनाथाध्याङ्गभूतबालकजननी-  
पायगुण्ड इत्युपाख्यश्रीलक्ष्मीदेवीविरचिते लक्ष्म्याभिधे आचारप्रकरणम् । Vide for an  
identical colophon at the end of the व्यवहार section, I. O. cat. p. 369-370  
No. 1282 and Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 262 b.



the frantic efforts made in it for the rights of women in matters of inheritance. But this pretence is not kept up in the body of the work at all. In several places the author of the *Bālabhāṭṭi* refers to the *Mañjūsā* and other works of his *guru* and to works of his father.<sup>1153</sup> We know that *Vaidyanātha Payagunḍa* was a pupil of *Nāgajibhāṭṭa*,<sup>1154</sup> who composed several *Mañjūsās* (on grammar) and a work on *prāyaścitta*. Therefore it follows either that the *Bālabhāṭṭi* was composed by *Vaidyanātha* himself and ascribed to his wife or that the work was composed by *Bālakṛṣṇa* *alias* *Bālabhāṭṭa*, son of *Vaidyanātha*, and was ascribed to his mother. *Nāgajibhāṭṭa* who certainly attained a very advanced age was the *guru* of *Vaidyanātha* as well as of the latter's son *Bālakṛṣṇa*. That *Bālakṛṣṇa* or *Bālabhāṭṭa Payagunḍa* was a learned man like his father *Vaidyanātha* follows from several circumstances. He wrote a work called *Upākr̥titattva*.<sup>1155</sup> *Gopāla* *alias* *Manudeva*, in his commentary called *Laghubbhūṣanakānti* on the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣanasāra*, styles *Bālabhāṭṭa Payagunḍa* his *guru*.<sup>1156</sup> Looking to the colophons where *Lakṣmī* is referred to as the mother of *Bālakṛṣṇa* and to the fact that the work is known as *Bālabhāṭṭi*, we must conclude that it was composed by *Bālabhāṭṭa* and not by his father *Vaidyanātha*. What motive impelled *Bālabhāṭṭa* to publish the work in the name of his mother it is difficult to say. Tradition

1153 e. g. आचार० p. 448 'अत्र मनुवाक्ये नत्रोत्पार्थक्यत्वेन यागीचर्हि सायामपि स्वल्प-  
दोषास्त्येवेति प्रतिपादितं गुरुचरणमञ्जूषायाम् । विशदीकृतं चैतन् पाण्डित्यपण्डनेपि  
अष्टपञ्चमकरणेस्माभिरिति दिक्', p. 314 'तथा उपादिरूपक्षत्रियसत्त्वेपि तेषां न क्षत्रि-  
यत्वं किं तु शुद्धत्वमेवेति गुरुचरणकृतमत्रत्यप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णये स्पष्टम् । तत एव बोध्यम् ।  
स्फुटीकृतं चैतन् चित्रचरणः कायस्थनिर्णये । ... तत्सर्वं गागाभट्टकृतकायस्थप्रदीपे  
चित्रचरणकृततत्त्वदीपे च स्पष्टमिति नेह प्रपञ्च्यते ।'. The first passage is not  
properly arranged in Mr. Gharpure's edition; vide p. 415 for  
मायमायश्चित्तनिर्णय.

1154 वेद्यनाथः पायगुण्डो नत्वा नागम्बरं गुरुम् । व्याख्यां प्रभाख्यां तनुते कौस्तुभस्य  
स्वबुद्धये ॥. V. de I. O. cat. p. 163 No. 610 for the प्रभा, a com. on भट्टोजि's  
शब्दकोस्तुभ.

1155 Vide Stain's cat. p. 302 श्रीहलसापतिं नत्वा सण्डेरायं कपर्दिनम् । पायगुण्डो  
बालकृष्णः ग्राह तत्त्वमुपाकृतो ॥

1156 बालभट्टाभिधं पायगुण्डोपाख्यं परं गुरुम् । गोपालदेवनामासौ पण्डितो बालबुद्धये ॥  
रघुदेवानुजो लोके मनुदेवापरामिधः । I. O. cat p. 189 No. 717.



says that he did so to console Lakṣmīdevī in her bereavement on the death of a child. Vaidyanātha composed several commentaries on grammatical works such as on the *Malābhāṣyapradīpodyota* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, on the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (com. called *Kāṣikā* and *Gadā*), on the *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamañjuṣā* (com. called *Kalā*), on the *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* (com. *Cidasthimālā*), on the *Laghuśabdaratna* (com. *Bhāvaprakāśa*). Mr. Govinda Das (p. 27 in Mr. Gharpure's edition of *ācāra* portion) says that these works were really composed by Bālabhaṭṭa and ascribed to his father. In these grammatical works the names of Vaidyanātha's parents are given as Mahādeva and Venī.

The I. O. cat. (pp. 458-59, No. 1507) notices an incomplete work called *Dharmaśāstrasaṃgraha* compiled by Bālaśarma Pāyagunḍa, son of Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī and patronised<sup>1157</sup> by Colebrooke. The work dealt with topics of civil law, viz. definition of *vyavahāra*, *sabha*, the judge, the *sabhyas*, the relative strength of *śmṛtis* etc., return of debts etc. It breaks off at folio 79. On the ms. there is a note in Colebrooke's own hand (which is not complimentary to the honesty of Bālaśarma) dated 1st May 1800 "fresh sheets were received from Bālaśarma Pāyagunḍa on this date. This is little else but the *Vīramitrodaya* revised. As it is a scarce book and very little known Bālaśarma and his pupil Manudeva did not suspect I could detect the plagiarism."

The foregoing shows that Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyagunḍa was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, that his father and mother were Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī, that his maternal grandfather was Mahādeva, also a Deccani Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kheradā, that he was the pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa and that he was a *pandit* of Colebrooke. Mr. Govinda Das is not right when he identifies (p. 27) Vaidyanātha the commentator of several grammatical works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa with Vaidyanātha the author of several commentaries on *Alaṅkāra* works (such as the *Udāharaṇacandrikā* on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* and the *Prabhā* on the *Kāvya-pradīpa*). The reasons are two. Vaidyanātha, author of the *Udāharaṇacandrikā*,

1157 श्रीकौण्ठी विजयते रणरङ्गधीराः ॥ ४ श्रीशं नत्वा श्रीनिवासी दाक्षिणात्यो नियन्धरन् ।  
नागेशपादनिरतो वैयानाथात्मजः सुधीः ॥ ५ सुमनःकुलबुल्लसाहेबाल्लब्धजीविकः ।  
लक्ष्मीसुतर्भवान्मन्त्रो विप्रद्वयविलेखकः ॥ ६ धर्मशास्त्रिमहादेवमन्त्रु (नु १) देवसहायकः ।  
बालशर्माबालबुद्धिः पायगुण्डोपनामकः ॥ ७.



was the son of Rāmabhaṭṭa, son of Viṭṭhala Tatsat, while Vaidyanātha the grammarian was a son of Mahādeva and Venī. Besides the Udāharaṇacandrikā was composed<sup>1158</sup> in *samvat* 1740 Kārtika śuddha 8, Wednesday (i. e. 17th October 1683). We saw above that Vaidyanātha Payagunḍa was a pupil of Nāgoji, who flourished towards the end of 17th and the first half of the 18th century. If Vaidyanātha, the writer on poetics, were the same as the commentator of Nāgoji, he could not have composed a work on poetics so early as 1683 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar (Systems of Sanskrit Grammar p. 60) says 'Lakṣmidevī, the wife of king Candrasīmha of Mithilā, was probably his patroness in whose honour he is reported to have composed a commentary on the Vyavaharakāṇḍa of the Mitākṣarā.' This throws to the winds all chronology. We saw above (pp. 399 and 404) that the Mithilā princess Lakṣmi or Lachimādevi flourished in the first half of the 15th century, while the Bālabhaṭṭi quoting as it does writers and works like Gāgābhaṭṭa and the Kaustubha could not have been composed before 1700 A.D.

Mr. Govinda Das says that a ms. of the ācārakāṇḍa of the Bālabhaṭṭi in the Benares palace library is dated *samvat* 1831 (i. e. 1774-75 A. D.). The I. O. cat. (pp. 458-459) notices that Bālabhaṭṭa was about 80 years old when Colebrooke entrusted the Dharmasāstrasamgraha to him about 1800 A. D. Besides both Bālabhaṭṭa and his father Vaidyanātha were the pupils of Nāgoji-bhaṭṭa. The ms. of the Upākṛtiattva (Stein's Jammu cat. p. 302) is dated *samvat* 1848 i. e. 1791-92 A. D. and the ms. of the Laghubhūṣanakānti of Bālabhaṭṭa's pupil is dated *samvat* 1856 (i. e. 1799-1800 A. D.). Hence it follows that Bālabhaṭṭa must have flourished between 1730 and 1820 A. D. Mr. Govinda Das says that Bālabhaṭṭa died at the age of 90 and gives his dates as 1740 to 1830 A. D. (p. 29 of Mr. Gharpure's ācāra section of Bālabhaṭṭi at the end).

1158 Vide I. O. cat. p. 329 No. 1151 for the उदाहरणचन्द्रिका and its date विषद्वेदमुनिधर्माभिहितेन्द्रे कार्तिके सिते । शुधाश्यामिमं ग्रन्थं वेद्यानाथोभ्यर्पयत् ॥ ; vide Stein's cat. pp. 60, 61, 62, and 80 for commentaries on the काव्यप्रदीप, कुलवानन्द, चन्द्रालोक and the कादम्बरी by वेद्यानाथ, son of रामचन्द्र.



## 112. Kāśinātha-Upādhyāya

Kāśinātha Upādhyāya or Bābā Pādhye composed an extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra or Dharmābdisāra, which is popularly known as Dharmasindhu. It is now the leading work in matters of religious observances in the Deccan and has been referred to even in judicial decisions.<sup>1159</sup> It has been published several times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1926 with Marathi translation has been used. He says that he consulted former *nibandhas* and, following the order of the subject matters in the Nirṇayasindhu, composed the work which sets forth only the established conclusions after eliminating the original *smṛti* texts.<sup>1160</sup> At the end he says that the work is not meant for learned men conversant with *mīmāṃsā* and Dharmaśāstra, but for men whose intellect is not sharp and yet who want to know the established conclusions on matters of dharma. The work is divided into three *paricchedas*, the third being the longest and split into two parts. The first deals with *kāla* in general, viz. the kinds of year, month, the *saṁkrāntis*, intercalary months and *kṣayamāsa*, what *tithis* are proper for what rites, conclusions about *tithis* from the first to the 15th and about *amāvāsyā*, eclipses; the second deals with the festivals, fasts and observances of particular months from Caitra to Phālguna; the third in the first part speaks in detail about the *saṁskāras* from *garbhādhāna* to marriage, *sapindya*, *gotras* and *pravaras*, duties of *brahmacārin*, the daily duties from rising to going to bed, the five daily *mahāyajñas*, consecration of sacred fires, idols and dedication of tanks and works of public utility, *kalivarjya*; the latter part of the third *pariccheda* dilates upon the details of *śrāddha*, impurity on birth and death, the rites after death, the duties of widows, *saṁnyāsa*.

Kāśinātha was a very learned man and a great devotee of God Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District. He wrote several other works, such as the *Prāyaścittenduṣekhara* (Bühler 3. 110), an exposition of the *Vedastuti* in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (X. 87)

1159 I. L. R. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 756.

1160 नत्वार्यान् वित्तोमि माधवमुक्तान् धर्माब्धिसारं मितम् ॥ 3rd Intro verse ; तस्यानन्तभिधानस्योपाय्यस्य सुतः रुती । काशीमाधामिधो धर्मसिन्धुसारं समा-  
तनोत् ॥ last verse ; दृष्ट्वा पूर्वनिश्चिन्तान् निर्णयसिन्धुक्रमेण सिद्धार्थान् । प्रायेण मूल-  
वचनान्युज्जित्वा लिखामि धालबोधाय ॥ 4th Intro. verse.



and a work called Viṭṭhala-rñmantrasārabhāṣya.<sup>1161</sup> In the latter he takes several Rk verses (such as Rgveda I. 95. 1-11 and I. 164. 31) and explains them as applying to God Viṭṭhala.

We know a good deal about the family of Kāśinātha Pādhye from his own works and from the biography of the great Marathi poet Moropant published by Mr. L. R. Pangarkar (ed. of 1908, chap. 16 pp. 107-119). His family hailed from Golavali, a village in the Ratnagiri District. They were Karhādā Brāhmaṇas and had the Joshi and Upadhye *vr̥tti* of seventy-two villages in the Saṅgameśvara taluka of the Ratnagiri District. At the end of the Dharmasindhu he says that his grandfather was Kaśyapādhyāya who had two sons Yajñeśvara and Ananta. Ananta was a very pious man and a great devotee and left his native land Koṅkaṇa, and resided at Pandharpur on the banks of the Bhīmā. The Dharmasindhu does not give the reason for Ananta's migration from Koṅkaṇa. But it is said that the Pādhyes had a dispute with another family about the *upadhye vr̥tti*, took it for decision to the Peshwa's Court at Poona and were defeated, on which they cursed the Peshwa, vowed not to stay in the territories under the Peshwa's rule and migrated to Pandharpur. The Dharmasindhu was composed<sup>1162</sup> in *śake* 1712 i. e. 1790-1 A. D. Kāśinātha was related to the great Marathi poet Moropant, as his daughter Āvaḍī was married to Rama-kṛṣṇa, the second son of the poet. He had great veneration for Moropant and refers to the Mantrabhāgavata of the latter.<sup>1163</sup>

1161 Vide D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated *śake* 1731. In this विट्ठल is derived as 'विन् वेदन् इति तेन साः श्रुत्याः तान् लालि स्वीकरोति.'

1162 'अयनांशः षष्ठोऽंशः प्रसिद्धः । ते चेदानीं द्वादशाधिकसप्तदशशतसंख्याके शालि-वाहनशके एकविंशतिरयनांशा इति &c.' धर्मसिन्धु p. 3.

1163 एकैनैव प्रकारेणैकत्रैव पद्ये क्रमेण वर्णाद्वारे व्यवधानेति चमत्कारतिशयोक्तुमवसिद्धो नापलपितुं शक्यः । अत एव श्रीमयूरेश्वरपण्डितकवीश्वरेण मन्त्रमयभागवते मन्त्रमय-रामायणे च द्वादशाक्षरमन्त्रवर्णाः श्रीरामजयरामेत्यादित्रयोदशाक्षरवर्णाश्च क्रमेणोप-निबध्य वर्णान्तरसंमिश्रणेन कथार्थं बोधयन्ती मन्त्रानुपूर्वीमपि बोधयन्तीति चमत्कार-विशेषात्तावृशकाभ्यरचनोपपद्यते । विट्ठलकृष्णभाष्य folio 36a of D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70.

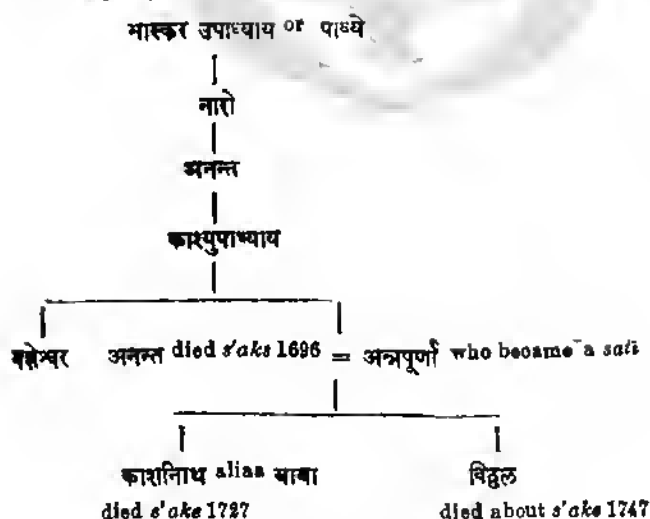


Kāśinātha became a saṁnyāsin and died in śake 1727 i. e. 1805-6 A. D.<sup>1164</sup>

### 113. Jagannātha Tarkapañcāna

After the British took over the administration of Bengal from the Nabobs, attempts were made to compile easily accessible digests of the personal law of the Hindus. The Vivādārnavaśetu<sup>1165</sup> compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by several *pandits* was translated into English from a Persian rendering and was published in 1774 A. D. as Halhed's Gentoo Code. But this was a very unsatisfactory work. Another attempt was made at the instance of Sir William Jones by Trivedi Sarvoruśarman who compiled in 1789 A. D. a digest of civil law called Vivādasārṇava<sup>1166</sup> in nine *tarāṅgas*. But the most famous of such digests that owed their inspiration to the British is the Vivādabhaṅgārṇava compiled by Jagannātha Tarkapañcāna of Triveni on the Ganges, son of Rudra Tarkavāgīśa. This digest was suggested by Sir William Jones and two parts of it on contracts and succession were translated by Cole-

1164 The pedigree is :—



1165 The विवादार्णवसेतु is published by the Venkateśvara Press in Bombay (s'ake 1810); vide also I. O. cat. p. 458.

1166 Vide I. O. cat. p. 457 for विवादसारणव,  
H. D. 59.



brooke in 1796. The translation was first published in 1797 A. D. and is known to the legal profession as Colebrooke's Digest. This work exercised great influence over the courts in their administration of Hindu Law in the early days. The work is divided into *dvīpas*, each *dvīpa* being subdivided into *ratnas*. The principal topics dealt with are : recovery of debts, deposits, sale without ownership, partnership, rescission of gifts, non-payment of wages, rescission of sale and purchase, emancipation from slavery, disputes between master and servant, duties of man and wife, inheritance and partition. Jagannātha is said to have died at the venerable age of 111 in 1806.<sup>1167</sup> Though Jagannātha exercised great influence in moulding Hindu Law in Bengal, his work has been held from very early times not to have any binding authority in Western India.<sup>1168</sup>

#### 114. Conclusion

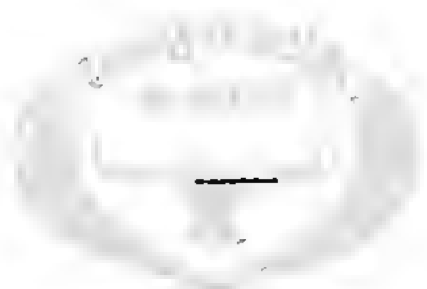
In the foregoing pages most of the classical works and the most prominent writers on Dharmasāstra during a period of about twenty five centuries have been passed in review. The number of authors and works on dharmasāstra is legion. All these numberless authors and works were actuated by the most laudable motives of regulating the Aryan society in all matters, civil, religious and moral, and of securing for the members of that society happiness in this world and the next. They laid the greatest emphasis on the duties of every man as a member of the whole Aryan society, as a member of the particular class to which he belonged and very little emphasis on the rights of the individual. They created great solidarity and cohesion among the several classes of the Aryan society in India in spite of their conflicting interests and inclinations and enabled Hindu society to hold its own against successive aggressions of foreign invaders. They preserved Hindu culture and literature in the midst of alien cultures and in spite of bigoted foreign domination. There is no doubt that the authors on dharmasāstra in their desire to evolve order out of chaos and to adjust and harmonise the varying practices of people with the dicta of ancient sages were guilty of the faults of raising hair-splitting arguments, divisions and

1167 Vide 'Dawn of new India' by Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee, 1927, Calcutta (pp. 81-91).

1168 Vide *Vinayak v. Lakshmidai*, 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at p. 124.



sub-divisions and also of thinking that religious rites and formularies were the be-all and end-all of human existence. But living as most of the later writers did in the midst of aggressive and violently unsympathetic cultures and rulers and possessing no powerful central government that sympathised with their ideals, they were driven more and more to revolve within their own narrow grooves and could not see far in order to regulate society in a free and buoyant spirit. In spite of these defects, the work done by the writers on *dharmaśāstra* should excite our admiration and entitles them to the regard of all those that are interested in the study of the vicissitudes of Hindu society for thousands of years.





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- Vatsa, a smṛtikāra, p. 133; undergoing ordeal, p. 152.
- Vātsyāyana, author of Kāmasūtra, p. 100.
- Vāvarasa, son of Keśavanāyaka, patron of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 425.
- Vāyupurāṇa, mentioned by Mahābhārata, and Bāṇa, p. 161, 311.
- Vadācārya, pp. 223, 803, 340.
- Vadāṅga, pp. 67, 143, 179.
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- Vedāntakalpataru, p. 384.
- Vedāntasūtra, vide Brahmasūtra.
- Vadārthasaṃgraha, p. 264.
- Vedas, as sources of dharma, pp. 4-7; contain no vidhis on dharma but incidental references, pp. 4, 7; calumny of, p. 143.
- Vana, p. 152.
- Veṇīsaṁhāra, pp. 300-301.
- Vidhānapārijāta, p. 308.
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- Vidhiraśyapaṇḍita, of Śāṅkara-bhaṭṭa, p. 438.
- Vidvanmanoharā of Nandapaṇḍita, p. 423.
- Vidyādhana, meaning of, p. 210; not liable to partition, p. 210.
- Vidyās, number of, for kings, p. 81; fourteen, what are, pp. 112, 179; only two, for kings, according to Bṛhaspati, p. 124; only three according to Mānavas, p. 139.
- Vidyāpati, p. 418n.
- Vidyāraṇya, p. 377; founded Vijayanagara, p. 377.
- Vidyātirtha, teacher of Mādhavācārya, p. 377.
- Vijayanagara, data of foundation of p. 377; dynasty of kings of, pp. 377-78.
- Vijñāneśvara, pp. 287-293; author of Āśaucadaśaka, p. 291.
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- Viśveśvara, temple of, at Benares, p. 419.
- Viśveśvara, commentator of Mitākṣarā, pp. 290, 350, 381-389; personal history of, p. 385.
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- Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, pp. 119, 133, 134, 188; work of, p. 188.
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- Vyavahāracintāmaṇi of Vācaspati, pp. 400, 418n.
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- Vyavahārapadas, p. 96.
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- Vyavahāratattva, pp. 12, 284, 301, 322, 394, 438, 442n.
- Vyavahāratilaka, of Bhavudeva, pp. 361-362, 442n.
- Vyavahāroccaya, p. 421n.
- Wealth, three kinds of, according to Nārada, p. 198; ancestral, concealment of, p. 214; lost and regained by one co-sharer, p. 223.
- Weber, Prof. p. 80.
- Week-days, names of, pp. 67, 69; whether first established by Greeks, p. 185; earliest mention of, in Indian inscriptions, p. 185.
- Weights, to be made of iron or stones from Magadha, p. 102; units of, given by Manu, p. 146.
- West and Bühler, digest of, pp. 428, 452, 457.
- Westropp, Sir Michael, p. 458.
- Widow, of sonless man, according to Pārijāta, was to submit to Niyoga, and give wealth to son so born, p. 309; erring, allowed bare maintenance by Hārīta, p. 246; even in undivided family, succeeded to husband's property, according to Jitenīriya and Dāyabhāga, pp. 282, 323; of separated coparceners allowed to inherit, p. 237, if she submitted to niyoga, pp. 241, 296; of predeceased son preferred to daughter as heir, by Nandapāṇḍita, p. 428; adoption by, p. 448; of predeceased son or grandson, right of, p. 259; succeeded to husband's estate, if small, according to Śrīkara, p. 266; remarriage of, allowed by Vasīṣṭha, p. 58; remarriage of, allowed by Kauṣīlya, p. 96; remarriage of, allowed by Nārada, p. 202; remarriage of, condemned by Manu, pp. 96, 202; right to inherit to husband, pp. 150-151, 180, 209, according to Āpastamba and Gautama, p. 349; not recognised by Nārada, p. 203; recognised by Yājñ. and Brhaspati, p. 209; right of, to succeed, view of Saṅgraha, as to, p. 257; right of, to succeed, view of Viśvarūpa, p. 258; right of, to succeed, view of Haradatta, p. 349 succeeded to her sonless husband and was bound to offer śrāddhas, p. 230; to get 2000 kārṣāpapas from husband's estate, p. 237.
- Wife, adoption by, p. 448; even adulterous, not to be cast adrift by husband, p. 246; duties of, p. 121; when desertion of husband by, condoned, p. 96, 130n.
- Winternitz, Dr., pp. 32, 86, 89, 205, 347.
- Witnesses, even minors and defective men could be, in certain cases, p. 116; of two kinds, kṛta and akṛta, p. 230.
- Women, two kinds of, brahmavādinis and aadyavadhūs, according to Hārīta, p. 73; claims of, to succession not favoured by Āpastamba and Saṅkha, p. 78; bought, are not patnis, p. 117; duties of, p. 122; wealth of, should not be appropriated by king, p. 122; pass on marriage into husband's gotra, p. 232; not allowed to resort to saṅgīyāsa, p. 235; tutelage of, as to their husband's wealth, p. 246.
- Writing, importance of, in transactions, p. 245.
- Yādavabhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭācārya, p. 374.
- Yālavas, genealogy of, p. 357.
- Yajñas, five, p. 7.



- Yājñasaṃvāmin**, commentator of *Vasiṣṭha*, p. 60.
- Yājñatantra-sūdhānidhi**, of *Sāyaṇa*, p. 377.
- Yājñavalkya**, p. 168; dialogues of, with *Janaka*, p. 168; works ascribed to, p. 188; rupture of, with *Vaiśampāyana*, p. 168.
- Yājñavalkya-smṛti**, pp. 4, 168-190; and *Agnipurāṇa*, pp. 170-173; and *Gāruda-purāṇa*, pp. 173-175; and Greek astrology, pp. 185-187; and white *Yajurveda*, pp. 168, 181-82; and *Mānavagṛhya*, pp. 180-81; and *Manu*, pp. 176-177, 180; and *Parāśara*, p. 182; borrows passages of *Bṛhadāraṇyakaopaniṣad*, pp. 181-182; com. of *Mitramiśra* on, pp. 443-444; contents of, pp. 177-179; date of, pp. 183-187; earlier and later strata in, pp. 175-176; enumerates 19 *smṛti-kāras*, p. 132; editions of, pp. 169-170; literature known to, p. 179; philosophy of, p. 187; various readings in, pp. 163-170; verses of, borrowed by *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*, p. 64.
- Yājñavalkya Brāhmaṇa**, reviling of, if called modern, p. 349.
- Yajurveda**, Black, *śrautasūtras* of p. 105; White, promulgated by *Yājñavalkya*, p. 168.
- Yajvan**, an author named by *Medhātithi*, p. 271.
- Yama**, referred to by *Vasiṣṭha*, pp. 55, 132, 231; *smṛti* of, pp. 231-235.
- Yāmunamuni**, p. 264.
- Yāśastilaka**, p. 124, 127, 224n.
- Yāska**, p. 8.
- Yati**, p. 121; six duties of, p. 274.
- Yatidharmasaṅgraha**, p. 274.
- Yatīndramatadīpikā**, p. 264.
- Yantaka**, meaning of, p. 280.
- Yavana**, a mixed caste, mentioned by *Gautama*, p. 19, 45; mentioned by *Manusmṛti*, p. 151.
- Yavaneśvara**, p. 341n.
- Year**, of five kinds, p. 443.
- Yoga**, pp. 121, 329; eight *aṅgas* of, p. 106.
- Yoga-kṣema**, defined, p. 236.
- Yogasūtra**, *Bhoja's* commentary on, called *Rājamārtanḍa*, p. 276.
- Yogasūtrābhāṣya**, p. 188.
- Yoga-Yājñavalkya**, p. 188; earlier than 800 A. D., p. 188.
- Yogīśvara**, means *Yāj.* and is different from *Yoga-Yāj.*, p. 138; *Yogīśvara* is different from *Yāj.* and is a *nibandhakāra*, pp. 276, 320.
- Yogloka**, pp. 286-287, 320n, 322, 418n.
- Yuddhajayārṇava**, p. 413n.
- Yuga**, which *smṛtis* authoritative in which, p. 192.
- Zodiacal signs**, not known to *Yāj.* *smṛti*, p. 186.



## APPENDIX A.

### List of Works on Dharmasāstra

It is necessary to say a few words about the methods followed in preparing this list of the works on dharmasāstra. Purely śrauta works have generally been excluded, except where they have been profusely quoted or relied upon by dharmasāstra writers. Works of the Tantra class and the Purāṇas have been passed over, inasmuch as they form in themselves independent and extensive branches of Sanskrit literature requiring an exhaustive and detailed treatment, which from considerations of space had to be abandoned here. All individual prayogas, mahānnyas, vidhis, vratas, śāntis, stotras have been omitted, except where the names of the authors are well-known or there is some importance or peculiarity attaching to them. Purely astrological works on jātaka, and tājika have not been included, but works of the muhūrta class that are closely connected with everyday religious practices have been included. Though the grhyasūtras and their commentaries were not dwelt upon in the body of the present work, they have been included in this list as their subject-matter is closely allied to dharmasāstra. Only works up to about 1820 A. D. have been entered here. Works on politics (arthaśāstra) have also been included. I am afraid that all the restrictions set out above have not been rigorously observed in the following and crave the indulgence of scholars in this respect. I must gratefully acknowledge, as everyone engaged in preparing a similar list on any branch of post-Vedic literature must do, my indebtedness to the monumental *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Dr. Aufrecht. But even that catalogue leaves many things doubtful and necessarily gives meagre information. For removing such doubts I was compelled to read and compare the original catalogues of Sanskrit mss. such as that of the India Office, the *Notices of Sanskrit mss.* by Dr. Mirra and M. M. Haraprasāda. Besides the third part of Aufrecht's Catalogue was published in 1903. Since then several other catalogues, such as the *Descriptive Catalogues* and *Triennial Catalogues* of the Madras Govt. mss. Library, *Notices of mss.* (new



series, part III) by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri, Catalogue of Palmleaf and Paper mss. of Nepal Durbar Library by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri, Hultzsch's Report (part III), Catalogue of Central Provinces Sanskrit mss. by Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Catalogue of the mss. collected by the Bihar and Orissa Govt. (vol. I), have been published. Moreover I have consulted hundreds of mss. from collections like those at the Deccan College (now in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute at Poona), at the Ānandaśrama Institution (Poona), the Bhadkamkar memorial collection started by Prof. H. D. Velankar in Bombay at the Wilson College and the vast collection of the Baroda Oriental Institute. In preparing this list I give wherever possible and desirable the names of the authors and of their ancestors, the names of the works quoted by them or of the works that quote them, the age of the work (or of the mss.) their contents &c. In most cases the very name of the work indicates its subject-matter. In spite of all this many doubtful points are still left. Various circumstances tend to create confusion in preparing such lists as are offered here. The same work appears under two, three or even more names in the mss. and the catalogues. Sometimes the names of the authors and even their fathers' names are the same as in the case of Divākara, son of Mahādeva and Śaṅkara, son of Nilakaṇṭha. Very often portions of a large work appear separately as distinct works in the Catalogues. The same author appears under several forms, as Nārasiṃha and Nṛsiṃha, Nāgeśa and Nāgoji. I have made great efforts to remove such doubts as far as I could and hope that I have been able to make my own humble contributions to the work so ably done by Aufrecht and others. I do not give references to catalogues in the case of each work, nor do I give all possible references to catalogues against each entry. Only in important cases have I given references to catalogues. It has been my endeavour to give earlier references to works and authors wherever I could than those given by Aufrecht and to find out the age of a work or author by resort to various devices. Only a detailed comparison with Aufrecht can show this, which task I must in all humility leave to the readers who will use this list. One more feature of this list to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is that I have pointed out what works have been printed. In doing this I generally refer only to well-known series and editions like the Bombay Sanskrit series,



the Benares Sanskrit series and have not set out editions to which very few can have access. For those who want exhaustive information on this point, the catalogues of printed works in the British Museum Library which have now been brought up to 1928 will be found helpful.

Besides the abbreviations given at the beginning of this work, the following abbreviations have been employed in this list and the next.

a = author of.

Anan. sm. = The collection of smṛtis published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

Anan. P. = Ānandāśrama Press (Series of books).

Ano. = Anonymous.

Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford by Dr. Aufrecht (1864).

Baroda O. I. = Collection of Mss. at the Baroda Oriental Institute.

Ben. S. Series = Benares Sanskrit Series.

Bhad. col. = Bhadkankar Memorial Collection made by Prof. H. D. Velankar of Wilson College, Bombay.

Bik. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner by Rajendralal Mitra (1880).

B. O. cat. = Cat. of mss. collected for the Bihar and Orissa Government, vol. I.

Burnell's Tanj. Cat. = Classified Index to the Sanskrit mss. in the palace at Tanjore by Dr. A. C. Burnell (1880).

C = commentary (of a work under which this letter occurs).

CC = commentary on a commentary.

Ch. S. Series. = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

com. = commentary or commentator, according to context.

C. P. cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal (1926, Nagpur).



G. O. Series = Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

Govt. O. Series. = Government Oriental Series, Poona.

Hultzsch's R. = Reports on Sanskrit mss. in Southern India by Dr. Hultzsch, parts I-III.

Jivananda sm. = collection of smṛtis edited by Jivananda in two parts.

m. = mentioned ( by or in ).

Mysore G. O. L. = Mysore Government Oriental Library Series.

N. = Notices of Sanskrit mss. in Bengal vol. I-XI ( vol. I-IX by Dr. R. Mitra and X-XI by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri ).

N. ( new series ) = Notices of Sanskrit mss., new series, vol. I-III by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri.

Nir. P. = Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.

pr. = printed.

q. = quotes.

Stein's cat. or Stein = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. in the Raghunath temple Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, by Dr. M. A. Stein ( 1894 ).

Ulwar cat. = Catalogue of mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar, by Dr. Peterson.

Venk. P. = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

W. and K. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library, vol. II (1905) by Dr. Winternitz and Prof. A. B. Keith.

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## List of Works on Dharmasāstra

अंशवलि gives propitiatory rites (Śanti) for any particular arṇśa of a man's rāśi.

अकालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्त-  
बागीश; composed in Śake 1636  
(अङ्गग्निरसक्षोणी) on intercalary  
months, how to calculate them  
and on the special duties per-  
formed in them.

अक्षमालाप्रतिष्ठा.

अखण्डादर्श by अखण्ड (?) m. in स्मृति-  
रत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ. Divided into  
kāṇḍas on dharma and vyava-  
hāra.

अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता-m. in कालविवेक  
of जीमूतबाह्वन, in अपराक.

अग्निकार्य.

अग्निकार्यपद्धति.

अग्निनिर्णय by कमलाकर.

अग्निसंधानवचन on ceremonies per-  
formed to make up for omission  
in the daily performance of  
anpāsana.

अग्निस्थापन.

अग्निहोत्रकर्मन्.

अग्निहोत्रमन्त्रार्थचन्द्रिका by वैद्यनाथ,  
son of रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल.  
About 1683 A. D.

अग्निहोत्रिदाहविधि.

अघदीपिका.

अघनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश, son of रङ्गनाथ  
and grandson of सरस्वतीवल्लभ;  
names विज्ञानेश्वर, अखण्ड, स्मृत्यर्थ-  
सार, वरदराज.

C. by author.

C. called दीपिका by रामानुजयज्वन.

C. by वैदिक सार्वभौम (this is  
probably the same as the author's  
own com.).

अघनिर्णय by वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र.

अघपञ्चविधेचन by मधुरानाथ.

अघपञ्चपटि by मधुरानाथ (in 65 verses).

अघपञ्चपटि by वीथि (-वि- or -जि-नाथ  
of the कौशिकगोत्र).

C. स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा by रामचन्द्र बुध.

अघप्रकाशिका (in 11 khaṇḍas).

अघप्रदीप.

अघप्रदीपिका ascribed to याज्ञवल्क्य.

अघवादव or दानसार by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट  
(Baroda O. I. No. 7129 C.).

अघविमोचन.

अघविवेक by नीलकण्ठदीक्षित, son of  
अप्ययदीक्षित अद्वैताचार्य of भारद्वाज-  
गोत्र (in 6 प्रकरण).

अघविवेचन by रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त  
of भारद्वाजकुल, in two परिच्छेद.

C. refers to मुक्ताफल.

C. by रुचिदत्त.

अघशतक.

अघषट्क.

अघसंशयतिमिरादित्यसूत्र.

अघसंग्रह.

अघसंग्रहदीपिका (Hultzs. R. I.  
No. 270).

अङ्कुरार्पणप्रयोग (from प्रयोगरत्न of नारा-  
यणभट्ट).

अङ्कुरार्पणविधि (from पाञ्चरात्रागम).

,, (from शारदातिलक).



अङ्गिरस् Vide sec. 39.

C. by कुलमणि शुक्ल.

अचलनिबन्ध.

अणुल्लारीय by शेषाचार्य.

अण्णादीक्षितीय by अण्णादीक्षित.

अतिक्रान्तप्रायश्चित्त.

अतिरुद्रशान्ति.

अतीचारनिर्णय by महेश (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 2, No. 3).

अतीचारनिर्णय by भुजबलभीम (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 3, No. 4).

अत्रि Vide sec. 19.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by तदनलाल. Later than 1686 A. D.

C. by हरिराम.

अद्भुतदर्पण or अद्भुतसंग्रह by माधव-  
शर्मन् of the बुधबाण family, son of  
रघुनाथ and elder brother of गोविन्द.  
Based on the अद्भुतसागर of बल्लाल-  
सेन. On दिव्य, नाभस and भौम  
phenomena. Quotes मयूरचित्र. N  
(new series) vol. I, pp. 2-4.

अद्भुतविवेक by महीधर.

अद्भुतसागर by बल्लालसेन son of विजय-  
सेन (printed in 1905 by Prabha-  
kari and co, Calcutta); m. by रघु-  
नन्दन, कमलाकर, नीलकण्ठ, अनन्तदेव;  
begun in 1090 šake (1068 A.D.)  
and finished by लक्ष्मणसेन.

अद्भुतसागरसार by चतुर्भुज.

„ by श्रीपति.

अद्भुतसिन्धु; quoted by नारायण in  
शान्तिस्तत्त्वावृत.

अद्भुतावृत on उत्पात of three kinds,  
दिव्य, आन्तरिक्ष, भौम.

अद्भुतोत्पातशान्ति of शौनक.

अधिकमासप्रकरण

अधिकमासनिर्णय—vide मलमासनिर्णय.

अधिकमासफल.

अधोमुखजननशान्ति attributed to  
शौनक.

अध्यायोपाकर्मप्रयोग.

अनन्तभाष्य—m. in समयमयूख.

अनन्तव्रतपूजापद्धति (from the व्रतार्क  
of शङ्कर).

अनन्तव्रतोद्यापन.

अनन्तभट्टी or स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति of अन-  
न्तभट्टदीक्षित son of विश्वनाथ, sur-  
named यज्ञोपवीत. Vide under  
प्रयोगरत्न.

अनन्ताह्निक.

अनाकुला, com. of हरदत्त on आपस्तम्ब-  
ग्रहसूत्र. Vide sec. 86.

अनाचारनिर्णय.

अनादृष्टशान्ति of शौनक.

अनुभोगकल्पतरु by जगन्नाथ.

अनुमरणप्रदीप by गौरीशम्भु.

अनुमरणविवेक (quoted by रघुनन्दन  
in छुद्धितरव).

अनुयागपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, son of  
जनार्दन.

अनुयागपद्धति by कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती.

C. by आर्याध्वरीन्द्र (Baroda O. I.  
No. 12537).

अनुष्ठानपद्धति.

C. by रघुनाथ.

अनुपमिलास or धर्माभ्योधि written  
under Anupasiṃha Rāthor by  
मणिराम दीक्षित, son of गङ्गाराम, son  
of शिवदत्त, divided into six parts,  
आचाररत्न, समयरत्न, संस्काररत्न, वस्त्र-



- रत्न, दानरत्न, ह्यदिरत्न. Refers to Alamgir, emperor of Delhi. अनूपसिंह was contemporary of Shah Jehan. About 1660 A. D.
- अनूपविश्वेक attributed to अनूपसिंहदेव of Bikaner. Treats of the शालग्रामपरीक्षण in five ullāsas. अनूपदेव ruled in 1673, son of कर्णसिंह (1634). Vide D. C. ms. 22 of 1902-1907 copied in Śake 1691. Vide under दानरत्नाकर.
- अन्तरिक्षवायुवीर्यप्रकाश.
- अन्यकर्मदीपिका by हरिभट्ट दीक्षित.
- अन्यकर्मपद्धति.
- अन्यक्रियाविधि by मणिगम. Quotes शुद्धिमयार. Later than 1640 A. D.
- अन्योष्टि.
- अन्योष्टिक्रियापद्धति.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by केशव, son of अनन्तभट्ट of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Punāmbe on the Godāvari). Later than 1450 A. D.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by महेश्वरभट्ट.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by रामाचार्य.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति by हरिहर son of भास्कर alias भातुभट्ट, following भारद्वाजग्रन्थ and the भाष्य thereon; says there are a hundred पद्धतिस following भारद्वाज, but his is quite different.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by भट्टनागयण, son of रामेश्वर; vide sec. 103.
- अन्योष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of गोबाल.
- अन्योष्टिप्रकाश by द्विषाकर, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. N (new series) vol. III. p. 3.
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशी) by केशवभट्ट from his प्रयोगमणि.
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट. Vide sec. 103.
- अन्योष्टिप्रयोग by विश्वनाथ, based on आश्वलायन.
- अन्योष्टिविधि by त्रिकत, quoted by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्व.
- अन्योष्टिप्रायश्चित्त.
- अन्योष्टिमामर्श.
- अन्योष्ट्यष्टकं printed in Bombay in 1890 A. D.
- अन्नदान.
- अन्नप्राशन.
- अन्नप्राशनप्रयोग.
- अन्वष्टका.
- अन्वष्टकानवमीश्राद्धपद्धति.
- अपमृत्युअपशान्ति ascribed to शौनक.
- अपिपालपद्धति (or शूद्रपद्धति) of अपिपाल m. in भाद्रतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन, आद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- अपिपालकारिका m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.
- अपेक्षितार्थद्योतिनी, com. by नारायण; m. in मदनमन (शान्त्युद्योत).
- अर्द्धपुतिप्रयोग or वर्षसिद्धि.
- अर्द्धमूर्तिपूजा.
- अग्नि by केदार (?); quoted by श्रीधर in स्मृत्यर्थसार.
- अभक्ष्यभक्ष्यप्रकरण.



## History of Dharmasāstra

अभिनवप्रायश्चित्त.

अभिनवमाधवीय by माधवाचार्य.

अभिनवषडशीति (on अशौच) by सुब्रह्मण्य, son of वेङ्कटेश of पोंदुरिवंश (printed in Telugu script, Madras 1874). Vide Hultzsch's R. vol. II p. 113 and preface p. VI.

C. धर्मप्रदीपिका by the author himself; refers to चन्द्रिका, माधवीय and षडशीति of कौशिकादित्य. Later than 1400 A. D.

अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि, alias मानसोल्लास by चालुक्य king सेमेश्वर (vol. I in G. O. S. and also in Mysore G. O. L.); composed in 1051 šake (i. e. 1129 A. D.); has 100 chapters divided into five विंशतिस on 'means of acquiring rājya,' 'means of the stability of the kingdom,' 'royal enjoyments,' 'vinoda or recreations' and 'kṛidā (games and sports).

अभ्युदयशास्त्र.

अद्यतनशास्त्र m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित. Earlier than 1575 A.D.

अग्निचार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

अयननिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.

अपाचितकालनिर्णय.

अयुतहोमलक्षहोमकोटिहोमः by राम, a protegee of अनुपसिंह of Bikaner. About 1650 A. D.

अयुतहोमविधि by नारायणभट्ट. Vide sec. 103.

अरुणस्मृति m. in दानचन्द्रिका, निर्णयसिन्धु. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1253 and extract 285, which show that

there are 149 verses on acceptance of gifts and प्रायश्चित्त connected therewith.

अर्कविवाहपद्धति by शौनक.

अर्कविवाह (on marriage with the Arka plant before marrying a third wife on the death of the first two). BBRAS. cat. p. 240.

अर्घ्यदान.

अर्घ्यप्रदानकारिका.

अर्घ्यानुष्ठान.

अर्जुनार्चनकल्पलता by रामचन्द्र (on worship of कार्तवीर्य).

अर्जुनार्चापारिजात by रामचन्द्र.

अर्थकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, a com. on शुद्धिदीपिका. Vide sec. 101.

अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य; vide sec. 14.

C. प्रतिपद्यश्चिह्ना of भट्टस्वामिन् (ms. on chap. 8-36 of 2nd अधिकरण).

C. नयचन्द्रिका of माधवयज्ञमिश्र.

C. श्रीमूल by गणपतिशास्त्रिन् (Tri. S. S.).

अर्थप्रदीप m. in राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

अर्धोदयपर्वपूजन (Baroda O. I. No. 3742).

अहंकीति of हेमाचार्य; 1088-1172 A.D. (printed at Ahmedabad, 1906).

अलङ्कारदान.

अलसकाजीर्णप्रकाश.

अल्पयम m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

अवधूताश्रम—Ano. Gives denominations of ten classes of sannyāsins and their duties. N (new



- series) vol III preface p. IX and p. 8.
- अवसानकालप्रायश्चित्त.
- अशुद्धिचन्द्रिका (or rather शुद्धिचन्द्रिका) by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.
- अशौचनिर्णय by उमानाथ (B. O. cat. No. 10 p. 7).
- अशौचप्रकाश-vide under आशौचप्रकाश. Many works on अशौच indiscriminately use the words अशौच and आशौच.
- अशौचसार by सत्यपण्डितश्रीबलभद्र; mentions कुबेरपण्डित, भीमोपाध्याय, भवदेवभट्ट and स्मृतिसमुच्चय.
- अश्वत्थपूजा.
- अश्वत्थप्रतिष्ठा.
- अश्वत्थोद्यापन (from शौनकस्मृति) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.
- अश्वत्थोपमयनपद्धति-(acc. to शौनक) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.
- अश्वदान.
- अष्टकाकर्मन.
- अष्टकाकर्मपद्धति.
- अष्टकाशौचमाष्य-vide मृतकनिर्णय.
- अष्टमहाद्वादशीनिर्णय by रघुनाथ, son of माधव (Baroda O. I. No. 12586 A). About 1550-1625 A. D.
- अष्टमहामन्त्रपद्धति quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.
- अष्टविंशतिमुनिमत (Baroda O. I. No. 12743).
- अष्टश्राद्धविधानविधि.
- अष्टादशगोत्र (Baroda O. I. No. 3854).
- अष्टादशजातिनिर्णय (Stein p. 82).
- अष्टादशविवादसंक्षेप (Stein p. 82).
- अष्टादशसंस्काराः by चतुर्भुज.
- अष्टादशस्मृतिसार.
- अष्टादशस्मृतिसारसंग्रहः (Baroda O. I. No. 10214).
- अमगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा by अहोबल. N (new series) vol. III. p. 11.
- असपिण्डासगोत्रपरीक्षा-probably the same as असगोत्रपरीक्षा above.
- असपिण्डासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहाविधि by अहोबलशास्त्रिन.
- अस्थिग्रन्थे (from चन्द्रप्रकाश Baroda O. I. No. 5478).
- अस्थिशुद्धि.
- अस्थिशुद्धिप्रयोग.
- अस्थ्युद्धरण.
- अहर्घिषि.
- अहल्याकामधेनु (Ms. in Benares S. college) by केशवदास, called after अहल्या, wife of सण्डेराव, son of महारिराव; seems to refer to Ahilyabai, the famous ruler of Indore in the latter half of the 18th century).
- अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता (Pr. at Adyar by Schrader).
- अहंजीति by हेमाचार्य, दायभाग portion, pr. at Lucknow in 1891.
- आश्रयणपद्धति by विठ्ठल दीक्षित-Part of यजुर्वेदभा (q. v.).
- आश्विनस्तस्मृति on प्रायश्चित्त in 12 chapters. (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1304).
- आचारकाण्ड.
- आचारकौमुदी by गोपाल (Baroda O. I. No. 11133).



आचारकौस्तुभ by राजाराम son of सोमेश्वर (Vaiṣṇavite treatise on good conduct and devotion to Viṣṇu) ms. (N. vol. VIII. 191) dated संवत् 1782 (1725-26 A. D.).

आचारसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 12796).

आचारचन्द्रिका by त्रिविक्रमसूरी.

आचारचन्द्रिका by पद्मानाभदत्त. In 1367 A.D. he composed his सुपद grammar and his पृषोदरादिहृति in 1375 A.D.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रत्नेश्वरमिश्र.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रमापति.

आचारचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथाचार्यचूडा-मणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य (on duties of शूद्रs and द्विजs), ms. copied in Śāke 1410 (1488-89 A.D.); m. by रघुनन्दन; flourished about 1475 A.D.; vide I. O. cat. p. 524 for date Śāke 1410 of the ms.

आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माधवप्रकाश by महेश, son of सारस्वतदुर्ग and pupil of विठ्ठल पुरुषोत्तम कविवर of मिथिला; divided into 8 परिच्छेदs in relation to the duties of the eight parts of the day for Vajasaneyas; composed under माधव, youngest of the three sons of a chief named नानू, king of लावपुर on the banks of इरावती on the Western coast of India. Later than 1500 A. D. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 97 and I. O. cat. p. 506.

आचारचन्द्रोदय by सदाराम.

आचारचिन्तामणि by बाचस्पतिमिश्र; m. by रघुनन्दन, श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 98.

आचारतरङ्गिणी by रविनाथमिश्र.

आचारतत्त्व by हरिप्रसाद son of मकरन्द (Stein's cat. pp. 83 and 301).

आचारतिलक quoted in द्रव्यमुद्रिदीपिका and निर्णयदीपक: earlier than 1500 A. D.

आचारतिलक by गङ्गाधर in 108 verses. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 for a fragment.

आचारदर्पण by श्रीदत्त—same as आचारादश; vide sec. 89.

आचारदर्पण of घोषदेव, m. in पूर्वदिन-रोदधौत.

आचारदर्शन.

आचारदीधिति part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

आचारदीप-or प्रदीप by कमलाकर resident of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon) on the Godavari.

आचारदीप by नागदेव on ahnika in 8 अध्यायs; quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his आचारमयूख and by अग्निहोत्रि-हरिहर on कात्यायन's स्नानविधिसूत्र; ms. (B. O. cat. No. 22) dated 1436 A. D.

आचारदीपक of गंगाविष्णु, patronised by त्रिविक्रम; ms. copied 1752 A. D.

आचारदीपिका.

आचारदीपिका by कमलाकर.

आचारदीपिका, a com. by हरिलाल on the आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त.

आचारदीपिका—from सारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. No. 10910).

आचारद्वैतविवेक by त्रिभाकर, composed under king रामभद्र of मिथिला; solves doubts on आश्व. About 1500 A. D.



आचारनवनीत by अप्पा दीक्षित, a native of गौरीमायर; composed in the time of Shahaji (1684-1711 A.D.); divided into four kāṇḍas on आचार, श्राद्ध, श्रव्यशुद्धि and कालनिर्णय.

आचारनिर्णय by गोपाल.

आचारनिर्णय-- in 66 verses on duties of ब्राह्मण, origin of कायस्थs &c.

आचारपञ्चाशिका by महाशर्मद.

आचारपद्धति by वासुदेवन्द्र.

„ by विद्याकर.

„ by श्रीधरहरि.

आचारप्रकाश by भास्कर, son of आप्पाजी (Baroda O. I. No. 12789).

आचारप्रकाशिका quoted in अहल्याकामधेनु.

आचारप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट, quoted in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

आचारप्रदीप by नागदेव. He wrote निर्णयतत्त्व also.

आचारप्रदीप by भट्टोजि.

आचारप्रशंसा.

आचारभूषण of ज्यम्बक राम ओक (in 1741 Śake) in 9 kīrṇas; pr. in Anan. P.

आचारमञ्जरी by मधुरानाथ.

आचारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ (ed. by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by Gujarati P., Bombay). Vide sec. 107.

आचारमाधवीय of माधवाचार्य, the first part of his com. on पराशरस्मृति.

आचारमाला by निधिराम.

आचाररत्न m. in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

आचाररत्न by मणिाराम (first part of अनुपविलास).

II, D. 65.

आचाररत्न by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of राम-कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. He was younger brother of कमलाकरभट्ट and so flourished 1580-1640 A. D. Pr. at Nir. P.

आचाररत्न by चन्द्रमौलि.

आचाररत्नाकर quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

आचारवाक्यसुधा.

आचारवारिधि by रमापति उपाध्यायसन्मिश्र. He wrote विवादवारिधि also.

आचारविधि.

आचारविवेक by मानसिंह.

आचारविवेक by मदनसिंह (part of मदनरत्न).

आचारव्रतादिरहस्य.

आचारसंग्रह by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोली संजीवेश्वरशर्मा.

आचारसंग्रह by हरिहरपण्डित, son of नारायण.

आचारसागर of बल्लालसेन quoted in the मदनपारिजात (p. 58), स्मृति-रत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, and in author's own work दानसागर (composed about 1168 A. D.).

आचारसार—m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 900.)

आचारसार by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of राम-कृष्ण, son of नारायण; seems to be the same work as आचाररत्न above.

आचारस्मृतिचन्द्रिका by सदाशिव, son of गदाधर.

आचारादर्श, by श्रीदत्त (मैथिल). About 1300 A.D. (pr. at Benares, samvat



1920 and by Ven. P.); m. in the शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर and mentions कामधेनु, कल्पतरु and हरिहर; vide sec. 89.

C. by गौरीपति, son of दामोदर, composed in Benares in 1696 संवत् (1640 A.D.). Pr. by Ven. P.

C. आचारदीपिका by हरिलाल.

आचारादर्शिका, abridgment of the आचारादर्श.

आचारार्क- a part of धर्मशास्त्रमुधानिधि by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण; refers to नीलकण्ठ author of मयूख who was his maternal grandfather; composed in संवत् 1743 (i. e. 1686-87 A. D.).

C. by तकनलाल.

आचारार्कक्रम (अनुक्रमणिका of आचारार्क) by the author's son वैद्यनाथ who wrote अनुक्रमणिका to दानहीरावलि and श्राद्धचन्द्रिका also.

आचारार्क by मथुरानाथ.

आचारार्क by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

आचारेन्दु of ब्रह्मचक्र, son of नारायण, surnamed माटे. Composed in Śake 1760 (1838 A.D.) at सतर्षि (modern Satara). Pr. in Ānan.P.

आचारेन्दुशेखर by नागेशभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110.

आचारोद्घोत by टोडरानन्द.

„ part of मदनतन्त्रदीपि by मदनसिंहदेव.

आचारोल्लास first part of the परशुराम-प्रकाश by लण्ठेराय, son of नारायण-पण्डित, धर्मधिकारिन् at Benares at the bidding of परशुराममिश्र, who

was a शाकदीपीयब्राह्मण and son of होलिल (र) मिश्र, who was given the title वाणीरसालराय by the Emperor. The 25th मयूख speaks of the origin of शाकदीपीय-ब्राह्मणः. N (new series) vol. II. pp. 10-12.

आचारोल्लास by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

आचार्यगुणादर्श, of वेङ्कटाचार्य son of शतक्रतुताताचार्य (Madras ms. contains only the chap. called पंचकालक्रम dealing with rites and worships performed by वैष्णवः during the day divided into five parts).

आचार्यचूडामणि.

C. on शूलपाणि's आश्वविषेक, quoted by रघुनन्दन and in शूद्रकमलाकर.

आतिथ्योष्टि.

आतुरसंन्यास- Vide B. B. R. A. S. Cat. Vol. II. p. 241.

आतुरसंन्यासकारिका.

आतुरसंन्यासपद्धति (Baroda O. I. No. 5803).

आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by आङ्गिरस.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by कात्यायन.

आतुरादिपद्धति- D. C. Ms. No. 138 of 18886-92.

आत्रेयधर्मशास्त्र in 9 अध्यायः (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1305). There is another in 6 chapters (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381, No. 1308).

आत्रेयधर्मशास्त्र m. by विश्वरूप, हेमाद्रि.



आत्रेयस्मृति (in 369 verses). I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381.

आथर्वण्युह्यसूत्र (ms. in Bom. University Library) in 14 adhyāyas and 141 khaṇḍikas; ends with anadhyāya (school holidays); m. in नीतिमयूख.

आथर्वण्यप्रमेताक्षरा by वासुदेव, son of श्रीपति. (Baroda O. I. No. 7603). Mentions हेमाद्रि and त्रैविक्कमीपद्धति.

आदिधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to Tulājī-rāja (1765-88 A. D.).

आदिस्मृत्यर्थसार- Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार.

आनन्दकरनिबन्ध- m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

आपस्तम्बप्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी- vide प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

आपस्तम्बयज्ञाजीय.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका or त्रिकाण्डमण्डन by भास्करमिश्र, son of कुमारस्वामिन्. It contains four काण्डs on अधिकार, प्रतिनिधि, पुनराधान, आधान (pr. B. I. series).

C. Vide Stein (Cat. p. 12).

C. पदप्रकाशिका or त्रिकाण्डमण्डन-विवरण ano. (Is it same as above?)

आपस्तम्बग्रहसूत्र (ed. by Winternitz and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30).

C. अनाकुला by हरदत्त (pr. in Mysore G. O. I. Series).

C. by कर्क.

C. कपर्दिकारिका (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1916).

C. ग्रहतात्पर्यदर्शन by सुदर्शनचार्य (pr. Kashi S. series).

C. प्रयोगवृत्ति by तालवृन्तनिवासिन् (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1907).

आपस्तम्बग्रहसूत्रदीपिका.

आपस्तम्बग्रहसूत्रप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बग्रहभाष्यार्थसंग्रह quoted by हेमाद्रि.

आपस्तम्बग्रहसार by महामहोपाध्याय-योगनभट्ट (आन्ध्र).

आपस्तम्बग्रहसूत्रकारिका by सुदर्शन, son of वाग्विजय.

आपस्तम्बग्रहसूत्रकारिकावृत्ति by नरसिंह (exposition of आपस्तम्बग्रह in 969 verses composed in śake 1536, 1614-15 A. D.; pr. in 1922 with Telugu tr.).

आपस्तम्बजातकर्म by बापणभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र Vide sec. 7.

C. उज्ज्वला by हरदत्त (pr. in B. S. Series and at Kumbhakonam).

आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

आपस्तम्बपद्धति by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बपरिभाषासूत्र (edited with two com. in Mysore G. O. I. series 1894 and in Ānand. series No. 93).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन्.

C. by हरदत्त.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगकारिका.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति by शिङ्गाभट्ट (Hultsch R. I. No. 87).

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगरत्न by नारायणयज्वन्.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार by गङ्गाभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बप्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

C. by वेङ्कटवानपेयिन्.



आपस्तम्बश्राद्धप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रकारिका.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रसंग्रह.

आपस्तम्बस्मृति (in verse in 10 chapters) pr. by Jivananda.

आपस्तम्बस्मृति, quoted by विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव, हरदत्त.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by काशीनाथभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by गोवर्धन कविमण्डन.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by रुद्रदेव तोरो.

आपस्तम्बीयद्वादशसंस्काराः.

आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ ed. by Dr. Winternitz.

आपस्तम्बीयसंस्कारप्रयोग.

आख्दिकनिर्णय.

आभ्युदयिकश्राद्ध.

आभ्युदयिकश्राद्धपद्धति.

आरामादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by गङ्गागम महाडकर.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति-see जलाभयारामोत्सर्गपद्धति.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by भट्टनारायण.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by शिखराम.

आरामोत्सर्गप्रयोग (Baroda O. I. No. 5424).

आर्धचन्द्रिका.

आर्धचन्द्रिका by वैद्यनाथ.

आर्द्धवेणस्मृति m. by निर्णयसिन्धु.

आवसथ्याधानपद्धति of श्रीदत्त.

आशौच by वेङ्कटेश.

आशौचकाण्ड, part of दिनकरोद्घोत.

आशौचकाण्ड by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित (a part of स्मृतिमुक्ताकल).

आशौचकारिका.

आशौचगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर.

आशौचचन्द्रिका.

आशौचचन्द्रिका by वेदाङ्गराय, son of त्यगलाभट्ट or तिगलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 83).

आशौचचन्द्रिका by राजकृष्णतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

आशौचतत्त्व- vide शुद्धितत्त्व.

आशौचतत्त्व by महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ of the अगस्त्यगोत्र, in 48 verses. Hultzs R. II. p. 143

C. by शिषसुरि (महाजन), son of श्याम्बक.

आशौचतत्त्वविचार.

आशौचत्रिशङ्खोकी-see त्रिशङ्खोकी ; pr. at Aligarh.

C. दीप by राघवभट्ट, whose guru was मुकुन्द ; quotes स्मृत्यर्थसार-निर्णयामृत.

C. by भट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 3883 is dated संवत् 1579, 1522-23 A.D.).

C. by भट्टोजि.

आशौचदशक alias दशश्लोकी by विज्ञानेश्वर ; vide under दशश्लोकी also.

C. विवरण by भट्टोजि.

C. by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर ; composed in A.D. 1578.

C. (विवृति) by विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर ; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर and वाचस्पति, भट्टोजि (Stein's cat. p. 302 for extract); later than 1650 A.D.

C. by वेङ्कटाचार्य.

C. by श्रीधर.



- C. by हरिहर ( I. O. ms dated संवत् 1589 i. e. 1532 A. D. ; vide cat. p. 565 ).
- आशौचदीपिति, part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by अनन्तदेव.
- आशौचदीपक by a prince of कोटिलिङ्गपुरी ( Cranganore ).
- C. by author.
- आशौचदीपिका by अधोरशिवाचार्य.
- आशौचदीपिका by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट. N. VI. p. 136. Portion of दिनकरोदयोत on आशौच.
- आशौचदीपिका by श्यामसुन्दर-भट्टाचार्य.
- आशौचदीपिका by कम्भाधुर सुतिह, who consulted हेमाद्रि, माधवीय, षडशीति, पारिजात.
- आशौचनिर्णय or षडशीति. Aufrecht II. p. 11 identifies षडशीति with अभिनवषडशीति.
- आशौचनिर्णय by आदित्याचार्य or कौशिकादित्य.
- C. सुद्धिचन्द्रिका by नन्दपण्डित ( pr. Ch. S. series ) between 1590-1625 A. D.
- आशौचनिर्णय of कौशिकाचार्य ( in Bhadkamkar collection ); contains 146 verses, refers to 86 verses of कौशिकादित्य and adds certain texts of गोभिल.
- आशौचनिर्णय by गोपाल, composed in शके 1535 ( 1613 A. D. ); quoted by him in सुद्धिनिर्णय. N. IX p. 267.
- आशौचनिर्णय by गोविन्द, son of बृह-याचार्य who is styled मातामह also by गोविन्द.
- आशौचनिर्णय by जीवदेव, son of आप-देव; born on the Godavari ; pro- bably brother of अनन्तदेव.
- आशौचनिर्णय by इयम्बक पण्डित, son of रघुनाथ, son of नारायण of the आङ्गि-रसगोत्र ( divided into अंशs ). ( pr. at Nir. P. ). Quotes निर्णय-सिन्धु and नामोजिभट्टीय ; about 1760 A. D.
- आशौचनिर्णय by नामोजि, son of शिव-भट्ट.
- आशौचनिर्णय by भट्टोजि ( 1560-1620 A. D. ).
- आशौचनिर्णय by माधव son of रामेश्वर; about 1515-1570 A. D.
- आशौचनिर्णय by रघुनन्दन.
- आशौचनिर्णय by रघुनाथपण्डित ; vide under त्रिशच्छोकी.
- आशौचनिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.
- आशौचनिर्णय by वरद, son of श्रीनिवास. Refers to आशौचदशक and आशौच-शतक as his authorities.
- आशौचनिर्णय by धीरेश्वर.
- आशौचनिर्णय by वेङ्कटाचार्य ; see अघ-निर्णय.
- आशौचनिर्णय by वेदान्तरामानुजततादास, son of वेङ्कटेश्वरदत्ताचार्य.
- आशौचनिर्णय by वैदिकसार्वभौम ( Is it same as आशौचशतक ? ).
- C. by शठकोपदास ( Baroda O. L. No. 6380 b. ).
- आशौचनिर्णय by श्रीनिवास्तर्कवागीश.
- आशौचनिर्णय by सोमन्यास.
- आशौचनिर्णय by हरि.
- आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by रायस वेङ्कटाद्रि.



आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिमंग्रह.

आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिसार, a com. on some work of वेङ्कटेश.

आशौचनिर्णयसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 12600).

आशौचनिर्णयटीका by मथुरानाथ.

आशौचपरिच्छेद.

आशौचप्रकाश by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य; probably the same as that m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आशौचप्रकाश (from धर्मतत्त्वफलानिधि) by पृथ्वीचन्द्र.

आशौचमञ्जरी.

आशौचमाला by गोपालसिद्धान्त.

आशौचविवेक.

आशौचव्यवस्था by राधानाथशर्मन.

आशौचशतक.

आशौचशतक by रामेश्वर.

आशौचशतक by वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटनाथ; son of रङ्गनाथ of the हारीतगोत्र, with his own com. Vide अघ-निर्णय above. Hultsch R. II. No. 1499.

C. आशौचनिर्णय by रामाजुजदीक्षित.

आशौचशतक by नीलकण्ठ.

आशौचशतक by वैदिकसार्वभौम (probably same as वेङ्कटाचार्य above).

आशौचषडशीति- see above आशौच-निर्णय.

आशौचसंक्षेप by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.

आशौचसंग्रह by सत्यापीशशिष्य (Baroda O. I. 5862).

आशौचसंग्रह by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य.

आशौचसंग्रहविवृति by भट्टाचार्य.

आशौचसंग्रह by रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनाथरायण.

आशौचसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश; quotes आचार-नवनीत, अघनिर्णय, अघविवेक, अभिनव-पदशीति.

आशौचसंग्रहविंशच्छ्लोकी- Vide under विंशच्छ्लोकी.

आशौचसागर of कुल्लुक- m. in his ब्राह्म-सागर.

आशौचसार by बलभद्र.

आशौचसिद्धान्त.

आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका by सदाशिव sur-named दशपुत्र, son of गदाधर; compiled for prince जयसिंह (of जय-नगर). The author also wrote लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका.

आशौचादर्श quoted in सारसंग्रह.

आशौचाटक by बररुचि (pr. in Tri. S. series).

C. anonymous. Names निर्णयकार, मस्करिन् on गौतमधर्मसूत्र and सहस्र-स्वामिन्.

आशौचादिनिर्णय by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशौचीयदशश्लोकीविवृति by विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर; see आशौचदशक alias दशश्लोकी above.

आशौचेन्दुशेखर by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशौचेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.

आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र (pr. Nir. P. and B. I. series and translated in S B E, vol. 29).

C. अनाविला by हरदत्त (pr. Tri S. series).



- C. by आनन्दरायवाजपेययज्वन्, minister of Tanjore king Shahji and Sarfoji I.
- C. by गदाधर.
- C. विमलोदयमाला by जयन्तस्वामिन, father of अभिनन्द and son of कान्त, son of कल्याणस्वामिन. N. vol. X. p. 163. About end of 8th century.
- C. by देवस्वामिन; m. by नारायण. About 1000-1050 A. D.
- C. by नारायण, son of दिवाकर of नैधुवगोत्र (pr. B. I. series and Nir. P. ); refers to bhāṣya of देवस्वामी. Doubtful whether he is identical with नारायण, son of नरसिंह, commentator of आश्वलायन-श्रौत. Vide B B R A S. cat. vol. II. p. 202.
- C. by विष्णुगूढस्वामिन. Follows देवस्वामिन, नारायण and others.
- आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका in 22 adhyāyas and 1296 verses.
- C. विवरण by a pupil of बुध्यदेव or उपदेवभट्ट.
- C. by नारायण.
- आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका by कुमारिलस्वामिन (? कुमारस्वामिन). Refers to नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायनगृह्य and to जयन्तस्वामिन. B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 203; pr. in Bombay, 1894.
- आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका by रघुनाथदीक्षित.
- आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकावली by गोपाल.
- आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (pr. Nir. P. and B. I. series at end of गृह्यसूत्र).
- आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिभाषा.
- आश्वलायनगृह्यप्रयोग.
- आश्वलायनगृह्योक्तवास्तुशान्ति by रामकृष्णभट्ट.
- आश्वलायनधर्मशास्त्र in 22 अध्यायस on duties of द्विजस and on श्राद्ध, प्रायश्चित्त, जातिनिर्णय &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 8708).
- आश्वलायनधर्मप्रयोग (Hultzsch R. I. No. 431).
- आश्वलायनप्रयोग.
- C. वृत्ति by विष्णु.
- आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका by तिरुमल सोमयाजिन, son of तिरुमलयज्वन्.
- आश्वलायनयाज्ञिकपद्धति.
- आश्वलायनशास्त्रश्राद्धप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रपद्धति by नारायण.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग by त्रैविद्यवृद्ध.
- आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिका by मन्मथचार्यभट्ट (pr. Benares S. series).
- आश्वलायनसूति (ms. in Bombay University Library) in eleven adhyāyas and about 2000 verses; refers to आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र and वृत्ति thereon and कारिका also. Quoted by हेमाद्रि and माधवाचार्य.
- आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि (आश्वलायनीय).
- आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि by भट्टनारायण, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 102.
- आहिताग्नेर्दाहमदिनिर्णय by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ होसिंग.
- आहिताग्न्यन्येष्टिप्रयोग.
- आहुततीर्थकस्नानप्रयोग.
- आह्निक- numerous works are so styled. Only some are noted below.



आह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्रकुल.

आह्निक by आपदेव.

आह्निक by कमलाकर son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106; same as बहुआह्निक.

आह्निक by गङ्गाधर.

आह्निक by गोपालदेशिकाचार्य.

आह्निक by छलारि वृसिंह for followers of मध्वाचार्य.

आह्निक by ज्ञानभास्कर. He wrote आह्निकसंक्षेप also.

आह्निक by दिवाकरभट्ट.

आह्निक by बलभट्ट.

आह्निक by भट्टोजि (from चतुर्विंशति-मतटीका).

आह्निक by रघुनाथ, son of माधवभट्ट.

आह्निक by विठ्ठलाचार्य.

आह्निक (बोधायनीय), by विश्वपतिभट्ट.

आह्निक by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.

आह्निक by व्रजराज (for followers of बलभाचार्य).

आह्निककारिका.

आह्निककृत्य of विद्याकर; m. in मलमास-तत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आह्निककौतुक (from हरिवंशविलास).

आह्निककौस्तुभ by श्रीनिवास pupil of यादवाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 8809). This is a com. on सदाचारस्थिति of आनन्दतीर्थ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by कुलमाण शुक्ल (Is it चन्द्रिका or चन्द्रिकाटीका?).

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by request of गोकुल-चन्द्रपरमेश्वर.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by गोपीनाथ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव काल, son of रामेशभट्ट; mentions भट्टोजीय (pr. at. Nir. P. with extracts from सायण on Vedic mantras). Same as संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by देवराज.

आह्निकचिन्तामणि quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व (and so earlier than 1500 A. D.).

आह्निकतत्त्व or आह्निकाचारतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन; pr. by Jivananda. C. by मधुसूदन.

आह्निकदर्पण of रामकृष्ण (pr. with Marathi tr. in Bombay, 1876).

आह्निकदीपक.

आह्निकदीपक by अचल residing, at आनन्दपुर, son of वत्सराज, son of गोविन्द, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अनन्त surnamed मडोद. About 1518 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 291.

आह्निकपद्धति by शिवराम. See आह्निकसंक्षेप.

आह्निकपद्धति by रघुनाथ सम्राट्स्थपति, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; he was younger brother of विश्वनाथ and प्रभाकर.

आह्निकपद्धति by विठ्ठलदीक्षित. Vide यज्ञ-बहुभा below.

आह्निकपरिज्ञात by अनन्तभट्ट.

आह्निकप्रकाश— from the वीरमित्रोदय.

आह्निकप्रदीप— quoted by कमलाकर.

आह्निकप्रयोग by कमलाकर of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon on the गोदावरी). There is confusion of authorship in Baroda O. I. No. 277.



- आह्निकप्रयोग by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित; quoted by अनन्त in his *मद्रकल्पद्रुम*.
- आह्निकप्रयोग by गोवर्धन कथिमण्डन (for आपस्तम्बीय).
- आह्निकप्रयोग by मनोहरभट्ट, son of महादेवभट्ट (for हिमयकेरविय).
- आह्निकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट; his younger brother प्रभाकर composed *रसप्रदीप* in 1583 A. D. at the age of 19.
- आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला by विश्वम्भरदीक्षित थिटे, son of मयूरेश्वरभट्ट resident of वैराज (modern Wai in Satara District). Mentions भट्टोजिदीक्षित, आचार्य.
- आह्निकप्रायश्चिन— mentions कनकाकर (I. O. cat. III. p. 355).
- आह्निकभास्कर by इन्द्रगणित सूर्यनाथरायण.
- आह्निकमञ्जरीटीका by वीरेश्वर, son of हरिपण्डित, son of शिवपण्डित at पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern Puntanibe) on the Godavari; composed in śake विजयनगरशेन्दुमिते i. e. 1598 A. D.
- आह्निकरत्न (on daily duties).
- आह्निकरत्न by दाक्षिणात्य शिरोमणिभट्ट. In three प्रकाश.
- आह्निकरत्नचक्र by गङ्गाधरसुत (Baroda O. I. No. 12306-7).
- आह्निकविधि by कमलाकर.
- आह्निकविधि by नारायणभट्ट.
- आह्निकसंक्षेप of कौथुमिशास्त्र.
- आह्निकसंक्षेप of ज्ञानभास्कर.
- आह्निकसंक्षेप by वामदेव, written for Lala Thakkura. H. D. 66.
- आह्निकसंक्षेप by शिवराम, an abridgment of वैयनाथ's आह्निक.
- आह्निकसंग्रह of अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट, son of यज्ञभट्ट, for शुक्रयजुर्वेदिस.
- आह्निकसार by दलपतिराज (2nd chap. of नृसिंहप्रसाद).
- आह्निकसार by बालम्भट्ट (probably same as author of आह्निकसार-मञ्जरी below).
- आह्निकसार by सुदर्शनाचार्य.
- आह्निकसार by हरिराम.
- आह्निकसागमञ्जरी by बालम्भट्ट, son of विश्वनाथभट्ट दातार.
- आह्निकसूत्र of गौतम in 17 खण्ड on duties of ब्राह्मण; vide BBRAS. cat. p. 204 No. 651.
- आह्निकस्मृतिमंथन.
- आह्निकाचार्याज by गमानन्द वाचस्पति, great-great-grandson of पुष्कराक्ष of the family of सर्वानन्द; compiled under राजा कृष्णचंद्रराय of Nadia about 1750 A. D.
- आह्निकामृत of वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य, son of रत्ननाथ, on duties and ritual of the वैष्णव school of वैष्णवस.
- आह्निकोद्धार quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.
- इन्द्रदत्तस्मृति.
- इष्टिकाल by दामोदर.
- ईशानसंहिता m. in समयमयूख.
- ईश्वरसंहिता quoted by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व.
- उज्ज्वला by हरदत्त, com. on आपस्तम्भ-धर्मसूत्र.
- C. कालासूतटीका by वेङ्कटयज्वर.



उत्तरकालासृत by कालिदास (on marriage, विरुद्धमन्त्र &c. ).

उत्तरक्रियापद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.

उत्तरीयकर्मन् ( काष्ठीय ).

उत्पातशान्ति attributed to वृद्धगर्ग.

उत्सर्गकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट.

उत्सर्गकर्मन्.

उत्सर्गकौस्तुभ, part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गनिर्णय by कृष्णराम.

उत्सर्गपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गपरिशिष्ट.

उत्सर्गप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्गमयूख by नीलकण्ठ (pr. by J. R. Gharpure in Bombay ).

उत्सर्गोपाकर्मप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्जनपद्धति.

उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग by बाबूभट्ट, son of महादेव.

उत्सवनिर्णय by तुलजाराम.

उत्सवनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

उत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी by गङ्गाधर, composed in śake 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D. (Baroda O. I. 2375 ).

उत्सवप्रकाश.

उत्सवप्रतान by पुरुषोत्तम.

उदकुम्भदान.

उदकपाण्डुप्रकाश by ज्वालानाथमिश्र.

उदयाकरपद्धति (तन्त्र) quoted in माला-संस्कार.

उदीच्यप्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No. 8016 ).

उद्यानप्रतिष्ठा.

उद्यापनकालनिर्णय.

उद्वाहकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.

उद्वाहचन्द्रिका by गोवर्धन उपाध्याय.

उद्वाहतत्त्व— see विवाहतत्त्व.

C. by काशीराम-वाचस्पति-भट्टाचार्य (printed in 1877 at Calcutta in Bengali characters and in 1916).

उद्वाहनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

उद्वाहलक्षण.

उद्वाहविवेक by गणेशभट्ट.

उद्वाहन्यवस्था N. vol. II. p. 77.

उद्वाहन्यवस्था—wide संबन्धव्यवस्थाविकाश.

उद्वाहन्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

उद्वाहादिकालनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. No. 10226).

उपकाश्यपस्मृति.

उपचारषोडशरत्नमाला ( महादेवपरिचर्या-सूत्रव्याख्या ) by सुरेश्वरस्वामिन, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ ).

उपनयनकर्मपद्धति.

उपनयनकारिका anonymous.

उपनयनचिन्तामणि by शिवानन्द.

उपनयनतन्त्र by गोभिल.

उपनयनतन्त्र by रामदत्त.

उपनयनतन्त्र by लौगाक्षि.

उपनयनपद्धति by रामदत्त (for बाजसनेधि followers ).

उपनयनपद्धति by विश्वनाथदीक्षित.

उपस्थान.

उपाकर्मनिर्णय.

उपाकर्मकारिका (Stein's cat. p. 12 ).

उपाकर्मपद्धति (काव्यायनीय) by वैद्यनाथ.

उपाकर्मप्रमाण by बालदीक्षित.

उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).



उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आश्वलायनीय).

उपाकर्मप्रयोग by द्वारकानाथ, son of टीकाभट्ट.

उपाकर्मविधि.

उपाकृतितत्त्व by बालम्भट्ट alias बालकृष्ण पाण्डुरण्ड ; ms. dated संवत् 1848 (1792 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 302.

उपाकर्मविधि by दयाशङ्कर.

उपाङ्गिनः स्मृति.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रनिर्णय by एरुषोत्तम (ms. No. 3862 in Baroda O. I. is dated संवत् 1764).

ऊर्ध्वमूल.

ऋग्वेदाह्निक by काशीनाथ. Also called ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

ऋग्वेदाह्निक by शिरोमणि.

ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

ऋजुप्रयोग by भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ होमिंग (following तीर्थदर्पण). Baroda O. I. No. 8515 ms. dated 1676 (śake).

ऋजुमिताक्षरा- same as मिताक्षरा.

ऋणमोक्षण.

ऋतुलक्षण.

ऋतुशान्ति.

ऋत्विग्वर्णनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

ऋषितर्पण.

ऋषितर्पणकारिका.

ऋषिभट्टी ; see संस्कारभास्कर.

ऋष्यशृङ्गविधान (rite for inducing rainfall). Baroda O. I. 11047 A and C.

ऋष्यशृङ्गस्मृति- vide sec. 40.

एकदण्डसंन्यासविधि by शौनक.

एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति by गर्ग (Baroda O. I. No. 5661).

एकवस्त्रस्नानविधि by भातुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1640-1680 A. D.

एकाम्रिकाण्ड (यजुर्वेदीय) also known as मन्त्रपाठ, मन्त्रप्रपाठक and मन्त्रप्रश्न. (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, 1902). Vide आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ.

एकाम्रिकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या by हरदत्त.

एकाग्रिदानपद्धति of श्रीदत्तमिश्र ; ms. copied under देवसिंह of मिथिला in ल. सं. 299 i. e. 1418 A. D.

एकादशाहकृत्य.

एकादशीनियोग (chanting of रुद्राध्याय eleven times).

एकादशीतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति.

C. दीप by राधामोहन गोस्वामी, a friend of Colebrooke, residing at Śāntipura. He was a descendant of अद्वैत, associate of चेतन्य.

एकादशीनिर्णय (several works are so called and are ano. in the catalogues).

एकादशीनिर्णय or निर्णयसार by धरणीधर, son of मुरारि ; composed in śake 1408 (1486 A. D.) ; refers to महाराजधिराज वीरलदेव ; mentions अनन्तभट्ट, बोपदेवपण्डित, विश्वरूप



(verses on varieties of शुद्धा and विद्धा एकादशी), विज्ञानेश्वर (three संग्रहा verses on एकादशी). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 12052 is dated संवत् 1620.

एकादशीनिर्णय of हरि, son of नरसिंह, of अष्टपुत्र family, at विराटनगर (Wai) on the Kṛṣṇa.

एकादशीनिर्णय by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ (part of सदाचारसंग्रह).

एकादशीनिर्णयन्याख्या of अच्युतानन्द (a pupil of आनन्दगिरि).

एकादशीविधेय by शूलपाणि- sec. 95.

एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय by देवकानन्दन.

एकादशीव्रतोपापनपद्धति.

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 8332).

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय by रामनवरत्न (Baroda O. I. 8656).

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्ध.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धपद्धति.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धप्रयोग.

एकोद्दिष्टस्मरणी by रत्नपार्षणिमिश्र, son of गंगोलीसजीवेश्वर, composed for securing the favour of the king of मिथिला.

ऐन्दवमासनिर्णय by गणेशदत्त.

औदीच्यप्रकाश by वेणीदत्त.

औपासनप्रायश्चित्त (from संस्कारदीधिति of अनन्तदेव).

और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवल्ली by विश्वनाथ.

और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of ज्योतिर्विद् गोबाल (according to शुक्लयजुर्वेद माध्यन्दिनशास्त्र). He was भोमतीबालज्ञातीय.

और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय by वासुदेवाश्रम.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण; sec. 106.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or-प्रयोग by कृष्णदीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर (according to सामवेद).

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or अन्येष्टिपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

और्ध्वदेहिकप्रकरण.

और्ध्वदेहिकाधिकारनिर्णय.

कठपरिशिष्ट quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषखण्ड.

कठसूत्र quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषखण्ड and संस्कारमयूख.

कण्ठश्रुण by वैदिकसाईभौम, m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका. It is a com. on गृह्यरत्न.

कण्वस्मृति- m. by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू., आचारमयूख; आश्वमयूख.

कदलीव्रतोपापन.

कन्यागततीर्थविधि.

कन्यादानपद्धति.

कन्यादानप्रयोग.

कन्याविवाह.

कन्यासंस्कार.

कर्पदिकारिका m. by नि. सि., संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

कपालमोचनश्राद्ध.

कपिलगोदान.

कपिलसंहिता m. in संस्कारमयूख.

कपिलस्मृति in 10 अध्याय, each with 100 verses, on degeneration of ब्राह्मण in Kali, श्राद्ध, purifying ceremonies, adopted son, विवाह, gifts, penances.



कपिलादान.

कपिलादानपद्धति.

कर्णवैधविधान (from प्रयोगपारिजात).

कर्मकाण्डपद्धति.

कर्मकाण्डसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. 9506 dated संवत् 1618, i.e. 1561-62 A. D.).

कर्मकालप्रकाश by कृष्णराम.

कर्मकौमुदी by कृष्णदत्त, son of आवसथिक ब्रह्मदत्त.

कर्मकौमुदी by मिश्रविष्णुशर्मन्.

कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (शैव) composed by सोमशम्भु in 1073 A.D.; ms. copied in 1206 A. D.; vide Hp. p. 95.

कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपद्धति by कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ, on कलिवर्ज्य, आह्निक, संस्कार, श्राद्ध; quotes माधवीय, वामनभाष्य, चन्द्रिका, जयन्त, कालादर्श, मदन-पारिजात. About 1400-1550 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 304, extract).

कर्मदीप quoted in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन.

कर्मदीपिका of रघुरामतीर्थ. Incomplete ms. in BBRAS. cat. p. 211-213; a vast work; over 73 adhyāyas on वर्णाश्रमधर्म, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त. Names विज्ञानेश्वर.

कर्मदीपिका of हरिदत्त, son of भूपर (Baroda O. I. No. 6892) on कुण्ड, वेदि, मधुपर्क, कन्यादान, चतुर्थी-कर्म.

कर्मनिर्णय by आनन्दतीर्थ.

C. by जयतीर्थ.

CC. by राघवेन्द्र.

कर्मपद्धति by चिद्भानन्द.

कर्मपीयूष m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कर्मप्रकाश by कलापखञ्ज.

कर्मप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व. कर्मप्रकाशिका of पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ (on पाकयज्ञ, कृष्माण्डहोम, पुत्रस्वीकार-विधि, शूलगव).

कर्मप्रदीप attributed to कात्यायन or गोभिल. Also called, छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट; quoted by शूलपाणि, माधव, रघुनन्दन, कमलाकर.

C. by आशादित्य or आशार्क, son of चक्रधर.

C. परिशिष्टप्रकाश by नारायणोपाध्याय, son of गोण (B. I. series 1909).

C. by शिवराम, son of विश्राम.

कर्मप्रदीपिका, 2 पद्धति 10 पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, by कामदेव.

कर्मप्रायश्चित्त by वेङ्कटविजयिन्.

कर्ममञ्जरी (Ulwar cat. No. 1277).

कर्मलोचन 108 stanzas on duties of householders.

कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक by ब्रह्मदेव who is said to have instructed नारद on the fruits of कर्म in 12 अध्याय (Ulwar cat. extract 293).

कर्मविपाक by भरत who is instructed by भृगु.

कर्मविपाक by भृगु who is instructed by वसिष्ठ.

कर्मविपाक by माधवाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by मान्धातृ- see महार्णवकर्म-विपाक.

कर्मविपाक by मौलुगिभूषति m. in कर्म-विपाकसारग्राह and वृत्तिहप्रसाद; earlier than 1380 A. D.



कर्मविपाक by रवि to अरुण (Ulwar cat. No. 1278 and extract No. 293).

कर्मविपाक by रामकृष्णाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट- see महार्णव-कर्मविपाक; m. in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 242.

कर्मविपाक by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ भट्ट (I. O. cat. vol. III, p. 575).

कर्मविपाक by the eldest son of काल्हड-देव, son of पद्मनाभ. Vide under सारग्राहकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक from the ज्ञानभास्कर.

कर्मविपाक from ज्ञातातत्त्वसूति (pr. Jivananda II. p. 435 ff.).

कर्मविपाक from the सूर्यार्णव.

कर्मविपाकचिकित्सासूतसागर by पण्डित देवीदास.

कर्मविपाकपरिपाटी.

कर्मविपाकप्रायश्चित्त.

कर्मविपाकमहार्णव; vide महार्णवकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकरत्न by कमलाकर, son of राम-कृष्ण.

कर्मविपाकसंहिता (pr. at Venk. P.), a part of ब्रह्मपुराण.

कर्मविपाकसंग्रह from महार्णवकर्मविपाक, quoted by शङ्कर in कर्मविपाक and in मदनरत्न.

कर्मविपाकसमुच्चय m. in महार्णव of मान्धातु, son of मदनपाल and in नित्याचारप्रदीप. Earlier than 1350 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार quoted by शङ्कर in कर्म-विपाक and in नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 140 and 207.

कर्मविपाकसार by इलपतिराज (about 1510 A. D.).

कर्मविपाकसार by दितकर, son of राम-कृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट (I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1696; vide cat. p. 573). About 1585-1640 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार by सूर्यराम.

कर्मविपाकसारग्राह by eldest son of काल्हड or काल्हड, son of पद्मनाभ; vide under सारग्राहकर्मविपाक and कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकार्क by शङ्कर. See कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकसारोद्धार.

कर्मसंग्रह m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कर्मभरण by विठ्ठल दीक्षित: vide under यक्षुर्वह्मभा. Said to have been born about 1519 A. D.

कर्मसिद्धिसिद्धान्त by पुरुषोत्तम (Baroda O. I. 8361) on श्राद्ध, स्वप्नाध्याय &c.

कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेव (vide sec. 73).

C. संसारपद्धतिरहस्य.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of अमिरुद्ध (sec. 82); quoted by रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of हलायुध (sec. 72).

कलानिधि m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्व-म्भर.

कलिका- vide दीपकलिका; quoted by कमलाकर.

कलिधर्मनिर्णय.

कलिधर्मप्रकरण by कमलाकरभट्ट.

कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती.

कलियुगधर्मसार of विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती in two parts, first on worship of विष्णु and 2nd on शिवपूजा, गंगा-स्नानफल &c.



कलियुगधर्मधर्म.

कलिवर्ज्यनिर्णय by दामोदर, eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ; quoted in आचारमयूख. About 1610 A. D. Mentions मत्स्यमीमांसा of नारायणभट्ट, शास्त्रदीपिकाटीका of his father, रामचन्द्राचार्य, आश्वदीपकालिका etc. (Baroda O. I. No. 10793).

कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर: vide sec. 77.

कल्पद्रु quoted in मदनपारिजात and by देवदास.

कल्पद्रुम- see दानकल्पद्रुम, रामकल्पद्रुम and आश्वकल्पद्रुम: quoted by चण्डेश्वर and मदनपारिजात (who both mean कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर).

कल्पलता-vide कृत्यकल्पलता.

कल्पलता by लोहट्ट (?); quoted by श्रीधर, आश्वसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण, by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कल्पवृक्षदान.

कश्यपस्मृति quoted in पराशरस्मृति-व्याख्या and मत्स्यरिभाष्य on गौ. ध. सू.

कविरहस्य by कृष्णभट्ट.

कविराजकौतुक by कविराजगिरि.

कश्यपस्मृति quoted in हेमाद्रि, माधव, विज्ञानेश्वर and मदनपारिजात.

कश्यपोत्तरसंहिता.

कस्तुरिस्मृति or स्मृतिशेखर by कस्तुरि.

काश्यपात्रदान.

काकचण्डेश्वरी.

काठकशृङ्गा quoted by हेमाद्रि, रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व, आश्वमयूख.

काठकशृङ्गापञ्चिका.

काठकशृङ्गापरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि and रघुनन्दन.

काठकशृङ्गासूत्र by लौगाक्षि (ed. by Dr. Caland in D. A. V. College series, Lahore 1925, with extracts from three com.).

C. (भाष्य) by देवपाल, son of हरिपालभट्ट.

C. विवरण by आदित्यदर्शन.

C पद्धति of ब्राह्मणचल, son of माधवाध्वर्यु.

काठकाह्निक by गङ्गाधर.

काण्व quoted in आप. ध. सू. I. 19. 7.

कातीयशृङ्गा- see पारस्करशृङ्गा; m. in संस्कारमयूख.

कात्यायनशृङ्गाकारिका.

कात्यायनशृङ्गापरिशिष्ट.

कात्यायनस्मृति m. by याज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव. See बृहत्कात्यायन; m. by रघुनन्दन; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 603-644. This is also called कर्मप्रदीप and गोभिल-स्मृति in Ānan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

कादम्बरी, a com. on the द्वैतनिर्णय by गोकुलनाथ.

कामधेनु of गोपाल; vide sec. 71.

कामधेनु of यतीश, son of टेकचन्द्र, on धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष. Compiled under विजयपाल son of अशुतपाल in four stans (on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष); ms. in Stein's cat. pp. 84 and 303 contains 283 verses on धर्म and breaks off after 206 on अर्थ.

कामधेनुदीपिका by नारायण, commentator of मनुस्मृति (vide मनु V, 56, 80, 104).

कामन्दकीयनीतिसार (pr. in B. I. series and Tri. S. series) m. in महाभारत,



वामन's काव्यालंकार. In 19 सर्गs and 1087 verses. Some mss have 20 सर्गs.

C. by आत्माराम.

C. उपाध्यायनिरपेक्षा (vide Ulwar cat. extract 295 which begins work with the first verse of काव्यादर्श and derives कौटिल्य as कुटिर्घट उच्यते तं लान्ति संगृह्णन्ति ...नाधिकं...इति कुटिलाः ..., कुटिलानामपत्यं कौटिल्यः विष्णुगुप्तः ).

C. by जयराम.

C. जयमङ्गला by शङ्करार्य (pr. in 'Tri. S. series').

C. नयप्रकाश by वरदराज.

कामरूपनिबन्ध quoted by 'रघुनन्दन' in मलमासतत्त्व and by कमलाकर.

कामरूपपात्रापद्धति by हलिरामशर्मन् in ten पटलs.

कामिक m. by हेमाद्रि, कालमाधव, वृत्तिह-  
प्रसाद, नि. सि.

काम्यकर्मकमला.

काम्यसामान्यप्रयोगरत्न.

कायस्थक्षेत्रियवृद्धमदलनकुठार by लक्ष्मी-  
नारायणपण्डित.

कायस्थतत्त्व.

कायस्थधर्मदीप or -प्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर  
alias गागाभट्ट (composed about  
1674 A. D.).

कायस्थनिर्णय.

कायस्थपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर. Printed at  
Bombay in 1873. Same as कायस्थ-  
धर्मदीप. Baroda O. I. ms. No.  
9670 is dated संवत् 1727 (1670-  
71 A. D.).

कायस्थविचार.

कायस्थोत्पत्ति by गङ्गाधर.

कारणप्रायश्चित्त.

कारिका by अनन्तदेव.

कारिकाट्रीका (लघु) by माधव.

कारिकामञ्जरी by कनकसभापति, son of  
वैद्यनाथ, of मौद्गल्यगोत्र.

C. प्रयोगादर्श by author himself.

कारिकासमुच्चय.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदान by कमलाकर, son  
of रामकृष्ण.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by रघुनाथ,  
son of विश्वामित्र.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by लक्ष्मण-  
देशिक, son of कृष्ण.

कार्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप on श्राद्ध.

कार्णाजिनिरसृति m. by हेमाद्रि, माधव,  
जीमूतवाहन, मिता०.

कालकौमुदी m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक.

कालकौमुदी by गोपालभट्ट, son of हरि-  
वंशभट्ट, who was a ब्राह्मण. M. by  
रघुनन्दन, रायमुकुट, कमलाकर; ear-  
lier than 1400 A. D.

कालकौमुदी by नीलाम्बर, son of गदाधर,  
author of कालसार; m. in शुद्धि-  
कौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

कालगुणोत्तर m. in शान्तिमयूख.

कालचन्द्रिका by कृष्णभट्टमौनित्र.

कालचन्द्रिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वरभट्ट.

कालचिन्तामणि m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of  
गोविन्दानन्द (so earlier than 1500  
A. D.).

कालतत्त्वविवेचन by रघुनाथभट्ट styled  
सम्पादस्थपति, son of भट्टमाधव (and  
ललिता), son of भट्टराजेश्वर. His elder  
brother was विश्वनाथ. Composed  
in संवत् 1677 i.e. 1620 A.D.; decal  
with तिथिs, मास, अधिकमास.



कालतत्त्वविवेचनसारसंग्रह or -सारोद्धार  
(based on विवेचन) by शम्भुभट्ट,  
son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of  
मीमांसक खण्डदेव. About 1700 A.D.

कालतत्त्वार्णव.

C. रामप्रकाश by रामदेव.

कालतरङ्ग first part of स्मृत्यर्थसागर by  
छलारिवृत्तिह.

कालदानपद्धति.

कालदिवाकर by चन्द्रचूडदीक्षित.

कालदीप m. in संस्कारमयूख and वृत्तिह-  
प्रसाद (संस्कारसार). Earlier than  
1500 A. D.

C. m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of वृत्तिह.

कालदीप of दिव्यसिंह महापात्र.

कालनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कविप्रदम्.

कालनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

कालनिर्णय by तोटकाचार्य.

कालनिर्णय (लघु) by दामोदर.

कालनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट (? probably  
same as कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकविवरण).

कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त) by भट्टभोजि (Baroda  
O. I. No. 5373).

कालनिर्णय by माधव (called काल-  
माधवीय). Pr. in B. I. series and  
Ch. S. series.

C. by मिश्रमोहनतर्कतिलक, son of  
द्वारकादास; written in संवत् 1670  
(खसुनिरसेन्दुमितेन्दे) i. e. 1614  
A.D. (D. C. No. 264 of 1886-92).

C. कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकविवरण by  
नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

C. कालमाधवचान्द्रिका by मथुरानाथ  
शुक्ल.

B. D. 67.

C. दीपिका-vide कालनिर्णयदीपिका of  
रामचन्द्राचार्य below.

C. by धरणीधर.

C. लक्ष्मी by लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्य-  
नाथ पायगुण्ड.

कालनिर्णय from पण्डितखण्ड of हेमाद्रि.

कालनिर्णयकारिका (130 कारिकाs of  
माधवाचार्य taken from कालमाधव).

C. ano. (N. vol. X. pp. 239-  
240).

C. by वैद्यनाथ (Stein's cat. p. 85),  
son of रामचन्द्र.

कालनिर्णयकौतुक, a part of द्वाविंश-  
विलास of नन्दसिंह.

कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका by दिव्यभट्ट, son  
of महादेव, surnamed हण्ड. About  
1660. He was daughter's son of  
रामकृष्ण, father of कमलाकर.

(2) by सीतारामचन्द्र of कैपिडन्यगोत्र,  
son of श्रीधरभट्ट and कामका and  
grandson of वृत्तिह.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट also  
called शिवानन्दनाथ, son of जयराम-  
भट्ट and grandson of शिवरामभट्ट  
and pupil of अनन्त.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका a com. on माधवीय-  
कालनिर्णय by रामचन्द्राचार्य, son of  
कृष्णाचार्य and great-grandson of  
अनन्ताचार्य and pupil of परमहंस-  
श्रीगोपाल. About 1400 A. D. He  
wrote प्रक्रियाकौमुदी.

C. विवरण by his son वृत्तिह; ms.  
dated 1348 A.D.; m. in वृत्तिहप्रसाद.  
This gives a detailed pedigree  
of the वैद्य family (Baroda O. I.



Ms. No. 10,410, which says it was composed in śake 1331.

शशाङ्क (लालविश्वसंमिते विरोधिबधे).

C. रामप्रकाश by राघवेन्द्र, composed by order of रुपारामनृपति.

C. by सूर्यपण्डित.

कालनिर्णयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल and grandson of बालकृष्ण-तन्त्र. His mother was daughter of रघुनाथभट्ट, author of कालतत्त्व-विशेष. So about 1670 A. D. Baroda O. I. No. 8,455 is dated śake 1603 माघ (February 1682 A. D.).

कालनिर्णयसंग्रह by भट्टाजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर; based on हेमचन्द्र's work.

कालनिर्णयसार by दलपतिराज (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद); sec. 99.

कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त in 118 verses by महादेवविद्, son of काङ्कजित्; based on prose materials collected by रघुराम, son of जयराम, in बेलावटपुर near modern Sihor; composed in 1709 संवत्, i. e. 1652-53 A. D. in the city of Bhujā (modern Bhuj). Vide D. C. Ms. No. 275 of 1887-91.

C. by same; composed in संवत् 1710.

कालनिर्णयसौख्य or समयनिर्णयसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

कालनिर्णयबोध by अनन्तवैद्य.

कालप्रदीप m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

कालप्रदीप by दिव्यसिंह.

कालमाध्यनिर्णय by गौरीनाथ चक्रवर्तिन् (Baroda O. I. 10260).

कालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथमिश्र (Baroda O. I. 10155).

कालभेद.

कालमयूख or समयमयूख of नीलकण्ठ; sec. 107.

कालमाधव (pr. Kashi S. series and B. I. series). Vide कालनिर्णय above.

कालमाधवकारिका or लघुमाधव.

C. by वैद्यनाथहृदि, son of रामचन्द्र-तन्त्र, son of विठ्ठल. Ulwar cat. No. 1293.

कालमार्तण्ड by कृष्णमित्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक and grandson of देवीदत्त-भट्ट.

कालविधान m. in आद्यकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

कालविधान of श्रीधर.

कालविधानपद्धति of श्रीधर.

कालविवेक by जीमूतवाहन (B. I. series).

Vide sec. 78; m. by नृसिंह, रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.

कालविवेचनसारसंग्रह by शम्भुभट्ट.

कालसर्वस्व of कृष्णमिश्र of the कौत्स-गोत्र.

कालसार of मदाधर, son of नीलाम्बर and आनकी and nephew of हल-धर who was guru of the queen of हरेकृष्णचूपाति; pr. in B. I. series. Between 1450-1500 A. D. Mentions कालमाधवीय, कालादर्श, रुद्रधर.

कालसिद्धान्त or सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by चन्द्र-चूड, son of उमापति or उमणभट्ट, son of धर्माभट्ट, surnamed पौराणिक. Later than 1550 A. D.

कालादर्श or कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ of गर्गगोत्र, pupil of विन्धे-



- श्वराचार्य; ms. dated संवत् 1581; quoted by वृत्तिह, अल्लाहनाथ, रघु-नन्दन, कालसाधन, दुर्गोत्सवविवेक; composed between 1200-1325 A. D., as it mentions स्मृति-चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमहाणव, विश्वादर्श.
- कालासृत (and C. उज्ज्वला) by वेङ्कट-यज्वन्, one of whose four brothers was शङ्खयज्वन्.
- (1) (pr. at Madras in Telugu and Grantha characters) Hultsch R. I. p. 72.
- (2) by सुरुभट्टलक्ष्मीनरसिंह and com. by author; pr. at Madras in 1880.
- कालावलि m. in अञ्जुतसागर.
- कालिकार्चनपद्धति.
- कालिकार्चनप्रदीप m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.
- कालिकार्चनसंहिता m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.
- कालिकार्चादीपिका.
- कालोत्तर m. in हेमाद्रि, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०; seems to be the Tantric work of that name.
- काल्यार्चनचन्द्रिका by नीलकमल लाहाडी; pr. at Murshidabad, 1877-79, in Bengali characters.
- काशीखण्डकथकलि by प्रभाकर.
- काशीतत्त्व by रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती.
- काशीतत्त्वदीपिका by प्रभाकर (Is it the same as केलि above?).
- काशीतत्त्वप्रकाशिका or काशीसारोद्धार by रघुनाथेन्द्रशिवयोगिन् (Stein's cat. pp. 86, 303). Divided into उल्लास. Probably the same as काशीतत्त्व above.
- काशीप्रकरण (from the त्रिशर्लसैतु).
- काशीप्रकाश by नन्दपण्डित. See 105.
- काशीमरणमुक्तिविचार by नागायणभट्ट.
- काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदी by रघुनाथदास.
- काशीमुक्तिप्रकाशिका.
- काशीमुक्तिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय by सुरेश्वराचार्य.
- काशीमुक्तिमोक्षनिर्णय by विश्वनाथाचार्य.
- काशीरहस्यप्रकाश, by भदनागयण, son of राम, son of नागायण, composed at राजनगर by order of कामदेव.
- काश्यपधर्मशास्त्र-*vide* sec. 19 ('*Vide* I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 384 No. 1317).
- कात्तिकचन्द्रादय by दामोदरपण्डित under the patronage of चूहडमल्ल in the reign of Akbar (latter half of 16th century).
- कार्तितत्त्व.
- कार्तिप्रकाश of विष्णुशर्मन्; *vide* under समयप्रकाश (I. O. cat. p. 538 No. 1682).
- कुण्डकल्पवृक्ष of माधवशङ्कर, son of व्यामनारायण; composed in 1577 šake (1655-56 A. D.). BBRAS cat. p. 138. He was उदीच्यब्राह्मण of the काश्यपगोत्र, mentions कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप, कुण्ड-शिरोमणि, कुण्डसिद्धि, विश्वनाथ; pr. at Benares in 1879 A. D. C. by author.
- कुण्डकल्पलता by द्वण्डिराज, son of पुरु-षोत्तम, son of रामकृष्ण. He was pupil of रामपण्डित, father of नन्द-पण्डित. About 1600 A. D.
- कुण्डकारिका by भट्टलक्ष्मीधर.
- कुण्डकौमुदी or कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी in 103 verses of विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भु.



He is different from विश्वनाथ, n. of टापरनाथ between 1520-1600 A. D., as m. in मण्डपकुण्ड-मिन्द्र and as he mentions मदनरत्न and रूपनारायण.

C. by author.

कुण्डकामुदी by शिवसूरि son of व्यम्बक (महाजन).

C. कुण्डालोक by same. Vide Hultzsch's Report No. III, p. V. and p. 80; mentions कौरुभ. मण्ड. कुण्डरसिद्धि and रामवाजपेय. Later than 1680 A. D.

कुण्डगणपति.

कुण्डचमकति.

C. by बासुदेव of the महाजन family, son of शिवसूरि, son of व्यम्बक.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रकाश or -प्रकाशिका by रामानन्दतीर्थ.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप by चन्द्रभक्तसूरि शूद्र, son of श्यामर of कामगोत्र; composed at खम्बतीर्थ (Khambayat) in 1623 A. D. Has 164 verses.

C. by author composed in 1632 A. D. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 204 of 1884-87.

कुण्डदिकपाल by बाबाजी पादे.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक by रामवाजपेय, an inhabitant of नैमियारण्य; composed in संवत् 1506 i. e. 1449-50 A. D.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकदीपिका by मणिराम-दीक्षित.

कुण्डपद्धति of नागोजिभट्ट.

कुण्डपरिमाण ano. (BBRAS cat. p. 138).

कुण्डप्रकाश by रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण of तोरो family (from the प्रतापनारसिंह). Vide Ulwar cat. extra. 299. About 1710 A. D.

कुण्डप्रदीप in 21 verses by महादेव राजगुरु, son of काह्मजिद्वाडव.

C. by same; quotes कामिक.

कुण्डप्रदीप by महादेव राजगुरु, son of काह्मजिद्वाडव and teacher of द्वैतराज (Haitarao) in 20 fine verses in शार्ङ्गलक्ष्मीविरचित. अष्टम and अनुष्टुप.

C. by author.

कुण्डप्रबन्ध by कालिदास, son of बलभद्र in 73 verses. Composed in śake 1541 (1632 A. D.) D. C. Ms. No. 42 of 1882-83.

कुण्डभास्कर vide कुण्डोदयोददर्शन.

कुण्डमण्डप by वाचस्पति.

कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी vide कुण्डकौमुदी by शिवसूरि.

कुण्डमण्डपचन्द्रिका by यज्ञसूरि, son of विश्वनाथ.

कुण्डमण्डपदर्शन by नारायण, son of अनन्त; composed in śake 1500 1578 A. D.; in 49 श्लोक written at टापरग्राम, while his प्रपितामह dwelt at मणौरग्राम.

C. मनोरमा by गङ्गाधर, son of author.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय from परशुरामपद्धति.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय by नीलकण्ठ, son of ईश्वरभट्ट (Stein p. 86).



कुण्डमण्डपपद्धति.

कुण्डमण्डपमण्डनप्रकाशिका by नरहरिभट्ट  
surnamed सप्तर्षि. Peterson (Ul-  
war cat. extract No. 300) wrong-  
ly says that the work is called  
सप्तर्षि.

C. by author.

कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण (same as कुण्डनिर्माण-  
श्लोक above) of रामवाजपेयी, son of  
सूर्यदास; composed in संवत् 1506  
(1419-50 A. D.) at the order of  
the king of रत्नपुर. In 74 श्लोक.

C. by same.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by अनन्तभट्ट.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by नीलकण्ठ.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by केशवभट्ट, son of  
गोपालदीक्षित.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by बाबूदीक्षित जडे.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by रामवाजपेयी (pro-  
bably same as कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण  
above).

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by लक्ष्मण देशिकेन्द्र.

कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह by रामकृष्ण.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि by नीलकण्ठ.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or कुण्डसिद्धि by विठ्ठल  
दीक्षित, son of बृहदशर्म of San-  
gamner (in Ahmednagar Dis-  
trict) of the कृष्णात्रिगोत्र; com-  
posed in Śake 1541 (शशियुगतिथि-  
गण्ये) i. e. 1619-20 A. D. Vide  
BBRAS cat. p. 141.

C. by same; pr. at Bombay in  
1892.

C. by राम.

कुण्डमण्डपहोमविधि.

कुण्डमरीचिमाला by विष्णु. Based 'on  
the कुण्डाकृति of राम.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्ददैवज्ञ, son of  
गदाधर of माध्यन्दिनशाखा and गौतम-  
गोत्र; composed at Junnar in  
1691-92 A. D. in 71 verses.

C. प्रभा by अनन्त, son of सिद्धेश्वर  
residing at पलीपत्तन (Pali in Bhor  
State). D. C. Ms. No. 13 of A  
1882-83. Composed in 1693  
A. D.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of रामवाजपेयी. Probably  
same as कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण.

कुण्डसूदक्ष by गोपाल (Ulwar cat.  
No. 1303 and extract 301).

कुण्डरचना.

C.

कुण्डरचनारिती by बालसूरि son of शेष-  
भट्ट.

कुण्डरत्नाकर of विश्वनाथ द्विवेदिन, son  
of श्रीपति, son of जगन्नाथ; quotes  
कुण्डाकृति of रामवाजपेयी and is  
quoted in कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि of विठ्ठल;  
flourished between 1450-1615  
A. D. In 84 verses.

C. by विश्वनाथ (the author).

कुण्डरत्नावलि by रामचन्द्र जडे, son of  
कृष्ण alias Bābū; composed in  
Śake 1790. Pr. at Nir. P.

कुण्डलक्षण by राम नैमिशारण्यवासिन्.  
Probably same as कुण्डनिर्माण-  
श्लोक above.

कुण्डलक्ष्मविवृति of राम, son of सूर्यदास  
(रघुदेव in Stein's cat. p. 186);  
same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकटीका and  
कुण्डमण्डपलक्षणटीका above; m. in  
आचारमयूख. About 1449 A. D.



कुण्डविचार from तत्त्वसार.

कुण्डविधान by विश्वनाथ

कुण्डशिरोमणि m. in कुण्डकल्पद्रुम.

Earlier than 1640 A. D.

कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका of रामचन्द्र; m. in प्रतापनारासिंह (पुस्तकालय).

कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका by रामचरण.

कुण्डसाधनाविधि.

कुण्डसिद्धि vide कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि above.

कुण्डसिद्धि by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

कुण्डसिद्धि by रामभट्ट.

कुण्डारुति by रामराजपेयिन नैमिषस्थ, son of सूर्यदास; in 1449 A. D. (at bidding of prince रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर). Probably same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकविधि above.

C. by author.

कुण्डार्क by कृष्णाचार्य.

कुण्डार्क by शङ्करभट्ट son of नीलकण्ठ of the चतुर्पर family; pr. at Ratnagiri in 1873.

C. मरीचिमाला by रघुवीर, son of बिहल who was author of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि; pr. at Bombay in 1902. He wrote मुहूर्तसर्वस्व in 1635-36 A. D.

कुण्डार्कमणिदीपिका by बलभद्रसूरि.

C. by author.

कुण्डार्णव by श्रीधर अग्निहोत्रिन, son of श्रीसूर्य, son of नागेश; ms. copied in Śake 1661 (1739 A. D.).

कुण्डोदधि in 9 अष्टपदा verses by रामचन्द्र.

कुण्डोदयोत by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट.

C. कुण्डभास्कर by शङ्कर, son of the author.

कुण्डोदयोतदर्शन by अनन्तदेव.

कुण्डोदयोतदर्शन alias कुण्डभास्कर of शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ; same as com. on कुण्डोदयोत, composed in 1671 A. D.

कुथुमिस्मृति m. in अपरार्क, कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, हेमाद्रि.

कुमारतन्त्र, of the son of रावण; m. in मदनरत्न (शान्मुखदयोत).

कुमारस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व.

कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by वनमालिमिश्र, alias कृष्णदत्तमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and disciple of भट्टोजिदीक्षित; about 1650 A. D.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or क्षेत्रमाहात्म्य by माधवाचार्य.

कुरुक्षेत्रलाकर by शङ्कर.

कुरुक्षेत्रासुक्रमणिका of हरिगिरि.

कुशकर्णिका by वंशीधर.

कूपप्रतिष्ठा.

कृष्णान्दहोम.

कृष्णान्दहोमप्रयोग.

कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणलक्षण.

कृच्छ्रलक्षण.

कृच्छ्रादिसुबोधिनीपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of विश्णु (Baroda O. I. 10629).

कृत्तिवत्सर by मणिरामदीक्षित.

कृतिसारसमुच्चय by असृतनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकल्पतरु alias कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर; vide sec. 77.



कृत्यकल्पद्रुम by गवाधर; m. by वाचस्पति-  
मिश्र. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृत्यकल्पलता of वाचस्पति; m. by रघु-  
नन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of श्रीनाथ, son of  
श्रीकराचार्य; vide under कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.

कृत्यकौमुदी vide sec. 101 on गोविन्दा-  
नन्द. It is this that is m. in मल-  
मासतत्त्व of रघु.

कृत्यकौमुदी by गोपीनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकौमुदी by जगदानन्द. He men-  
tions शुद्धिदीपिका.

कृत्यकौमुदी by सिद्धाभवागीशभट्टाचार्य  
(Baroda O. I. No. 10152 on  
एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्ध portion of it).

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रामचन्द्र चक्रवर्तिन.

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय,  
pupil of चण्डेश्वर (a calendar of  
fasts and feasts enjoined in the  
स्मृतis and the rites appropriate to  
them). About 1360-1400 A. D.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि by चण्डेश्वर; m. in his  
गृहस्थरत्नाकर; vide sec. 90. Deals  
with तारादिशुद्धि, गोचर, वैपशुद्धि,  
संवत्सर, करण, नक्षत्र, छहर्त, अवि-  
मास, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs,  
मूलशान्ति, षष्ठिकापूजा, शनैश्चरचार,  
संक्रान्ति, ग्रहणफल.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति; sec. 98.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि by शिवराम शुक्ल, son of  
विश्राम. In five प्रकाशs for सामवेद  
followers. Based on गोभिलगृह्य,  
deals with परिभाषा, वृद्धिश्राद्ध,  
गणेशपूजा, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, अष्टका, संस्कारs.  
Stein's cat. (Intro. p. XV and p.  
86) gives the date of composition

as śake 1562 (1640-41 A. D.),  
but B. O. cat. vol. I. No. 72  
and J B O R S. for 1927 parts  
III-IV p. IX give 1500 śake  
(1578-79 A. D.) as the date.

कृत्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

कृत्यतत्त्व alias प्रयोगसार of कृष्णदेव  
स्मर्तवागीश.

कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव alias कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of  
श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in  
शुद्धितत्त्व and प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व, मि. सि.,  
रामप्रकाश and quotes महार्णव.  
About 1475-1525 A. D.

कृत्यदर्पण of आनन्दशर्मा, son of राम-  
शर्मा; m. in his व्यवस्थादर्पण.

कृत्यदीप m. in देवदासप्रकाश.

कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी by रामचन्द्र (pr. at  
Bombay in 1855).

कृत्यप्रदीप of कृष्णमित्राचार्य.

कृत्यप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट (this is pro-  
bably the कृत्यप्रदीप quoted in  
शुद्धितत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व, and other  
तत्त्वs).

कृत्यमञ्जरी by राष्ट्रभट्ट, son of महादेव  
केटकर; composed in śake 1640  
पौषमास on नित्य, नैमित्तिक, कान्य rites  
and observances in the 12 months  
of the year, on संक्रान्ति, eclipses  
&c. at सप्तर्षि (modern Satara).  
N. vol. X. pp. 217-219.

कृत्यमहार्णव of वाचस्पतिमिश्र under  
हस्तिनारायणदेव of मिथिला. Deals  
with feasts and fasts on impor-  
tant days of the twelve months  
of the year; m. in आचारमण्डव;  
vide sec. 98.

कृत्यमुक्तावली vide सङ्कथमुक्तावली.



कृत्यरत्न m. in नि. मि., भास्करपुरा.

कृत्यरत्न of खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट who was honoured by the king of विदर्भ. In 8 प्रकाशs. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधवीय and his own संस्काररत्न. Baroda O. I. No. 1953.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर; vide sec. 90 (pr. B. I. series, 1921).

कृत्यरत्नाकर of मुदाकरसुरि.

कृत्यरत्नावली of रामचन्द्र, son of विह्वल and grandson of बालकृष्ण तत्सत्. He was daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. Composed in संवत् 1705 (1648-49 A. D.). Deals with religious observances of तिथिs from प्रतिपद् and of months from चैत्र to फाल्गुन; quotes हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, नारायणभट्ट.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of लक्ष्मीधर.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of लोकनाथ.

कृत्यरत्न a manual of ceremonial observances for different months of the year compiled under prince कृष्णचन्द्र of नवद्वीप about 1750 A. D.

कृत्यचिलासमञ्जरी.

कृत्यसमुच्चय of भूपाल m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 499.

कृत्यसागर m. in वर्षमान and स्मृतिरत्नाकर of बेशाचार्य. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

कृत्यसार by मधुरानाथ शुक्ल.

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of असृतवाथ ओझा (pr. at Bombay ).

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of बाचस्पति.

कृत्यापह्नवदीपिका; vide शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप.

कृत्यार्णव m. in देवदासप्रकाश.

कृष्णपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

कृष्णभक्तिकल्पवल्ली alias भक्तिमञ्जरी or हरिभक्तिमञ्जरी-- a work on कृष्ण worship in four parts ( मञ्जरीs ).

कृष्णभट्टीय the same as कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका; m. in प्रयोगरत्न of नागयणभट्ट and in आह्निकचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृष्णार्चनचन्द्रिका of रत्नपाणि, son of सञ्जीवेश्वर.

कृष्णासृतमहार्णव by आनन्दतीर्थ. N. (new series) vol. III. preface VI.

केशवार्णव by केशव.

कोटचक्र on eight kinds of forts.

कोटिहोमप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट.

कौतुकचिन्तामणि by प्रतापरुद्रदेव. In three दीप्तिs on magic charms and expedients for protecting the king's person and for various other purposes, and on various startling, interesting experiments on women, plants, food. N. IX. pp. 189-190 and D. C. Ms. No. 981 of 1887-91 and 1031 of 1884-87. About 1520 A. D.

कौस्तुभनिर्णय.

कौशिकसूत्र in 14 अध्यायs (ed. by Bloomfield, 1889 ).

C. by भट्टारिभट्ट.

C. by दारिल.

C. by बासुदेव.



कौशिकग्रन्थसूत्रपद्धति of केशव, son of सोमेश्वर, son of अनन्त : composed at भोजपुर (Stein's cat. p. 248).

कौशिकसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

कौशिकस्मृति m. in निर्णयदीपक, मस्क-  
रिभाष्य on गौतम, हेमाद्रि, माधव.

कौषीतकिग्रन्थकारिका.

कौषीतकिग्रन्थसूत्र (pr. in Ben. S. series). Vide under शाङ्ख्यन-  
ग्रन्थसूत्र.

क्रमस्मृति m. by the मिताक्षरा.

क्रमदीपिका m. in पर्षकक्रियाकौमुदी  
(p. 121) and देवप्रतिष्ठातृत्व ;  
before 1500 A. D.

क्रमदीपिका (on worship of कृष्ण)  
by केशवाचार्य in 8 पटलs. About  
1500 A. D.

C. by केशवभट्टगोस्वामी.

C. by गोविन्दभट्ट (pr. in Ch. S.  
series).

क्रमदीपिका by नित्यानन्द.

क्रियाकाण्डशेखर m. in हेमाद्रि.

क्रियाकैरवचन्द्रिका.

क्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (pr. in  
B. I. series). Vide sec. 101.

क्रियाकौमुदी of मधुगनाथ.

क्रियानिवन्ध m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

क्रियापद्धति by विश्वनाथ. Describes  
rites from the day of death to  
सर्पिण्डीकरण for माध्यन्दिनीयs. D.  
C. Ms. No. 207 of 1884-87.

क्रियापद्धति or पञ्चदशायश्वत्तादिपद्धति  
N. N. p. 237.

क्रियाप्रदीप.

क्रियाश्रय (astrological work in re-  
lation to dharma) m. by अपराक.

क्रियामार m. in नि. सि. and कृष्ण-  
मण्डपसिद्धि; earlier than 1600 A.D.

क्षत्रियसंध्या.

क्षयमासकृत्यनिर्णय.

क्षयमासनिर्णय.

क्षयमाससंस्पर्शकार्यकार्यनिर्णय by परशुराम  
(Stein's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमाससंस्पर्शकार्यकार्यनिर्णयखण्डन by  
परशुराम (Stein's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमासादिविवेक of रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of  
गंगोलीसंजीवेश्वर ; composed dur-  
ing the reign of छत्रसिंह of मिथिला.  
Gives a long list of authorities,  
such as वाचस्पति, वर्धमान, अनन्त-  
पण्डित, महेश, स्मृतिविवेक &c.  
Vide N. vol. VI p. 44.

क्षयाधिकमासविवृति by गणेशदत्त.

क्षेमप्रकाश by क्षेमवर्मन ; composed in  
Vikrama 1568 (1512 A. D.)  
at वीरसिंहपुर, where he was go-  
vernor. On आचार, विष्णुपूजा, शिव-  
पूजा, दान, उत्सर्ग, व्रत : ms. copied  
in संवत् 1582 (1526 A. D.) when  
योगसिंहद्वय was ruler (Stein's cat.  
p. 305, extract).

क्षौर्गतिर्णय or -दर्पण by son of गङ्गाधर.

खड्गविवाह (Baroda O. I. 1142.)

खादिरग्रन्थ (pr. in Mysore G. O. L.  
series and translated in S. B. E.  
vol. 29). Agrees closely with  
गोभिलग्रन्थ.

C. of रुद्रचन्द्र, son of नारायण re-  
siding at मसवाट (pr. in above.).

खादिरग्रन्थकारिका by घासन.



खेटपीठमाला by आपदेव.

गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक by वर्धमान for king राम-भद्रदेव of मिथिला. 1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधरपद्धति by गङ्गाधर (Stein's cat. p. 87) m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम (vide BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 226).

गङ्गाभक्तिरङ्गिणी by गणपति, son of धारेश्वर, in 3 chapters. He says that king नान्य of मिथिला gave कृति to his grandfather. N. vol. V. p. 183; ms. dated 1766 संवत् (1710 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तिरङ्गिणी by चतुर्भुजाचार्य.

गङ्गाभक्तिप्रकाश by हरिनन्दन; composed in संवत् 1852 (1795-96 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तिरसोदय by शिवदेवशर्मा.

गङ्गासूत m. in रघुनन्दन and वर्धमान in गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक.

गङ्गावाक्यावलि by विद्यापति. under the patronage of महादेवी विश्वाम्बेदेवी, wife of पद्मसिंह of मिथिला, son of शिवसिंह, son of देवसिंह, son of भवसिंह; m. by गोविन्दानन्द and रघुनन्दन (in प्रायश्चित्तमन्त्र). About 1400-1450 A. D. Speaks of the advantage of visiting and worshipping the Ganges and bathing therein.

गणपतितत्त्वविवेक.

गणेशपद्धति by सोमेश्वरपुत्र (Ulwar cat. No. 1309).

गणेशविमर्शिनी m. in कुण्डमण्डपमिहि.

गणेशशान्ति.

गदाधरपद्धति (आचारसार) pr. in B. I. series.

गद्यदेवल m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

गद्यविष्णु m. in नि. सि.

गद्यव्यास m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत-वाहन.

गन्धर्वप्रयोग (Stein's cat. p. 87).

गभस्तिस्मृति m. by अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०, हेमाद्रि.

गयादासनबन्ध m. by भट्टोजि. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

गयानुष्ठानपद्धति- part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट.

गयानुष्ठानपद्धति alias गयापद्धति by रघुनाथ. Vide गयापद्धति.

गयापद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

गयापद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; flourished between 1550-1625 A. D.

गयापद्धतिदीपिका by प्रभाकर.

गयाप्रकरण from the त्रिस्थलीसेतु by नारायण.

गयाप्रकाश N. (new series) vol. I. p. 84.

गयाप्रयोग by वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

गयापात्रप्रयोग by मणिरामदीक्षित.

गयावाराणसीपद्धति.

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति.

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विवेदिन (for वाजसनेयवेद).

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनन्दन. Vide p. 417 above.

गयाश्राद्धप्रकरण m. in मलमासतत्त्व.

गयाश्राद्धविधि by गोकुलदेव (Baroda O. I. 8688).

गयाश्राद्धदिपद्धति of वाचस्पति. The first verse specially mentions



- वायुपुराण, गरुडपुराण and कल्पवृक्ष (i. e. कल्पतरु) as its authorities.
- गर्भपद्धति or गृह्यपद्धति, manual of domestic rites (for पारस्करगृह्य) by स्थपतिगर्ग on स्थालीपाकहोम, बलिदान, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, श्रवणाकर्म, शूलगव, वैश्वदेव, मासश्राद्ध, चूडाकरण, उपनयन, ब्रह्मचारिघ्नतानि, सीतायज्ञ, शालाकर्म; expressly states that it follows भर्तृयज्ञमत; m. in गदाधरभाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य and in श्राद्धतत्त्व. I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1575 i. e. 1519 A. D. (Vide I. O. cat. p. 515 No. 1633).
- गर्भस्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, नित्याचार-प्रदीप.
- गर्भधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति by गमदत्त, son of गणेश्वर; completed by स्वामिठाकुर. About first half of 14th century.
- गर्भधानादिविवाहपोदशकर्मपद्धति attributed to शौनक; mentions जयन्त.
- गागाभट्टपद्धति by गागाभट्ट.
- गायत्रीपद्धति of श्रृणभट्ट.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरण or -पद्धति by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाळ, surnamed घरे. He wrote ब्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी in शके 1675 (1753 A. D.).
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by शिवराम.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by साम्बभट्ट.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by काशिनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट and वाराणसी, surnamed भट्ट. His guru was अतन्त. Ulwar cat. extract 618.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट; composed in 1757. A. D.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by अतन्तदेव.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by गीर्वाणेश्वरस्वामी.
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from the गायत्री-पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका (vide Ulwar cat. extract 302).
- गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from शास्त्रातिशय.
- गायत्रीभाष्यनिर्णय (Ulwar cat. No. 1312 and extract 304).
- गर्मांगपद्धति m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 213).
- गार्ग्यस्मृति m. by विश्वम्प, मिता०, अप-राधं, स्मृतिच०.
- गार्हस्थ्यदीपिका by ज्योत्स्न, pupil of यज्ञेश.
- गालवस्मृति m. in स्मृतिच०, कालमाधव.
- गृणमञ्जरी by त्रिपाठिबालकृष्ण, son of काशीराम of the महारङ्ग family. On प्रायश्चित्त.
- गृणसर्वस्व m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर and in तिथितत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व. Earlier than 1400 A. D.
- गूढदीपिका of श्रीनाथ आचार्य m. in his कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.
- गूढार्थदीपिका by वामदेव. Vide स्मृति-दीपिका; on doubtful points of rites and ceremonies.
- गृहपतिधर्म by विश्वेश्वर.
- गृहप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व.
- गृहवास्तु by चन्द्रचूड (portion of संस्कारनिर्णय).
- गृहस्थमुक्ताफल.
- गृहस्थरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर a large work in 589 pages (pr. in B. I. series, 1928); sec. 90.



गृह्यकल्पतरु.

गृह्यकारिका.

- (1) आश्वलायनीय by जयन्त.
- (2) बौधायनीय by कनकसंभारति.
- (3) सामवेदीय by भृवाङ्क, son of विशाखभट्ट.

गृह्यकारिका by कर्क.

गृह्यकारिका by रेणुक, composed in 1266 A. D.

गृह्यकौमुदी m. in गोविन्दार्णव.

गृह्यतात्पर्यदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बगृह्य-  
सूत्र by सुदर्शनाचार्य.

गृह्यपदार्थानुक्रम, summary of matters connected with domestic rites, according to मैत्रायणीयगृह्यसूत्र.

गृह्यपद्धति.

गृह्यपद्धति (यज्ञःशास्त्रीय) by भारकरदीक्षित.  
Ulwar cat. extract 54.

गृह्यपद्धति by रामेश्वर.

गृह्यपद्धति by वासुदेवदीक्षित, in three kandas on संस्कार, अष्टका &c.; ms. copied in शके 1720.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट- vide under बहुच्युतगृह्यपरि-  
शिष्ट, छन्दोगगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट by अनन्तभट्ट.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट by वैकुण्ठनाथाचार्य.

गृह्यप्रदीपकभाष्य, a com. on शाङ्खायन-  
गृह्यसूत्र, by नारायण.

गृह्यप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by ब्रह्मविद्या-  
तीर्थ. He quotes सुदर्शनाचार्य. Ul-  
war cat. extract 14.

गृह्यप्रयोग

बौधायनीय.

वाजसनेय.

गृह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र (Hultzsck R. I. No. 637).

गृह्यभाष्यसंग्रह or गृह्यभाष्यार्थसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि.

गृह्यरत्न by वैदिकसार्वभौम (i. e. prob-  
ably वेङ्कटेश) in 21 khandas; deals with गृह्यसंस्कारs like गर्भा-  
धान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म,  
नामकरण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म, उप-  
नयन, चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि and दैव-  
संस्कारs like पाकयज्ञ.

C. विबुधकण्ठभूषण or कण्ठभूषा by  
वेङ्कटनाथ वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of  
रङ्गनाथ of हारीतगोत्र. Hultzsck R.  
I. No. 603 and extract, p. 88. Refers to his  
पितृमेघसार and its टीका and आशौचशतक and its  
व्याख्या.

गृह्यसंग्रह m. by जयराम in his भाष्य  
on पारस्करगृह्य III. 1. 1.

गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति.

गृह्यसूत्रप्रकाशिका (on पारस्करगृह्य) by  
विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह. About  
1600 A. D.

गृह्याग्निसागर alias प्रयोगसार by नारा-  
यणभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, sur-  
named आरड (आरडे); quotes  
रामाण्डारव्याख्या on धृतराष्ट्रीय भाष्य  
on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगपरिजात, प्रयोग-  
रत्न, निर्णयसिन्धु, भट्टोजिदीक्षित, परशु-  
रामप्रताप and रामवाजपेयी and his  
own आग्निसागर. Later than 1650  
A. D.

गृह्यासंग्रह by गोभिलपुत्र (pr. in B. I.  
series as appendix to गोभिलगृह्य);  
m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि of शिवराम  
and in the छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व and  
मठप्रतिज्ञातत्त्व.



- C. by रामकृष्ण, son of दामोदर.  
 गृह्यासंग्रहपरिशिष्ट m. in छन्दोगवृत्तसंग-  
 तत्त्व and edited by Bloomfield in  
 Z D M G. vol. 35 pp. 537-548  
 in 209 verses and two प्रपाठक.  
 Begins अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं पद्म-  
 योनिना । ब्राह्मणानां हिनार्थाय संस्कारार्थं  
 तु भाषितम् ॥. Text same as in  
 B. I. series.
- गृह्योक्तकर्मपद्धति.  
 गोत्रनिर्णय by केशवदैवज्ञ of नन्दिपुर in  
 27 श्लोकः.  
 C. वाक्पुष्पमाला by प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ ;  
 mentions प्रवरमञ्जरी of श्रीधर.
- गोत्रनिर्णय by बालम्भट्ट.  
 गोत्रनिर्णय by महादेव दैवज्ञ.  
 गोत्रप्रवर ( Bik. cat. p. 391 ).  
 C. भास्कर.
- गोत्रप्रवर by प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ ( probably  
 same as वाक्पुष्पमाला, a com. on  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय of केशव ).
- गोत्रप्रवरकारिका.  
 गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड ( taken from आपस्तम्ब-  
 सूत्र ).  
 गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड ( taken from धर्मसिन्धु ).  
 गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण.  
 गोत्रप्रवरदीप by विष्णुपण्डित.  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव ( in संस्कार-  
 कौस्तुभ, which is taken from his  
 brother's work ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by आपदेव ( probably  
 a mistake, as जीवदेव was a son of  
 आपदेव ). Vide Baroda O. I. No.  
 1870.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by कमलाकर son of  
 रामकृष्ण ( also styled गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण )

- ( pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore  
 1900 ). First half of 17 century.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by केशवदैवज्ञ of नन्दि-  
 ग्राम ( ms. in Baroda O. I. 8131  
 dated शके 1600 ). Each verse  
 ends with the words कुर्वन्तु वो  
 मङ्गलम्.
- C. वाक्पुष्पमाला by प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ.  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ ( Baroda  
 O. I. 11041 ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by जीवदेव, son of आप-  
 देव and younger brother of  
 अनन्तदेव, author of संस्कारकौस्तुभ ;  
 quotes प्रवरमञ्जरी, आश्वलायनसूत्र-  
 वृत्तिकार, नागयणवृत्ति. About 1660-  
 1680 ; says मातृगोत्र is to be avoi-  
 ded in marriage by माधवन्दिनीय  
 alone as सत्याषाढ says and as the  
 शिष्टाचार is to the same effect.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by नागेशभट्ट.  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट m. in  
 गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by पद्मनाभ ( Baroda O.  
 I. 8789 ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजिदीक्षित ; first  
 half of 17th century ( also sty-  
 led गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by ( अभिनव ) माधवा-  
 चार्य.  
 C. by नारायणार्य, son of मण्डू-  
 रघुनाथार्य ( pr. by Chentsalrao,  
 Mysore, 1900 ).
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by रघुनाथ, son of माधव,  
 son of रामेश्वर. 1550-1625 A. D.,
- गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by विश्वनाथदेव or विश्वे-  
 श्वर, son of शरभुदेव and younger  
 brother of रामदेव ; finished at



Benares (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 580). Composed in Śake 1506 (Baroda O. I. 11055). In verse and prose.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by सदाराम.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयवाक्यसुधारण by विश्वनाथ-  
देव (Baroda O. I. 9375).  
Different from गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर by भट्टोजि; same as  
गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by केशव, who also  
wrote मुहूर्ततत्त्व.

C. by राम; quotes स्मृत्यर्थसार,  
प्रयोगपारिजात.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी alias प्रवरमञ्जरी by पु-  
नोत्तमपण्डित (standard work on  
this subject). Pr. by Chentsal-  
rao, Mysore, 1900. Under each of  
the eight original gotras quotes  
passages from आपस्तम्ब, आश्वला-  
यन, कात्यायन, बौधायन, मत्स्यपुराण,  
लौगाक्षि, सत्यापाढ; mentions धूर्त-  
स्वामी, कपर्दिस्वामी, and ग्रहदेवस्वामी  
as भाष्यकारs on आपस्तम्बसूत्र; m. in  
नि. सि., वृत्तिहप्रसाद, दत्तकमीमांसा.  
Earlier than 1450 A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by शङ्करतान्त्रिक; gives  
exhaustive enumeration of divi-  
sions and sub-divisions of go-  
tras; mentions ज्योतिर्विन्ध्य, प्रवर-  
दीपिका, व्याख्याकार of बौधायन.  
(Baroda O. I. No. 7657).

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरीसारोद्धार by शङ्करदैवज्ञ,  
son of शिव.

गोत्रप्रवररत्न by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of राम-  
कृष्णभट्ट and younger brother of  
कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1585-1630  
A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरविवेक (from the धर्मप्रदीप by  
धनञ्जय).

गोत्रप्रवराध्याय vide प्रवराध्याय.

गोत्रप्रवरोच्चार (from the ओदीच्य-  
प्रकाश).

गोत्रासृत by वृत्तिहपण्डित.

गोदानविधिसंग्रह by मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन,  
son of व्रजराज.

गोपालकारिका (बौधायनीय) 420 verses  
on various matters connected  
with religious observances, such  
as the measurement and con-  
struction of altars.

गोपालपद्धति He is m. even by नारा-  
यण. Earlier than 1000 A. D.  
BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 183.

गोपालपूजापद्धति by दिनकर, son of  
वृत्तिह belonging to दशार्ण coun-  
try (on worship of कृष्ण). I. O.  
ms. (cat. p. 587) dated संवत्  
1664.

गोपालरत्नाकर by गोपाल.

गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in आचाररत्न.

गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.

गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका by लक्ष्मीनाथ.

गोभिलग्रहसूत्र (pr. in B. I. series  
and by Dr. Knauer and tr. in  
S. B. E. vol. 30.).

C. (भाष्य) by भट्टनारायण son of  
महाबल; m. in आश्वतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन;  
ms. copied in ल. सं. 431  
(1549-50 A. D.).

C. (भाष्य) by यशोधर, m. in दान-  
क्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द and in  
आश्वतत्त्व. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. सरला m. in तिथितत्त्व and आश्व-  
तत्त्व. Earlier than 1500 A. D.



- C. by सायण.
- C. सुबोधिनीपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (different from the author's कारिकाव्यबोधिनी). About 1640 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 86).
- C. पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रविष्णु, of मथुरा.
- C. कारिकार्यबोधिनी by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (Stein's cat. p. 15 and p. 250).
- गोभिलपरिशिष्ट (pr. in B. I. series with com.) on सन्ध्यासूत्र, स्नानसूत्र and आश्वकल्प.
- C. प्रकाश by तारायण : m. by रघुनन्दन.
- गोभिलआश्वसूत्रभाष्य m. by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व and आश्वतत्त्व. Probably same as भाष्य of महायशस्.
- गोभिलसन्ध्यासूत्र.
- गोभिलस्मृति-same as कर्मप्रदीप of कान्वायन. Anan. Sm. pp. 49-71.
- गोभिलीपरिशिष्ट (on rites for propitiating the planets in their evil positions, on ग्रहयाग etc.) N. vol. X. pp. 201-202.
- गोभिलीयआश्वकल्प.
- C. (भाष्य) by महायशस्, m. in आश्वतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. महायशस् is probably same as यशोधर above.
- C. by समुद्रकर m. in आश्वकला of भवदेव's स्मृतिचन्द्र.
- गोवधप्रायश्चित्त.
- गोविन्दमानसोल्लास m. in एकादशीतत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व. So earlier than 1500 A. D.
- गोविन्दार्चनचन्द्रिका (pr. at Bombay).
- गोविन्दार्णव alias स्मृतिसागर or धर्म-तत्त्वावलोक by शेषनृसिंह son of रामचन्द्र ; compiled under the orders of महाराजाधिराज गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kāśī, divided into six वीचिस (waves) on संस्कार, आह्निक, आश्व, शुद्धि, काल and प्रायश्चित्त ; quotes कल्पतरु, अपराह, माधवाचार्य, विश्वेश्वरभट्ट and is quoted in the निर्णयसिन्धु, आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मणभट्ट ; compiled between 1400 and 1450 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract, 304 for a long description of a town ताण्डेतिका near Benares, which is said to have surpassed Delhi and Kalpi and of the श्रीवास्तव family of kings, of which गोविन्दचन्द्र was a scion and of the शेष family. The Ulwar ms. (verse 85) speaks of only five वीचिस (omitting प्रायश्चित्त). It appears that शेषकृष्ण in his शूद्राचारशिरोमणि claims the गोविन्दार्णव as his work. Vide Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 248.
- गौडनिबन्ध m. in the पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.
- गौडनिबन्धसागर m. in नि. मि. (probably the आश्वसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट).
- गौडआश्वकौमुदी m. in निर्णयसिन्धु (probably the आश्वकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द).
- गौडसंवत्सरप्रदीप m. in the कालसागर of गदाधर.



गौडीयचिन्तामणि m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

गौतमधर्मसूत्र- vide sec. 5 ; pr. in B. S. series and Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 403-434.

C. by कुलमणि शूक.

C. ( भाष्य ) by मत्सरिण ( pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series ).

C. मिताक्षरा by हरदत्त ( pr. in Ānan. P. )

गौतमस्मृति.

ग्रन्थराज or स्मृतिग्रन्थराज.

ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकुसुम by शङ्करशर्मन्.

ग्रहणक्रियाक्रम.

ग्रहणनिर्णय ( from the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट ).

ग्रहणश्राद्धनिर्णय.

ग्रहदानप्रयोग ; refers to माधव.

ग्रहमखतिलक by माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य, of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Peterson's 5th Report p. 176.

ग्रहमखप्रयोग ( N. X. p. 200 ).

ग्रहपञ्चकारिका.

ग्रहपञ्चतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Mentions दीपिका.

ग्रहपञ्चदीपिका by सदाशिव दीक्षित.

ग्रहपञ्चनिरूपण from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

ग्रहपञ्चपद्धति.

ग्रहपञ्चप्रयोग.

ग्रहपञ्चविधान by अनन्तदेवभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट.

ग्रहप्रागकौमुदी by रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य.

ग्रहप्रागयोगतत्त्व or ग्रहप्रागतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन, son of हरिभट्ट ; pr. in Ben-

gali type by Sanskrit Sahitya-parishad, Calcutta ( No. 10 ).

This is over and 'above his 28 तत्त्वः.

ग्रहयोगशान्ति.

ग्रहशान्ति according to शाङ्खायन and गोभिल.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति or वासिष्ठीशान्ति by गणपति रावल, son of हरिशङ्कर. About 1686 A. D.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by योद्धुराज.

ग्रहस्थापनपद्धति ( Peterson's 5th Report p. 98 ).

ग्रामनिर्णय or पातित्यग्रामनिर्णय ( from the सप्तविंशखण्ड of the स्कन्दपुराण ).

घृतप्रदानरत्न by प्रेमनिधि.

चक्रनारायणीय m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि. So earlier than 1400.

चक्रनारायणीयनिबन्ध or स्मृतिसारोद्धार by विश्वम्भगत्रिवेदिन in 12 उद्धारः on सामान्यनिर्णय, एकभक्तादिनिर्णय, तिथिसामान्यनिर्णय, प्रतिपदादितिथिनिर्णय, व्रत, संक्रान्ति, श्राद्ध, आशौच, गर्भाधानादिकालनिर्णय, आह्निक, त्यत्रहार, प्रायश्चित्त, under orders of prince नारायणमल्ल, son of भीममल्ल ; mentions प्रतापमार्तण्ड, होरिलस्मृति, रूपनारायणीय, अनन्तभट्टाय. First half of 17th century ; pr. in Ch. S. series.

चण्डिकाचन्द्रीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट, son of शिवरामभट्ट, of the भट्ट family. ( Ulwar cat. extract 620 ).

चण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.



चण्डीप्रयोग by नागोजिभट्ट.

चण्डकानिबन्ध or स्मार्तकर्मनुष्ठानक्रमविवरण by महामात्य श्रीसम्राट् चण्डक.  
On daily duties, श्राद्ध, मलमास, त्रयोदशीनिर्णय &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 296 dated संवत् 1593 ).

चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रशस्ति by मर्दाशिख.

चतुर्थीकर्मन् (on the ceremonies to be performed on the fourth night after marriage ).

चतुर्दशश्लोकी by भट्टोजि ( Baroda O. I. 1488 ). In fourteen verses on श्राद्ध.

C. by महेश्वर.

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि. Vide sec. 87 (pr. in B. I. series). Hultsch R. I. No. 658 contains प्रायश्चित्त and व्यवहार, but they are most probably by a different author.

चतुर्विंशतिमत or -स्मृति. Vide sec. 42.

C. by भट्टोजि ( Ben. S. series publishes on संस्कार and श्राद्ध ). The I. O. cat. ms. p. 475 (on संस्कार-काण्ड only) ascribes it in the colophons to रामचन्द्र, son of नारायणभट्ट. Mss. of अद्वैत, आचार and प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड are known.

C. by रामचन्द्र, son of नारायण.

चतुर्विंशतिस्तुतिमतसार ( Baroda O. I. 2247 and 10540 ).

चतुर्विंशतिस्मृतिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्संस्काराः

चन्दनधेनुदानप्रमाण or -तत्त्व by वाचस्पति.  
Rites on the occasion of the first śrāddha of a woman dying  
H. D. 69.

before her husband and son.  
Based on रत्नाकर. N. (new series)  
I. p. 100.

चन्दनधेनुत्सर्गपद्धति by रत्ननाथ भट्टाचार्य  
of नवद्वीप. N. (new series) I. p. 101 ; ms. dated 1765 A. D.

चन्द्रकमलाकर.

चन्द्रकालिका.

चन्द्रनिबन्ध quoted in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रप्रकाश m. by नि. सि., नन्दपण्डित's  
श्राद्धकल्पलता, भट्टोजि. Earlier than  
1570 A. D.

चन्द्रस्मृति m. in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रोदय m. in नि. सि. (probably  
पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय or आचारचन्द्रोदय).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by नारायणभट्ट (pr.  
at Benares, 1870); m. in आचार-  
मयूख, समयमयूख.

C. मिताक्षरा.

C. अन्वयार्थदीपिका by धर्मेश्वर (pr.  
at Benares, 1870 ).

C. by नारायण.

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by राजर्षिभट्ट; (is  
probably the work so m. by नि.  
सि.). It is on astrology. Earlier  
than 1550 A. D.

C. (ms. dated संवत् 1657 i. e.  
1600-1601 A. D.).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by वैद्यनाथ. On  
संस्कारs of two kinds, ब्राह्म ( गर्भा-  
धान and others ) and दैव ( such  
as पाकयज्ञ ), on मुहूर्तs for गर्भाधान  
and other संस्कारs and on मल-  
मासकृत्याकृत्य ; D. C. No. 112 of  
1895-1902 copied in संवत् 1719.



चलाचलमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा.

चलाचल (acc. to बोधायन); vide B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 243.

चलाचलपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

चलाचलपद्धति of नारायण based on गृह्य-परिशिष्ट, त्रिविक्रमपद्धति, कालादर्श, पुरुषार्थप्रबोध, शारदातिलक and बोप-देव. Later than 1450 A. D.

चाणक्यनीति (ed. by Kressler).

चाणक्यनीति or चाणक्यराजनीति or चा-णक्यशातक. 'There is a हृद्-चाणक्य in 660 verses. There is a लघु-चाणक्य also.

चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण of गजानन.

चाणक्यनीतिसारसंग्रह in 108 stanzas. It begins 'मूलसूत्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि चाणक्येन यथोदितम्'.

चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्र (pr. in Calcutta O. series No. 2, 1921).

चाणक्यसप्तति.

चाणक्यसारसंग्रह.

चाणक्यसूत्र (pr. at end of the कौटिलीय in Dr. Sham Sastri's edition).

चातुराश्रम्यधर्म by श्रीकण्ठायन.

चातुर्मास्यकारिका by गोपाल.

चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्मसंग्रह.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार by गङ्गादत्त.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवरण by गङ्गाधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन by धरणीधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था by धरणीधर.

चारावणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

चारुचर्या by क्षेमेन्द्र (pr. in Kāvya-mālā series).

चारुचर्या by भोजराज.

चूडाकर्मादेशान्तौ.

चूडाकर्म by दत्तपण्डित.

चूडाकर्मप्रयोग.

चौलोपनयन from the विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति of विश्वनाथ.

चौलोपनयनप्रयोग.

छन्दोगकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide छन्दोगपद्धति.

छन्दोगगृह्य. Vide गोभिलगृह्य.

C. (भाष्य) m. by हरदत्त in his अनाविला.

छन्दोगपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट; vide sec. 73.

C. संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य of रामनाथ, composed in Śāke 1544 (1622 A. D.).

छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट- same as कर्मप्रदीप. (It is in verse).

छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

C. m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर.

C. प्रकाश by महामहोपाध्याय नारायण, son of गोण and grandson of उमापति, who was a great प्राभाकर and patronised by king जयपाल. Vide under कर्मप्रदीप.

CC. सारमञ्जरी by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य.

CC. by हरिराम.

CC. by हरिहर.

C. by आशाधर or आशार्क, son of चक्रधर.

छन्दोगप्रायश्चित्त.

छन्दोगश्राद्ध.

छन्दोगश्राद्धतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम, son of राधावल्लभ, son of रामकृष्ण.



छन्दोगश्राद्धदीपिका by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकर.

छन्दोगाचारकृत्य m. by रघुनन्दन.

छन्दोगानीयाह्निक by शिवराम, son of विश्राम. (I. O. cat. I, p. 95 ms. dated संवत् 1810 i. e. 1753-4 A. D.). Composed about 1640.

छन्दोगाह्निक by गोबधनदीक्षित, son of वेणीदास (Baroda O. I. No. 1026). Ms. dated संवत् 1860.

छन्दोगाह्निक by श्रीदत्त, m. by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

छन्दोगाह्निक by सदानन्द.

छन्दोगाह्निकपद्धति by रामकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन.

छन्दोगाह्निकोद्धार of शङ्करामिश्र, son of भवनाथमिश्र. Vide under प्रायश्चित्त-प्रदीप.

छन्दोपहारावलि.

छागलेखस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा, हेमाद्रि, माधवाचार्य.

जगद्ब्रह्मा by श्रीब्रह्माचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र (in more than 24 प्रकरणस).

जगन्नाथकारिका m. in गदाधर's भाष्य on पारस्करश्रुति.

जगन्नाथप्रकाश by सूरमिश्र, composed under orders of जगन्नाथ, of Kāmboja family. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 109 for contents (the ms. was copied in संवत् 1838 i. e. 1782-3 A. D.); in ten प्रभस.

जटमलविलास by श्रीधर compiled under the patronage of prince

(महाठक्कर) जटमल, younger brother of चायमल, who was son of बालचन्द्र, son of डौल who was sole minister of the king of Delhi. The family was Mandira from Kosala country and their capital was स्वर्णपुरी. Deals with आचार, काल, श्राद्ध, संक्रान्ति, मलमास, संस्कार, आशौच and शुद्धि. The date in the I. O. ms. is corrupt 'वानाक्षवाणक्षिति' (? रत्नाक्षवाणक्षिति 1559) of the विक्रम era. About 1500 A. D. Names काल-निर्णय, कालदर्श, प्रासाददीपिका.

जनदोषप्रतिकार-ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 2365) dated 1565 संवत् (1508-9 A. D.).

जन्मदिनकृत्यपद्धति.

जन्मदिवसपूजापद्धति.

जन्मभरणधिवेक by वाचस्पति (Baroda O. I. No. 12774). On अशौच and श्राद्ध.

जन्माष्टमीतत्त्व or जन्माष्टमीव्रततत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय by विठ्ठलेश्वर.

जयतुङ्ग m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयन्तकारिका.

जयन्तीनिर्णय (on कृष्णजन्माष्टमी) by आनन्दतीर्थ.

जयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक, pupil of रामानुजयोगीन्द्र and son of आत्रेय कृष्णार्थ.

जयमाधयमानसोल्लास by जयसिंहदेव of गोरक्षपुर (modern Gorakhpur). He was a devotee of नारायण; deals with all religious acts



(nitya, naimittika, and kāmya) about वासुदेव. The प्रशस्ति at the end of D. C. ms. No. 241 of A 1881-82 is by हरिदास राजपण्डित; ms. copied संवत् 1827 (1771 A. D.).

जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम by रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, son of पण्डितश्रीदेव-भट्ट of Benares (extensive work in 900 pages pr. by Lakṣmivenka-tesvara Press at Kalyan in 1925). A digest in 19 स्तवक on काल, व्रत, श्राद्ध, दान etc. the first being on काल, compiled under the patronage of जयसिंह who performed ज्योतिष्टोम in उज्जयिनी and also पौण्डरीक. His city अम्बिका (Amber) is also referred to. Composed in Vikrama 1770 (1713 A. D.). Gives genealogy as जयसिंह (who brought Shivaji to Delhi) - रामसिंह-कृष्णसिंह-विष्णु-सिंह-जयसिंह. Sometimes called 'द्रुमोद्घोत' (Ulwar cat. extract 305); pr. in Bombay, 1903.

जयानिर्घन्ध (निबन्ध?) m. in कृत्य-रत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (p. 166).

जयाभिवेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ.

जयार्णव m. by नि. सि. and by गदाधर in पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य. Vide युद्ध-जयार्णव.

जलयात्रा.

जलाशयप्रतिष्ठा by भागुणिमिश्र.

जलाशयारामोत्सर्गविधि or -पद्धति.

(1) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर; quotes रूपनारायण; 1513-1575 A. D.; sec. 103.

(2) by कमलाकर; sec. 106.

जलाशयोत्सर्गप्रकाश pr. at Ratnagarh (1893 A. D.).

जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (pr. by Jivananda). Sec. 102.

जातकर्मन् from the संस्कारभास्कर.

जातकर्मपद्धति by केशवभट्ट.

जातकर्मपद्धति by दामोदर.

जातकर्मादिपालाशकर्मन्त by बापणभट्ट.

जातरिष्ट्यादिनिर्णय by विद्यार्णव; N (new series) II p. 55-56.

जातिनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No. 11003) on कायस्थ etc.

जातिमाला (part of रुद्रयामलतन्त्र).

जातिमाला (vide N. vol. II, p. 151) on the origin of different Hindu castes.

जातिमाला by सोमनाथ, son of सुबल and ज्ञापान्विता, surnamed सकलकल and inhabitant of जलग्राम. Divided into three parts in verse on लक्ष्मीनिन्दा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति; but contains nothing on धर्म or जाति. D. C. Ms. No. 302 of 1884-86.

जातिमाला (from पराशरपद्धति); Stein's cat. p. 94.

जातिविवेक m. in शुद्धाचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण and in वृत्तिह्रसदा.

जातिविवेक by कृष्णगोविन्द पण्डित. Part of a larger work called वर्णा-श्रमधर्मदीपिका.

जातिविवेक by व्यम्बक.

जातिविवेक by नारायणभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 11147).



जातिविवेक by पराशर.

जातिविवेक by रघुनाथ.

जातिविवेक by विश्वनाथ (N. vol. IX p. 179). Stein's cat. calls it 'विवेकसंग्रह' (p. 89).

जातिविवेक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट (probably same as first part of कायस्थधर्म-दीप).

जातिविवेक by व्यासगोपीनाथकवि of वासिष्ठगोत्र, son of शाङ्गधर, grandson of विश्वनाथ, of प्रत्यण्डपुर (Parāṇḍa in Mahārāṣṭra?). In three उद्गास; ms. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 519 No. 1639) is dated śake 1364 (1642 A. D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat. No. 1323) says that it is part of विश्वभरवास्तु-शास्त्र, which is quoted by हेमाद्रि and he gives the father's name as व्यासराज previously called विश्वनाथ and grandfather as 'Samaraja'.

जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न attributed to सायण.

जातिविवेकसंग्रह by विश्वनाथ.

जातिसाङ्गर्ण by शिवलाल झकुल.

जातिसाङ्गर्णवाद by अनन्तात्मार.

जातिसाङ्गर्णवाद by वेणीराम शाकदीपिन.

जिकनीयतिबन्ध m. in दुर्गोत्सविवेक of शूलपाणि and by कुल्लुक.

जीर्णोद्धारविधि (according to त्रिविक्रम) on repairing temples, images of gods &c. N. vol. X. p. 271.

जीवच्छादप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट.

जीवच्छादप्रयोग by शौनक.

जीवत्पितृकर्मकृत्यनिर्णय by बालकृष्णभट्ट, son of रत्नोजिभट्ट. N. (new series) vol. III p. 64 (ms. dated संवत् 1785).

जीवत्पितृकर्मकृत्यनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण पाय-गुण्डे (Baroda O. I. Nos. 358 and 5549).

जीवत्पितृकर्मकृत्यनिर्णय or-कर्मनिर्णय by रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. About 1570-1590 A. D.

जीवत्पितृकर्मकृत्यसंचय by कृष्णभट्ट.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था by मधुसूदन-गोस्वामिन, son of ब्रजराज.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्थासार by मधुसूदन-गोस्वामिन, son of ब्रजराज.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था-सारसंग्रह- abridgment of the above ms. (Ulwar cat. No. 1324) copied in गंवत् 1812 (1755-6 A. D.).

जीवश्राद्ध Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 611.

जैमिनिग्रह्य (ed. by Dr. Caland, Panjab Oriental Series 1922).

C. सुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवास (extracts printed in above).

जैमिनिग्रह्यमन्त्रवार्ति.

जातिभेदविवेक.

ज्ञानभास्कर (in the form of a dialogue between सूर्य and अरुण). Divided into प्रकाश on प्रायश्चित्त, कर्म &c.; vide Bik. cat. p. 398. Burnell (Tanjore ms. cat. p. 136 b) says that the author's name appears to be दिक्षमणि. Baroda O. I. 1136 is a part of it (कर्मप्रकाश on रोगाधिकार) and ex-



- tends over 10000 ग्रंथ and No. 10546 is another in 14000 ग्रंथ.
- ज्ञानमाला by भट्टोत्पल m. in the धर्म-  
प्रदीप of भोज and in आह्निकतत्त्व of  
रघुनन्दन and in आचारमयूख.
- ज्ञानरत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि, नृसिंहप्रसाद  
(दानसार), कुण्डकौमुदी. Earlier  
than 1250 A. D.
- ज्ञानाङ्कुर by चूडामणि, son of राघवेन्द्र-  
चट्ट, in four स्तवकs.
- ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी by कृष्णानन्द on  
संस्कारs.
- ज्योष्टाविधान.
- ज्योतिःकालकौमुदी m. by रघुनन्दन.
- ज्योतिःसागर m. in कालसार of गदाधर,  
नि. सि.
- ज्योतिःसागरसार by मधुरेश.
- ज्योतिःसागरसार by वियानिधि; N.  
(new series) vol. I p. 134, ms.  
dated Śāke 1670 (1718 A. D.).
- ज्योतिःसार m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति and  
गोविन्दार्णव.
- ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह m. by रघुनन्दन in  
ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मदनपारिजात.
- ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह by हृदयानन्द वियालङ्कार.
- ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय m. by रघुनन्दन.
- ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय by नन्द, son of देव-  
शर्मन्.
- ज्योतिरर्णव m. in गोविन्दार्णव, सं. कौ.
- ज्योतिर्निबन्ध m. in शुद्धकमलाकर and  
संस्कारमयूख and शुद्धिमयूख.
- ज्योतिर्नृसिंह m. in गोविन्दार्णव and चतु-  
र्विंशतिमत्तव्याख्यान of भट्टोजि.
- ज्योतिषरत्न m. in संस्कारभास्कर of सिद्धे-  
श्वर.
- ज्योतिषरत्न by केशवतर्कपञ्चानन N.  
(new series) II. p. 58.
- ज्योतिषार्णव m. by दुर्गात्सवविवेक of  
शूलपाणि, by रघुनन्दन.
- ज्योतिषप्रकाश m. by प्रयोगरत्न of नारा-  
यणभट्ट, नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव.
- ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.
- टोडरप्रकाश by रघुनन्दनमिश्र, under  
Raja Tōḍaramalla.
- टोडरानन्द vide sec. 104.
- दुण्ढिप्रताप by विश्वनाथ under the  
patronage of Mahārāja दुण्ढि. On  
the rites for every day of the  
year; ms. written in Śāke 1589  
i. e. 1667-68 A. D. (Burnell's  
Tanjore cat. p. 136b.).
- दुण्ढुपद्धति m. in the अन्येष्टिपद्धति of  
नारायणभट्ट, by रघुनन्दन in श्राद्धतत्त्व  
(vol. I p. 213) and in शुद्ध-  
कमलाकर; earlier than 1525 A. D.
- तडागप्रतिष्ठा.
- तडागादिपद्धति of टोडरमल्ल (part of  
टोडरानन्द).
- तडागादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by धर्मकर उपाध्याय.
- तडागादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by मधुसूदन गो-  
स्वामी.
- तडागोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.
- तत्त्वकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्दकविकृष्-  
णाचार्य. It is a com. on श्राद्धविवेक  
of शूलपाणि.
- तत्त्वकौमुद by भट्टोजिदीक्षित (Baroda  
O. I. No. 376). Written at the  
bidding of केलदी बेङ्गदेश. Dilates



on the question as to who should observe *तन्त्र* rites, discourses on the inadvisability of *तत्समुद्राधारण* and *लिङ्गधारण*.

*तत्त्वदीप* by *व्यम्बक*.

*तत्त्वनिर्णय* by *पक्षधरमिश्र*, son of *महामहोपाध्याय वटेश्वर*. Vide *Mitra's Notices* vol. V, p. 155 for contents; ms. copied in *śake* 1661.

*तत्त्वप्रकाश*-vide *शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका*.

*तत्त्वसुक्तावली* vide *BBRAS* cat. p. 217 No. 687, probably same as the next.

C. vide *BBRAS* cat. p. 217 No. 687.

*तत्त्वसुक्तावली* of *नन्दपण्डित* vide sec. 105. Gives summary of his *स्मृतिसिन्धु*.

C. *बालसूत्रा* by *बालकृष्ण*.

C. *बालसूत्रा* by *वेणीदत्त*.

*तत्त्वसंग्रह* by *कोनेरिभट्ट*.

*तत्त्वसागर* m. by *हेमाद्रि* and *रघुनन्दन* in *एकादशीतत्त्व* and *तिथितत्त्व* and in *आचारमयूख*.

*तत्त्वसार* m. in *मलमासतत्त्व* of *रघु*.

*तत्त्वसारसंहिता* m. by *हेमाद्रि*.

*तत्त्वामृतधर्मशास्त्र*-vide *स्मृतितत्त्वामृत*.

*तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार* by *वर्धमान*. An abridgment of his *स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक* or *तत्त्वामृत* divided into four *कोश* on *आचार*, *श्राद्ध*, *शुद्धि* and *व्यवहार*. Composed when king *राम* of *मिथिला* was reigning. Latter half of 15th century; mentions his *दण्डविवेक* in *व्यवहारकोश*.

*तत्त्वार्थकौस्तुभ* by *गोविन्दानन्दकविकृष्ण* *नाचार्य*, a com. on *प्रायश्चित्तविवेक* of *शूलपाणि* (pr. by *Jivanda*).

*तत्त्वार्थदीप*.

*तन्त्रप्रकाश* m. by *रघुनन्दन* in *आह्निकतत्त्व*.

*तन्त्रसारपञ्चरत्न*.

C. *तन्त्रसागरप्रकाशिका*.

*तत्समुद्राखण्डन* by *अप्यय्यदीक्षित* (against the practice of branding the body with marks, as *वैष्णव*s do).

*तत्समुद्राधारण* or *चक्रमीमांसा* from *स्मृतिकौस्तुभ*.

*तत्समुद्राविवाचण* by *भास्करदीक्षित*.

*तत्समुद्राविवेक* by *हरिरायगोस्वामिन्* (*Baroda* O. I. 11575).

*सर्पणचन्द्रिका* by *रामचरण*.

*तारकोपदेशन्यवस्था* by *अमृतानन्दतीर्थ*.

*तिथिकल्पद्रुम* by *कल्याण*.

*तिथिकौस्तुभ* or *तिथिदीधितिकौस्तुभ* of *अनन्तदेव*, son of *आपदेव*.

*तिथिचक्र* by *विश्वनाथ*; *Baroda* O. I, 8336).

*तिथिचन्द्रिका* by *पक्षधरमिश्र*; (*B. O.* mss. cat. vol. I No. 145; ms. copied in *ल.* सं. 345 i. e. 1464 A. D.

*तिथिचन्द्रिका* by *हरिदत्तमिश्र*.

*तिथिचन्द्रोदय* m. in *अहल्याकामधेनु*.

*तिथितत्त्व* by *रघुनन्दन*.

C. by *काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार*. N. (new series) I. p. 155

C. by *काशीराम वाचस्पति*. N. (new series) II p. 71.



- C. by रामचरण विद्यावाचस्पति ; N. ( new series ) II. p. 72.
- तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि by महेशाठकुर ( pr. at Benares in 1887 A. D. ).
- तिथितत्त्वसार by आपदेव.
- तिथिदर्पण.
- तिथिदीपिति ( part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव ).
- तिथिदीपिका by काशीनाथ, son of जय-रामभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. No. 10724 ).
- तिथिद्वैतनिर्णय ( or तिथिविवेक ) by शूल-पाणि. Same as above.
- तिथिद्वैधप्रकरण alias तिथिविवेक by शूल-पाणि. Names संबत्सरप्रदीप, स्मृति-समृच्चय.
- C. by श्रीनाथशर्मन्, son of श्रीकर.
- तिथिनिर्णय from the कालमाधव.
- तिथिनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. No. 10611 is dated संवत् 1583 i. e. 1526-27 A. D. ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by कमलाकर.
- तिथिनिर्णय by गङ्गाधर..
- तिथिनिर्णय by गोपाल.
- तिथिनिर्णय by गोविन्दभट्टबुद्धिल ( Ulwar cat. No. 1326 ). Peterson is wrong in saying that he praises one कालरघूत्तम. रघूत्तम is here राम the incarnation of विष्णु, identified with काल ( Time ) and ब्रह्म.
- तिथिनिर्णय by दयाशङ्कर.
- तिथिनिर्णय by देवदासमिश्र.
- तिथिनिर्णय by नागदेव, son of शिव; based upon निर्णयसिन्धु.
- तिथिनिर्णय by नागोजिभट्ट.
- तिथिनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.
- तिथिनिर्णय by पक्षधरमिश्र.
- तिथिनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण भारद्वाज. Re-  
lies on हेमाद्रि.
- तिथिनिर्णय by भट्टोजि ( pr. at Benares and Bombay ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by मधुरानाथ शुक्ल.
- तिथिनिर्णय by महादेव.
- तिथिनिर्णय by माधव ( part of काल-  
निर्णय ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ ( probably same as राघवभट्ट ). W. and K. cat. II p. 282 notes that रघुनाथ is written on title page of राघव's तिथिनिर्णय.
- तिथिनिर्णय by रमापति सिन्धान्त; N. ( new series ) I. p. 156 ; composed in śake 1633.
- तिथिनिर्णय by राघवभट्ट ; names निर्णय-  
सिन्धु and नीलकण्ठ. So later than 1640 A. D. ; ms. copied in śake 1681 ( 1766 A. D. ); pr. at Bombay in 1864.
- तिथिनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र, pupil of गोपाल, Baroda O. I. No. 1524. About 1400 A. D.
- C by हस्तिह, son of the author. Ms. dated संवत् 1638 ( 1582 A. D. ).
- तिथिनिर्णय by रामप्रसाद.
- तिथिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति.
- तिथिनिर्णय by विश्वेश ; names हेमाद्रि, माधव, चमत्कारचिन्तामणि, पुराण-  
समृच्चय.



- तिथिनिर्णय by वैद्यनाथ (from चमत्कार-  
चिन्तामणि).
- तिथिनिर्णय by शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामी (U-  
war cat. No. 1329).
- तिथिनिर्णय by शुभङ्कर.
- तिथिनिर्णय by सिद्धलक्ष्मण.
- तिथिनिर्णय by सुदर्शन.
- तिथिनिर्णय from the लघुमाधवीय of  
माधवाचार्य.
- तिथिनिर्णय from the स्मृत्यर्थसार.
- तिथिनिर्णयकारिका by श्रीनिवासार्थ, son  
of गोविन्दार्थ of the कौशिकगोत्र.
- तिथिनिर्णयचक्र by विश्वनाथ (Baroda  
O. I. No. 8336).
- तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व by शिवनन्दननाग.
- तिथिनिर्णयदीपिका by रामदेव, son of  
हाम्भु.
- तिथिनिर्णयमार्तण्ड by कृष्णमित्राचार्य.
- तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप or तिथिनिर्णय by  
भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर.
- तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह by रामचन्द्र. A sum-  
mary of the तिथिनिर्णय of अनन्त-  
भट्ट.  
C. by नृसिंह (Baroda O. I. ms.  
No. 1524 is dated संवत् 1683).  
Later than 1400 A. D.
- तिथिनिर्णयसर्वसमुच्चय.
- तिथिनिर्णयसार by मदनपाल. Vide sec.  
93.
- तिथिनिर्णयेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.
- तिथिनिर्णयोद्धार or लघुतिथिनिर्णय or  
-निर्णयोद्धार by राघवभट्ट. Vide तिथि-  
निर्णय above. Also called तिथि-  
सारसंग्रह.
- तिथिप्रकाश by गङ्गादास द्विवेदिन.  
H. D. 70.
- तिथिप्रकाशप्रकाशिका.
- तिथिप्रदीपक by भट्टोजि.
- तिथिप्रदीपिका by नृसिंह. Refers to  
विद्यारण्य.
- तिथिप्रदीपिका by रामसेवक.
- तिथिमन्त्रि of गणेश, son of ज्ञानेश्वर,  
son of महादेव, son of लालभट्ट.
- तिथिरत्न by महादेव.
- तिथिरत्नमाला by नीलकण्ठ, son of  
अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि.
- तिथिवाक्यनिर्णय--Vide तिथिनिर्णय of  
नारायणभट्ट.
- तिथिविवेक of गूलपाणि m. in रघुनन्दन's  
तिथितत्त्व.  
C. तात्पर्यदीपिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्य-  
चूडामणि, son of श्रीकर; about  
1475-1525 A.D. N. (new series)  
vol. II. pp. 73-74 ms. copied in  
1512-13 A. D.
- तिथिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.
- तिथिसंग्रह or तिथिनिर्णय by राघव. Vide  
above (pr. in Bombay 1864).
- तिथिसंग्रह ano. N. (new series) II.  
p. 75.
- तिथिस्वरूप or सर्वतिथिस्वरूप by सुरेश्वर.
- तिथीन्दुशेखर by नागेशभट्ट.
- तिथ्यर्क by दिवाकर, son of महादेव,  
son of बालकृष्ण of भारद्वाजगोत्र;  
author of आचारार्क (both being  
parts of धर्मशास्त्रसुप्रतिधि). About  
1683 A. D.
- अनुक्रमणिका by his son वैद्यनाथ.
- तिथ्यर्कपर्वनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No.  
5947). The author says that  
नारायणभट्ट author of प्रयोगरत्न was



the great-grand-father (प्रपितामह) of his mother. So author flourished about 1650 A. D.

तिथ्यर्कप्रकाश by दिवाकर (same as तिथ्यर्क above ?).

तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि भास्कर (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 5772 is dated 1605 संवत् i. e. 1548-9 A. D.). Mentions दीपिका, कालादर्श, माधव and निर्णयासूत. So later than 1400 A. D.

तिथ्यादिनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ.

तिथ्यादिनिर्णय of पद्मनाभ (part of योगीश्वरसंग्रह; ms. copied in 1707 A. D.).

तिथ्यादिधिषिसंग्रह by रघुनाथ तर्कशिरोमणि. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 75.

तिथ्युक्तिरत्नावली by हरिलालमिश्र.

तीर्थकमलाकर alias सर्वतीर्थविधि of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Vide sec. 106.

तीर्थकल्पलता by गोकुलदेव, son of अनन्तदेव.

तीर्थकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Sec. 105.

तीर्थकल्पलता by वाचस्पति.

तीर्थकाशिका m. by गङ्गाधर.

तीर्थकौमुदी of शङ्कर, son of बल्लाल; mentions तीर्थचिन्तामणि. Same as तीर्थोपापनकौमुदी.

तीर्थकौमुदी of सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

तीर्थचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र, in five प्रकाश (pr. in B. I. series); m. in the हस्तितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and in नि. सि. Vide sec. 98.

तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व of रघु०. This is over and above his स्मृतितत्त्व in 28 तत्त्व.

तीर्थदर्पण (vide under कलुषप्रयोग) of भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed होसिङ्ग.

तीर्थनिर्णय or कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र.

तीर्थपरिभाषा by व्यास.

तीर्थमञ्जरी by मुकुन्दलाल.

तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Same as तीर्थतत्त्व; sec. 102.

तीर्थयात्रानिर्णय.

तीर्थरत्नाकर by अनन्तभट्ट, son of यदुभट्ट, at the request of अतृपसिंह.

तीर्थरत्नाकर or रामप्रसाद of रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, of पराशरगोत्र; ms. dated संवत् 1690 (1634-5 A. D.). He composed the युक्तिस्नेहप्रपुरणी, com. on शास्त्रदीपिका, at Benares in संवत् 1600. He is author of प्रतापमार्तण्ड; flourished between 1500-1545 A. D.

तीर्थसंग्रह m. in स्तुत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर.

तीर्थसंग्रह by साहेबराम.

तीर्थसार (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

तीर्थसेतु by रुन्दावन शूद्र.

तीर्थसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

तीर्थेन्दुशेखर of नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.

तीर्थोपापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लालसूरि. Vide under त्रतोपापनकौमुदी. About 1753 A. D.

तुलसीकाष्टमालाधारणनिषेध by नरसिंह (Baroda O. I. No. 3894).



तुलसीचन्द्रिका by राजनारायण मुखो-  
पाध्याय.

तुलसीविवाह (taken from प्रतापमार्तण्ड)  
Ulwar cat. No. 1334 and ex-  
tract 313.

तुलादान.

तुलादानपद्धति.

तुलादानपुरुषप्रयोग.

तुलादानप्रकरण by सिद्धनाथ.

तुलादानप्रयोग (माध्यन्दिनीय).

तुलादानप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of राम-  
कृष्ण. Sec. 106.

तुलादानविधि.

तुलापद्धति by कमलाकर.

तुलापुरुषदानपद्धति.

तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग by विह्वल.

तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति by गोपीनाथ.

तुलापुरुषमहादानप्रयोग or तुलादानविधि  
by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर ;  
sec. 103.

त्रिशङ्खोकी or आशौचत्रिशङ्खोकी by  
वोपदेव. Is it the same as the  
next ?

त्रिशङ्खोकी or आशौचत्रिशङ्खोकी or  
सूतककारिका (pr. at Benares in  
1876 with com.) in 30 अष्टाश्र  
verses on आशौच. Ulwar cat. No.  
1339 ascribes it to वोपदेव. Vide  
BBRAS cat. vol. II pp. 209-210  
where it is ascribed to हेमचन्द्र.

C. विवरण by गणनाथभट्ट, son of  
माधव, son of रामेश्वर ; flourished  
1560-1625 A. D.

C.C. विवरणमारोद्धत by शम्भुभट्ट  
कविमण्डन, son of बालकृष्ण. Name:

नि. नि., मयूर, भट्टोजिदीक्षित. Be-  
tween 1660-1710 A. D. He says  
he follows com. of गणनाथ on  
the त्रिशङ्खोकी.

C. आशौचसंग्रह.

C. ascribed to विज्ञानेश्वर (wrong-  
ly). Vide under दशश्लोकी.

C. by अनन्तभट्ट (Ulwar cat. No.  
1340).

C. by भट्टाचार्य (Ulwar cat. No.  
1341); ms. in Baroda O.L. 3883  
is dated संवत् 1579 (1522-23 A. D.).

C. सुबोधिनी by अनन्त, son of कम-  
लाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. About  
1610-1660 A. D.

C. by कृष्णमित्र.

C. by गणेश.

C. by रामभट्ट.

C. by विश्वनाथ.

C. (vide I. O. cat. III p. 566,  
No. 1750-51).

C. by रामेश्वरभारती.

C. by author

त्रिकाण्डमण्डन alias आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनि-  
तार्थकारिका by भास्करमिश्रसोमयाजिन ;  
son of कुमारस्वामिन (pr. in B. I.  
series). Printed text and mss. dif-  
fer. Divided into four sections in  
575 verses on अधिकारिनिरूपण,  
प्रतिनिधि, पुनराधेय, निमित्त and प्रकी-  
र्णक. He names ऋषिदेव, कर्क,  
केशवमिश्रान्त, दामोदर, नारायणवृत्ति  
on आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र, भवनाग, भर-  
द्वाजसूत्रभाष्यकार, लौगाक्षिकारिका, भर्तृ-  
यज्ञ, शालीकिनाथ (on पूर्वमीमांसा),  
यज्ञशार्ङ्ग, कर्मदीप, विधिरत्न ; many



of his *कारिका*s, though primarily concerned with Śrauta rites, are quoted largely in धर्मशास्त्र works. He incidentally deals with many topics of धर्म, such as proper actions in मलमास (I. 163-177), what is गौणकाल for an act etc. He is named by हेमाद्रि and the मदनपारिजात. So he flourished after 1000 and before 1200 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 30-31 for date.

C. विवरण.

C. पदप्रकाशिका.

त्रिकालसन्ध्या.

त्रिपिण्डीश्राद्धप्रयोग (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 591).

त्रिपुष्करशान्तितत्त्व of रघु०; vide p. 417 above.

त्रिविक्रमपद्धति m. in नि. सि.

त्रिविक्रमी (rules for the consecration of images when transferred from one place to another through fear of mleccas or otherwise). N. vol. IX p. 295.

त्रिवेणीपद्धति by दिवाकरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 5840).

त्रिस्थलीविधि by हेमाद्रि.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट (pr. at Anandāsrama Poona). The first part deals with rites common to all sacred places and then the special features of the pilgrimage to

प्रयाग, काशी and गया. Composed about 1550-60 A. D.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुप्रघट्टक by नागेश.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुसार or -सारसंग्रह or तीर्थयात्राविधि by भट्टोजि.

त्रैलोक्यसागर m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र in his द्वैतनिर्णय. So earlier than 1,100 A. D.

त्रैलोक्यसार m. by हेमाद्रि, रघुनन्दन, and in दानमण्डप.

त्रैवर्णिकसंन्यास by कैलासयति.

त्रैविक्रमी-vide त्रिविक्रमपद्धति.

दक्षस्मृति see sec. 43; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II, pp. 383-402, Anan. sm. pp. 72-84.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by तत्कनलाल.

दक्षिणद्वारनिर्णय by नारायण (Baroda O. I. 9175).

दण्डकशान्ति.

दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (extracted from the नीतिमञ्जरी of शम्भुराज).

दण्डविवेक of वर्धमान of बिलवपञ्चग्राम, son of भवेश and younger brother of गण्डकमिश्र; in seven परिच्छेद; latter half of 15th century; on penal offences, the propriety of inflicting punishments and the different forms of punishments to be inflicted. N. vol. V p. 225 No. 1910; composed for the king of मिथिला; mentions कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, हलायुध, धर्मकोश, स्मृति-सार, कृत्यसागर, रत्नाकर, पारिजात, व्यवहारतिलक, प्रदीपिका and प्रदीप as among his authorities. It is a part of his स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक.



दत्तककुठार.

दत्तककौमुदी by रामजय तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta in 1827 in Bengali characters). Summarised in दत्तक-शिरोमणि pr. under the patronage of P. C. Tagore.

दत्तककौस्तुभ by केदारनाथदत्त (pr. at Calcutta).

दत्तकचन्द्रिका of कुबेरपण्डित (pr. Calcutta 1857, text with Marathi translation pr. at Baroda, 1899). The last verse is interpreted as giving ग्युमणि as the name of the author. Said to be fabricated by a pandit of Colebrooke's. The author says he wrote a स्मृति-चन्द्रिका.

C. by रामेश्वरशुक्ल.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by कोलप्पाचार्य.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by तोळप्पर, son of श्रीनि-  
वासाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 6572 B.)

दत्तकचन्द्रिकाटीका by तकनलाल.

दत्तकतत्त्वविनिर्णय or-निर्णय by हरिनाथ-  
मिश्र. N. vol. XI. Intro. p. 5.

दत्तकतिलक of भवदेव (a part of his  
न्यवहारतिलक). Summarised in the  
दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकदर्पण by द्वैपायन (N. X. p. 71).

दत्तकदीधिति by महामहोपाध्याय अनन्त-  
भट्ट (pr. at Calcutta and also at  
Bhavnagar). Summarised in  
दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकनिर्णय by तात्याशास्त्रिन.

दत्तकनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय.

दत्तकनिर्णय by शूलपाणि (part of his  
digest called स्मृतिविवेक). Nearly  
the whole is pr. in Bharatachan-

dra Siromani's दत्तकशिरोमणि. Also  
styled दत्तकविवेक.

दत्तकनिर्णय by श्रीनाथभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by अनन्तदेव (probably  
same as दत्तकदीधिति above).

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by वृत्तिहभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधि by शूलपाणि; same as  
दत्तकनिर्णय above.

दत्तकमीमांसा or दत्तपुत्रनिर्णयमीमांसा of  
नन्दपण्डित alias विनायकपण्डित (pr.  
by भरतचन्द्र शिरोमणि at Calcutta).  
Vide sec. 105.

C. by ब्रन्दावतशुक्ल.

दत्तकमीमांसा by माधवाचार्य.

दत्तकविधि (an extract from the न्यव-  
हारमय्य of नीलकण्ठ).

दत्तकविधि by वाचस्पति; vide N. (New  
Series) vol. III. preface pp. VII-  
VIII.

दत्तकविवेक by शूलपाणि (vide दत्तक-  
निर्णय above).

दत्तकसपिण्डनिर्णय.

दत्तकोज्ज्वल by वर्धमान, who per-  
forms an obeisance to काली. N.  
(new series) vol. I p. 166.

दत्तचिन्तामणि by वश्वेश्वर, son of नर-  
सिंह.

दत्तदायप्रकाश by ब्रजनाथ विद्यारत्न (pr.  
at Calcutta 1875).

दत्तपुत्रतत्त्वविवेक by वासुदेवभट्ट (Stein's  
cat. p. 307).

दत्तपुत्रविचार by गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट (Ba-  
roda O. I. No. 10701 b).

दत्तपुत्रविधि.

दत्तमञ्जरी.



दत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका by श्रीनिवासाचार्य.

दत्तरत्नाकर by धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र; names विज्ञानेश्वर, कालासूत, वरदराजीय, दत्तसंग्रह, काल-निर्णय, दत्तमीमांसा; later than 1650 A. D.

दत्तरत्नार्पण by सीतारामशास्त्रिण (Baroda O. I. No. 7204).

दत्ताविधि by वैद्यनाथ.

दत्तसंग्रह by भीमसेनकवि.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by बालकृष्ण, son of देवभद्रदीक्षित of the Phalnitkar family. His guru was अद्वैतानन्द.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by भट्टभास्करपण्डित.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमन्दारमञ्जरी.

दत्तस्मृतिसार.

दत्तहोमानुक्रमणिका.

दत्तादर्श by माधवपण्डित.

दत्तार्क by दादा करङ्गि, son of माधव, son of नृसिंह. He was pupil of कृष्णाचार्य at Nasik on the Godavari and composed the work in śake 1691 (1769 A. D.). Names निर्णयसिन्धुकार and मयस्वकार.

दत्तार्चनकौमुदी or दत्तात्रेयपद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

दत्तार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका by रामानन्दयति.

दत्ताशौचव्यवस्थापनवाद by रामसुब्रह्मण्य-शास्त्रिण, son of रामशङ्कर; flourished towards end of 18th century.

दन्तधावनविधि.

दर्शननिर्णय by वेङ्कटनाथ, called वैदिक-सार्वभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ, son of सरस्वतीवल्लभ. On such topics as जपन्तीनिर्णय, एकादशीनिर्णय &c.

Probably a part of his स्मृतिरत्नाकर (N. vol. VIII p. 14).

Mentions स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णय, अखण्डादर्श.

दर्शश्राद्ध by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ होसिङ्ग.

दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ. Based on हेमाद्रि's work.

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर.

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by भट्टगोविन्द (Baroda O. I. ms. 1677 dated śake 1680).

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by शिवराम.

दर्शसञ्चिका.

दशकर्मदीपिका or-पद्धति of पशुपति for Yajurvedins (Kaṇva). He was elder brother of हलायुध and Pandit of Lakṣmanasena of Bengal and so flourished about 1168-1200 A. D.

दशकर्मपद्धति by महामहोपाध्याय कालेसि for Rgvedins (about गर्भाधान etc.), N. vol. II. p. 6r.

दशकर्मपद्धति by गणपति, son of हरिशङ्कर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

दशकर्मपद्धति by पृथ्वीधर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट; (the work is also called दशकर्मदीपिका or कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति). According to छन्दोग school. Vide sec. 73.

दशकर्मपद्धति by रामदत्तमैथिल for Vajasaneyins, same as गर्भाधानादि-दशानङ्कारपद्धति.

दशकर्मव्याख्या of हलायुध (part of ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व).



दशकालनिर्णय.

दशधेनुदानपद्धति or-विधि (part of हेमाद्रि's दानखण्ड).

दशनिर्णय by वेङ्कटनाथ वैदिकसाम्बभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ.

दशनिर्णय (on fasts and festivals) m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

दशपुत्राह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्र family.

दशसुखकोटिहोमप्रयोग by देवभट्टपाठक (Baroda O. I. 10963).

दशविधविप्रपद्धति.

दशश्लोकी (ascribed to विज्ञानेश्वर) on आशौच. Same as आशौचदशक above.

C. by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर. In Hultzsch's Report III p. 101 we find that भट्टोजि says 'विज्ञानेश्वर-मदनपारिजातकारविंशच्छ्लोकीकारप्रभृत-यस्तु ब्राह्मणस्य वैश्यानुगमने पक्षिणीत्याहुः', which shows that he regarded the author of विंशच्छ्लोकी as different from विज्ञानेश्वर.

दशसंस्कारपद्धति. Same as गर्भाधानादि-दशसंस्कारपद्धति.

दशसंस्कारप्रकरण.

दशादिकालनिर्णय.

दशाहकर्मन.

दशाहविवाह by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

दानकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट; sec. 106.

दानकल्प quoted in अहल्याकामधेनु.

दानकल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर-part of कल्प-तरु; sec. 77.

दानकाण्डपर्व by साम्बाजी प्रतापराज (from परशुरामप्रताप.)

दानकाण्डसंक्षेप.

दानकौतुक (extracted from the हरि-वंशविलास of नन्दपण्डित).

दानकौमुदी by रामजयतर्कालङ्कार.

दानकौमुदी or दानक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (about 1500-1540 A. D.); mentioned in his आद्य-क्रियाकौमुदी. Vide sec. 107; pr. in B. I. series.

दानकौस्तुभ (from the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

दानचन्द्रिका by गौतम.

दानचन्द्रिका by जयराम (abstract of हेमाद्रि).

दानचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव and grandson of रामेश्वर sur-named काल; names दानोदयोत, दानरत्न, दानमयव, and व्रतार्क; also called दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका. Later than 1660 A. D.; pr. at Benares in 1864 and at Bombay in 1880 and 1884.

दानचन्द्रिका by नीलकण्ठ.

दानचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. About 1475-1525 A. D.

दानचन्द्रिकावली by श्रीधरपति.

दानतत्त्व.

दानदर्पण m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 250) and तिथितत्त्व by रघु-नन्दन.

दानदिनकर by कमलाकर.

दानदिनकर by दिवाकर, son of दिनकर.

दानदीपिति by नीलकण्ठ, son of भास्कर.

दानदीपवाक्यसमुच्चय.



दानधर्मप्रक्रिया by भवदेवभट्ट, son of  
कृष्णदेवसन्मिश्र मेथिल. Names  
भूपाल. In four काण्डs ; ms. ( Mi-  
tra's Notices vol. V p. 144 )  
dated šake 1558, i.e. 1636-7 A.D.

दानपञ्जी or -पञ्जिका by नवराज, son of  
देवसिंह of द्वेण family. N. vol. V.  
p. 150. Peterson (5th Report p.  
177) reads नरराज and shows that  
सूर्यकर compiled it at the bidding  
of नरराज.

दानपञ्जी by रत्नाकर ठक्कर -summarises  
दानसागर, as he expressly says.

दानपञ्जी by सूर्यकरशर्मन- vide above  
under नवराज also.

दानपद्धति-बोडशमहादानपद्धति by राम-  
वृत्त minister of कर्णाट king तुसिंह  
of मिथिला. He was first cousin  
( paternal ) of चण्डेश्वर. First  
half of 14th century ( I. O. cat.  
vol. III. p. 550 No. 1714 ). The  
colophon describes it as the  
work of भवशर्मन, who is in the  
4th introductory verse referred  
to as born of the खौपालवंश and  
as an अग्निहोत्रिन् and appointed  
( to compose the work ? ).

दानपरिभाषा by नीलकण्ठ.

दानपरीक्षा by श्रीधरमिश्र.

दानपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेश  
or नागदेव, son of जह्नु of काण्वकुल.

दानपारिजात by क्षेमेन्द्र.

दानप्रकरण.

दानप्रकार.

दानप्रकाश of मिश्रमिश्र ( part of वीर-  
मिश्रोद्य ) . Vide sec. 108.

दानप्रदीप by दयाराम.

दानप्रदीप by दयाशङ्कर.

दानप्रदीप by महामहोपाध्याय माधव, son  
of विष्णुशर्मन from Gurjaradeśa.

दानफलविवेक.

दानफलव्रत- description of ceremo-  
nies to be performed by wives  
estranged from husbands or by  
women afraid of being separa-  
ted from their sons. ( I. O. cat.  
vol. III. p. 577 ).

दानभागवत by वर्णिकुशेरानन्द ; com-  
posed during the reign of संग्राम-  
सिंह. It is a huge work and is  
very valuable for the history of  
the text of the Purāṇas and for  
Purāṇic rites, as it deals princi-  
pally with topics of धर्म relying  
upon the पुराणs. Vide D. C. ms.  
No. 265 of 1887-91 which  
contains 392 folios. D. C. ms.  
No. 496 of 1886-92 is a frag-  
ment of it, on grammatical  
points arising out of पुराणs.  
It gives various derivations of  
the word नागरी as applied to  
the alphabet. It mentions बोप-  
देव and so is later than 1300 A.D.

दानमञ्जरी by व्रजराज.

दानमनोहर by सदाशिव, son of त्रिपा-  
ठिपरमानन्द ; composed in संवत्  
1735 ( 1678-79 A. D. ) by com-  
mand of गौडेश महाराज मनोहरदास.

दानमयूख by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्कर-  
भट्ट. First half of the 17th cen-  
tury ( pr. in Kashi S. series and  
by Mr. Gharpure, Bombay ).

दानमहिम्न.



दानसूक्तबली.

दानरत्न m. in दानचन्द्रिका.

दानरत्न part of अनुपबिलास.

दानरत्नाकर by जगद्गुरु. Vide sec. 90.

दानरत्नाकर by भट्टराम, son of सुबल, of the होसिंग family; compiled under the direction of अनुपसिंह, king of जोधापुर in मरुविषय. Gives genealogy of अनुपसिंह, whose ancestor ब्रह्म founded Bikaner. भट्टराम says he composed at the king's bidding five other works अनुपविषेक (on इगलग्रामपरीक्षण), सन्तानकल्पलतिका, अनुपकुतुकार्णव, अमृतसञ्जरी (on antidotes against 'poisons') and चिकित्सा-मालतीमाला. About 1675 A. D.

दानवाक्य.

दानवाक्यसहस्रवचन by योगीश्वर (Baroda O. I. ms. 10513 dated संवत् 1687 i. e. 1630-1 A. D.). D. C. ms. 332 of 1880-81 is dated संवत् 1594.

दानवाक्यसहस्रवचन by योगीश्वर, mentioned in भोजदेवसंग्रह, a ms. of which was copied in Śāke 1297 (1375 A. D.).

दानवाक्यावलि by नरराज.

दानवाक्यावलि by विद्यापति; composed at the direction of महादेवी धीरमति, queen of नरसिंहदेव दर्पनारायण of मिथिला; ms. dated संवत् 1539 (1483 A. D.). First half of 15th century. Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 352 for extract.

दानवाक्यावलि Anonyms (D. C. ms. No. 367 of 1891-95).

H. D. 71.

दानविजय.

दानविवेक m. by हेमाद्रि, दानचन्द्रिका, दानमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

दानविवेक by भानुदीक्षित, son of भट्टोजि-क्षीत. About 1650. A. D.

दानविवेकोद्घोष or दानोद्घोष (from मदनरत्न).

दानवैशेष्यचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर son of महादेव. Vide दानचन्द्रिका above.

दानसागर by अनन्तभट्ट.

दानसागर by कामदेवमहाराज, in imitation of बल्लालसेन's work.

दानसागर by बल्लालसेन. Vide sec. 83.

दानसार, portion of सुसिंहप्रसाद. Vide sec. 99.

दानसारसंग्रह (only section on वास्तु-पूजा). Ulwar cat. No. 1355 and extract 319.

दानसारावली (vide Bik. cat. p. 375).

दानसौख्य m. in दानचन्द्रिका and दानमयूख (part of टोडरानन्द).

दानहीरावलिप्रकाश by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव. He was daughter's son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट. A verified summary of contents was added to this work by his younger son वैद्यनाथ. He wrote आचारार्क in 1686 A. D. The work is part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि. Vide under आचारार्क (I. O. cat. vol. III. pp. 547-48).

अनुक्रमणिका by वैद्यनाथ, son of the author.

दानहेमाद्रि—part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, q. v.



दानार्णव composed by order of queen धीरमति, wife of वीरनारायण नरसिंहदेव ( कामेश्वरराजपण्डित ) of मिथिला, First half of 15th century.

दानोद्योत-same as दानविवेकोद्योत ( a part of मदनरत्नप्रदीप ).

दानोद्योत by कृष्णराम.

दामोदरीय m. in निर्णयदीपक and शुद्धि-मयूख and समयमयूख : earlier than 1500 A. D.

दायकौमुदी by पीतान्धर सिद्धान्तवासीश. About 1604 A. D.; pr. at Calcutta 1904.

दायक्रमसंग्रह of श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार ( pr. at Calcutta, 1828 and translated by Wynch ); mentions आचार्य-चूडामणि.

दायतत्त्व or दायभागतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन ( pr. by Jivananda ). Vide sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति.

C. by राधामोहन.

C. by हन्दावन ह्यरू.

C. Ano. N. ( new series ) vol. II p. 80.

दायदशश्लोकी in ten शार्दूलविक्रीडित verses on inheritance ( pr. by Burnell at Mangalore ).

C. by दुर्मय, son of वासुदेव.

दायदीप, com. on दायभाग. Vide under दायभाग.

दायनिर्णय by गोपालप्रभानन. Summary of रघुनन्दन's दायतत्त्व.

दायनिर्णय by विद्याधर.

दायनिर्णय by श्रीकरशर्मा; quotes मदन-वासीशान. दायभाग and वाचस्पति.

Vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 462 No. 1523; p. 463 No. 1524 shows that there is some confusion between गोपाल and श्रीकरशर्मा.

दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन. Vide sec. 78; (pr. with seven com. by Bharata-chandra for Prasanna Kumar Tagore, 1863-66 ).

C. by दायभागप्रबोधिनी ( pr. at Calcutta 1893, 1898 ).

C. दायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुमद्वन्द्विका by अच्युत चक्रवर्ती, son of हरिदास तर्क-चार्य; criticizes श्रीनाथ's टीका and he is quoted by महेश्वर and श्रीकृष्ण. 1500-1550 A. D.

C. by उमाशङ्कर.

C. by कृष्णकान्तशर्मा.

C. by गङ्गाधर.

C. by गङ्गाधराम.

C. दायदीप by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार, whose daughter's son was living in 1790 A. D. ( pr. in 1863 ).

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by मणेश्वर ( vide I. L. R. 48 Cal. 702 ).

C. by महेश्वर; quotes अच्युतचक्र-वर्ती ( pr. in 1863 ).

C. by रघुनन्दन ( pr. in 1863 ), son of हरिहर.

C. by रामनाथ विद्यावाचस्पति.

C. विवृति or दीपिका by रामभद्र, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्य चूडामणि; quoted in अच्युत's टीका ( pr. in 1863 ).

C. by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; criticized by अच्युत (pr. in 1863). 1475-1525 A. D.



- C. by लघुशिव.  
 C. by हरिवीक्षित.  
 दायभाग—a portion of व्यवहारनिर्णय of वरदराज.  
 दायभाग—a portion of the विवाद-भङ्गणव of जगन्नाथ.  
 दायभाग by वैद्यनाथ.  
 दायभागकारिका by मोहनचन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति. N. ( new series ) I. 172.  
 दायभागनिर्णय or -विनिर्णय by कामदेव ( I. O. cat. p. 463 ).  
 दायभागनिर्णय by भट्टोजि ( Peterson's 6th Report No. 84 ).  
 दायभागनिर्णय by व्यासदेव.  
 दायभागनिर्णय of श्रीकर-vide दायनिर्णय above.  
 दायभागविवेक alias दायरहस्य by रामनाथ विद्यावाचस्पति ; a com. on दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन composed in 1657 A.D. Part of स्मृतिरत्नावलि. N. vol. V. p. 154.  
 दायभागव्यवस्था of सार्वभौम in 8 तरङ्ग. Composed in ( शाकेग्रिमङ्गलहरास्य-कलानिधाने ) śake 1583 i. e. 1661-2 A. D. ; composed for मधव.  
 दायभागव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट ( part of व्यवस्थासंक्षेप ).  
 दायभागसिद्धान्त of बलभद्र तर्कवागीश-भट्टाचार्य ( I. O. cat. p. 465 ).  
 दायभागसिद्धान्तकुमुदचन्द्रिका, com. on दायभाग. Vide above.  
 दायभागार्थदीपिकापावली by रघुराम, pupil of रघुमणि N. ( new series ) vol. I p. 174 ; towards end of 18th century.  
 दायसूक्तपावली by टीकागाम.  
 दायरहस्य-vide दायभागविवेक of रामनाथ.  
 दायविभाग by कमलाकर.  
 दायसंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.  
 दायसंग्रहश्लोकदशकत्याख्या by दुर्गाय, son of वासुदेव. Vide दायदशश्लोकी.  
 दायधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार.  
 दायधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by कृष्ण or जयकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार. Ulwar cat. No. 1356. Seems to be same as the preceding.  
 दायधिकारिक्रम by लक्ष्मीनारायण.  
 दातव्यकृतधर्मशास्त्र ( on धातु ) D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91 contains prose passages about प्रयोग.  
 दातव्यपद्धति ( Baroda O. I. No. 8156 ). On rites of death and after death.  
 दासीदान.  
 दाहादिकर्मकृतनिर्णय by याज्ञिकदेव सञ्जा-दस्थपति.  
 दाहादिकर्मपद्धति.  
 दिनकरोद्घोत or शिवयमणिदीपिका begun by दिनकर alias दिवाकर, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and finished by his son विश्वेश्वर alias मागाभट्ट ; contains sections on आचार, आशौच, काल, दान, पुर्त, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, श्रद्धा, श्राद्ध, and संस्कार.  
 दिनत्रयनिर्णय of विद्याधीशमुनि.  
 दिनत्रयमीमांसा of नारायण ( for माध्व followers ).  
 दिनदीपिका.  
 दिनभास्कर of शम्भुनाथ सिद्धास्तवागीश. Manual of daily religious duties



- of householders. About 1715 A. D.
- दिव्यसप्तसंग्रह m. by जीमूतवाहन's काल-  
विवेक.
- दिव्योदासप्रकाश m. by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका  
of दिवाकर.
- दिव्यामासंय m. by नि. मि., विधानपरि-  
जात, शास्त्रचन्द्रिका. Earlier than  
1500 A. D. Probably the same  
as दिवादासप्रकाश.
- दिव्यतन्त्र of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.  
C. लघुटीका by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.
- दिव्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकोमदी m. by देवनाथ;  
mentions only Vaishnavite rites.  
(Mitra's Notices vol. VI p. 32,  
ms. copied in 1551 šaka, i. e.  
1629-30 A. D.).
- दिव्यदीपिका of दामोदरदत्त, compiled  
under Muḥamad Shah (N. vol.  
V. p. 282).
- दिव्यनिर्णय of दामोदरदत्त, compiled  
under संग्रामशाह (N. vol. VI. p.  
40). Earlier than 1575 A. D. Vide  
under विवेकदीपक of दामोदर.
- दिव्यसंग्रह by सदानन्द.
- दिव्यसिंहकारिका by दिव्यसिंह. An abridgment  
in verse of his कालदीप  
and आश्वदीप.
- दिव्यालुहानपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of  
रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 103. N. (new  
series) vol. III. p. 92.
- दीक्षातन्त्र by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.
- दीक्षातन्त्रप्रकाशिका of रामकिशोर (C.  
P. cat. No. 2202).
- दीक्षासिर्षक.
- दीपकलिका of ब्रह्मपाणि, com. on वाज-  
सल्क्यस्मृति. Vide sec. 95.
- दीपवान.
- दीपदानविधि or-कारिका.
- दीपमालिका.
- दीपशास्त्र.
- दीपावलिप्रयोग.
- दीपिका—Occurs in the name of se-  
veral works such as कालनिर्णय-  
दीपिका, आश्वदीपिका &c.
- दीपोत्सवनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 10625  
dated 1757 संवत्).
- दुर्गभजन (alias स्मृतिदुर्गभजन) by  
चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा, a वारेन्द्रब्राह्मण of नव-  
द्वीप. Four chapters on तिथि, मास,  
persons qualified to perform  
religious ceremonies such as दुर्गा-  
पूजा, fasts and penances; solves  
doubts on points of dharma.
- दुर्गातन्त्र—Vide दुर्गोत्सवतन्त्र.
- दुर्गातन्त्र by राघवभट्ट.
- दुर्गापुत्रश्रवणपद्धति.
- दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी or दुर्गोत्सवपद्धति as-  
cribed to नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला.  
composed by विद्यापति. This was  
his last work. Praises धीरसिंह, son  
of नरसिंह, and his brother भैरवेन्द्र  
who is here styled रूपनारायण,  
though elsewhere he is called  
हरिनारायण (vide Ind. Ant. vol. 14  
p. 193). About 1438 A. D.; pr. in  
Calcutta, 1909. Mentions रत्नाकर.
- दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी of माधव.
- दुर्गाभक्तिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in  
दुर्गोत्सवतन्त्र.
- दुर्गाभक्तिलहरी by रघुनमतीर्थ.



दुर्गाचरितकल्पतरु.

दुर्गाचरितानुतरहस्य by मधुरानाथ शुक्ल.

दुर्गाचरितकालनिष्कर्ष by मधुसूदन वाचस्पति.  
N. (new series), vol. I. p. 81.

दुर्गाचरितकौस्तुभ by परमानन्दशर्मन.

दुर्गाचरितमुकुट by कालीचरण in two  
खण्डः, first describing जगद्धात्री-  
पूजा and the 2nd कालिकापूजा. It  
speaks of the दुर्गापूजा on कार्तिक-  
शुक्लनवमी while the well-known  
दुर्गापूजा is in आश्विन.

दुर्गाचरित m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

दुर्गाचरितप्रकाश alias समयालोक by पद्म-  
नाभ, son of बलभद्र. In seven  
खण्डलोकः. Composed under pa-  
tronage of दुर्गावती queen of दल-  
पति, king on the नर्मदा and  
father of वीरसाहि ; vide Bik. cat.  
p. 450 and I. O. cat. p. 536  
No. 1680. M. by शङ्करभट्ट in  
द्वैतनिर्णय and names निर्णयाद्युत,  
मदनपारिजात, मदनरत्न. Between  
1460-1550 A.D. Deals with निर्णयः  
on तिथिः, संक्रान्तिः, मलमास etc.  
Is this दलपति the same as the  
author of रुसिहप्रसाद ? The  
seven sections are on समय,  
व्रत, आचार, व्यवहार, दान, शुद्धि,  
ईश्वराराधन (or पूजा?).

दुर्गाचरितकृत्यकौस्तुभ by शम्भुनाथसिद्धान्त-  
बागीश. Mentions संवत्सरप्रदीप,  
वर्षकृत्य. He was a pandit at the  
court of the king of कामरूप.  
About 1715 A. D.

दुर्गाचरितचन्द्रिका by भारतीचरण वर्धमान  
महापात्र at the instance of prince  
रासचन्द्रदेव गजपति of Orissa.

दुर्गाचरितसूत्र by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec.  
102.

दुर्गाचरितनिर्णय by गोपाल (N. vol. VI  
p. 2 to ).

दुर्गाचरितनिर्णय by न्यायप्रधानन (name  
not given). Mitra appears to  
regard this as different from  
above, while Anfrecht holds  
them identical. N. vol. VII p. 7.

दुर्गाचरितवृद्धति- vide दुर्गाभक्तितराङ्गिणी.

दुर्गाचरितप्रमाण by रघुनन्दन. Calcutta  
Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II  
pp. 310-311 No. 336.

दुर्गाचरितविवेक by सुलपाणि. Vide sec.  
95.

दुर्गाचरितविवेक by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि.

दुष्टजोदर्शनशान्ति (from प्रयोगरत्न of  
नारायणभट्ट).

दुष्टयोगलक्षण.

दुष्टलक्षण.

दुलालीय by दुलाल.

देवजानीय m. in नि. सि., विधानपारि-  
जात. आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier  
than 1600 A. D.

देवताचारिपूजा.

देवतिलकपद्धति (marriage of an idol  
of विष्णु with लक्ष्मी). N. (new  
series) I. p. 179.

देवदासप्रकाश or सद्यन्थचूडामणि by  
देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son of  
अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र. Extensive  
digest of leading rites with  
particular reference to luna-  
tions, and on श्राद्ध, आशीर्वा, मल-  
मास. Based as the author says



on कल्पतरु, कर्क, कल्पदीप, स्मृति-  
नार, मिताक्षरा, कृत्यार्णव. Between  
1350-1500 A. D. Baroda O. I.  
No. 5581.

देवदासीय m. by नि. सि., विधानपारि-  
जात, आद्यमयूख. (Probably same  
as above).

देवपद्धति m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम of अनन्तदेव.  
Probably the महाकल्पपद्धति of  
अनन्तदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठातृत्व or प्रतिष्ठातृत्व of रघु-  
नन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

देवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

देवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by इयामसुन्दर, son of  
गङ्गाधरदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठाविधि (Bik. cat. p. 380).

देवयाज्ञिकपद्धति (यजुर्वेदीय) of देव-  
याज्ञिक (pr. in Kashi S. series).

देवलस्मृति- vide sec. 23 ; pr. Ānan.  
Sm. pp. 85-89.

देवस्थापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाल,  
surnamed घरे (Baroda O. I.  
1464).

देवालयप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रमापति.

देवीपरिचर्या m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

देवीपूजनभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्त-  
वागीश (N. vol. VII p. 154 gives  
date of completion as सद्युगोर्मि-  
शिखे शाके निशाचरतिथौ शुभे).

देवीपूजापद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

देवान्तरयुतक्रियानिरूपण.

देहशुद्धिप्रायश्चित्त (Aufrecht's Leip-  
zig cat. 673).

देवज्ञचिन्तामणि m. in टोडरानन्द.

देवज्ञमनोहर by लक्ष्मीधर- m. by रघु-  
नन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मलमास-

तत्त्व and in टोडरानन्द and by नि.  
सि.; (probably a purely astro-  
logical work). Earlier than  
1500 A. D.

देवज्ञबल्लभ by नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति ; m.  
by नि. सि. (probably a purely  
astrological work).

दोलयात्रा.

दोलयात्रातत्त्व or दोलयात्राप्रमाणतत्त्व of  
रघुनन्दन ; vide sec. 102. N. (new  
series) vol. I. p. 191.

दोलयात्राविवेक of छलपाणि. Vide sec.  
95.

दोलयात्रासूत by नारायणतर्काचार्य.

दोलारोहणपद्धति of विद्यानिवास.

द्रव्यशुद्धि by रघुनाथ.

द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका by पुरुषोत्तम, son of  
पीताम्बर. Author describes him-  
self as श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्यचरणान्नवास-  
दाम ; quotes नि. सि., शुद्धिमयूख.  
दिनकरोदयोत ; he was born in संवत्  
1724 (1668 A. D.) and died  
about संवत् 1781 ; pr. in 1906.

द्राह्यायणयज्ञपरिशिष्ट.

द्राह्यायणयज्ञपूर्वापरप्रयोग.

द्राह्यायणयज्ञसूत्र vide खादिरयज्ञसूत्र ; pr.  
at Ānandāśrama Press, Poona  
with com.

C. by रुद्रस्कन्द.

C. सुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवास.

द्राह्यायणयज्ञसूत्रकारिका by बालाग्निसोमिन.

द्राह्यायणयज्ञसूत्रप्रयोग by विनयानन्दन.

द्रोणचिन्तामणि.

द्राक्षिणाकर्मपद्धति.



- द्विषावराध ( Baroda O. I. No. 12225 ).
- द्वादशमासवेद्यनिरलाकर.
- द्वादशयात्रातत्त्व or द्वादशयात्राप्रमाणतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. On the twelve great festivals of Viṣṇu at Jagannathapuri.
- द्वादशयात्राप्रयोग by धियानिवास (about जगन्नाथ). N. ( new series ) I. p. 194.
- द्वादशविधपुत्रमीमांसा.
- द्वादशाहकर्मविधि.
- द्विजकल्पलता by परशुराम in 6 उल्लास. Hultzsch's Report III p. 60.
- द्विजराजोदय.
- द्विजाद्विकपद्धति of इक्षान, the elder brother of हलायुध. About 1170-1200 A. D.
- द्विभार्याग्नि.
- द्विविधजलाशयोत्सर्गप्रमाणदर्शन by बुद्धिकरशुक्ल.
- द्विसप्ततिआन्ध.
- द्वैततत्त्व of सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन.
- द्वैतनिर्णय by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण. Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II. 79.
- द्वैतनिर्णय by नरहरि ; quoted by रत्नपाणि in क्षयमासादिविवेक; mentions रत्नाकर.
- द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.
- C. प्रकाश or जीर्णोद्धार by मधुसूदनमिश्र.
- C. प्रदीप or कादम्बरी by गोकुलनाथ ( I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 488 ).
- द्वैतनिर्णय by शङ्करभट्ट. About 1580-1600; on doubtful points of धर्म. Vide Annals of Bhandarkar Institute vol. III part 2 pp. 67-72.
- द्वैतनिर्णय m. in व्रतराज by विश्वनाथ as composed by his grandfather. Latter half of 17th century.
- द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट or द्वैतपरिशिष्ट by केशवमिश्र; m. by रत्नपाणि; in two परिच्छेदs; dwells at great length on आन्धs. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 186.
- द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट by दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1600-1640 A. D.
- द्वैतनिर्णयफक्किता m. in द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट.
- द्वैतनिर्णयसंग्रह by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण.
- द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by भातुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट ( whose द्वैतनिर्णय is summarised herein ). About 1640-1670 A. D.
- द्वैतविषयविवेक by वर्धमान, son of भवेश. About 1500 A. D.
- द्वैतनिर्णयासूत m. in दायभागतत्त्व of रघु०.
- द्वयामुष्यायजनिर्णय or-ण्येन्दु by विश्वनाथ son of कृष्णगुर्जर of नैधुषगोत्र ( Baroda O. I. No. 12708 ). Mentions दिनकरोदयोत, कौस्तुभ. Later than 1680 A. D.
- धनञ्जयसंग्रह m. by रघु० in तिथितत्त्व.
- धनभागविवेक- vide भागविवेक.
- धनिहापञ्चक.
- धनुर्विद्यादीपिका m. by कमलाकर in नि. सि.
- धनुर्वेदविज्ञानमणि by नरसिंहभट्ट.



धनुर्वेदसंग्रह alias वीरचिन्तामणि by  
शाङ्गधर.

धनुर्वेदसंहिता by ब्रह्मिष्ठ; pr. at Calcutta  
in महाराजा कुसुमचन्द्र series.

धर्मकारिका (author not known).  
508 कारिका compiled from vari-  
ous authors. Mentions नि. सि.,  
कौस्तुभ, कालतत्त्वविशेषण and मयूख,  
and so later than 1680 A. D.  
(vide BBRAS. cat. p. 219, No.  
691).

धर्मकोश- by विलोचनमिश्र m. by वर्ध-  
मान and in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु.  
The work deals with व्यवहार-  
पद, दायभाग, कणादान etc.

धर्मचन्द्र by केशवराय son of गोविन्दराय,  
son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र.  
Based on आश्वलायनगृह्य and its  
परिशिष्ट. Divided into किरणः on  
आचार &c. Baroda O. I. No.  
5860 is dated संवत् 1810.

धर्मतत्त्वकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट, son of  
रामकृष्ण. Divided into ten परिच्छेदः  
on व्रत, दान, कर्मविपाक, ज्ञान्ति, पुर्त,  
आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, शूद्रधर्म,  
and तीर्थ. Bik. cat. p. 99.

धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि by पृथ्वीचन्द्र, son  
of नागमह. His विरुदः are कलि-  
कालकर्णप्रताप, परमवैष्णव. Divided  
into ten प्रकाशः, 7th being on  
आशौच. Baroda O. I. No. 4006.

धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश by शिवचतुर्धर, son of  
गोविन्ददीक्षित of कूपरग्राम (Kopar-  
gaon on the गोदावरी). Composed  
in śāke 1698 (नागाङ्कुरसङ्घ) i. e.  
1776 A. D. at प्रतिष्ठान on the  
Ganges (Allahabad). Hultzsch  
(Report No. III p. V.) wrongly

says that he composed it in 1746  
A. D., though in his extract at  
p. 84, he gives नागाङ्कुरसङ्घश्रावणे  
as the date).

धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह by महादेव.

धर्मतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणि.

धर्मतत्त्वावलोक-विदे गोविन्दार्णव alias  
स्मृतिसागर.

धर्मदीप m. in आह्निकचन्द्रिका of दिवा-  
कर.

धर्मदीपिका or स्मृतिप्रदीपिका by चन्द्र-  
शेखर ब्राह्मचर्य. Reconciles dis-  
cordant opinions on points of  
धर्म.

धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय-विदे द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट.

धर्मनिबन्ध by रामकृष्णपण्डित.

धर्मनिबन्धन.

धर्मनिर्णय by कृष्णताताचार्य.

धर्मपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट.

धर्मपरीक्षा by मध्वराम.

धर्मप्रकाश by माधव. D. C. ms. No.  
221 of 1886-92 deals with सम-  
यालोक i. e. व्रत in चैत्र and the  
other months; mentions माधवीय,  
वाचस्पतिमिश्र, पुराणसमुच्चय. Later  
than 1500 A. D.

धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शङ्कर-  
भट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and पावती.  
Latter half 16th century. Says  
that he follows the works of  
मेधातिथि, अपराक, विज्ञानेश्वर स्मृत्य-  
र्थसार, कालादर्श, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि,  
माधव, नृसिंह, त्रिस्थलीसिंह. Refers  
to his own शास्त्रदीपिकाप्रकाश. For  
a part of it on संस्कार vide I. O.  
cat. vol III p. 482 No. 1564.



धर्मप्रदीप or -दीप m. by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (आशौचकाण्ड p. 63), प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि, शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, कालादर्श etc.

धर्मप्रदीप by गङ्गाभट्ट.

धर्मप्रदीप by धनञ्जय ; N. (new series) II. p. 46 (on गोत्र only).

धर्मप्रदीप by वर्धमान.

धर्मप्रदीप of भोज-vide p. 279 of the text. Composed between 1400 and 1600 A. D.

धर्मप्रदीपिका com. on अभिनवपञ्चशीति (q. v.) by सुब्रह्मण्य son of वेङ्कटेश.

धर्मप्रवृत्ति by नारायणभट्ट ; m. by शङ्करभट्ट in द्वैतनिर्णय, by शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित and in व्यवहारमयूख. Treats of daily duties (āhnikā), śauca, gharbhādhāna and other संस्कारs, गोत्रनिर्णय, श्राद्ध, आशौच, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, तिथिनिर्णय, स्थालीपाक. Mentions माधवीयकालनिर्णय, मदनपारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, महार्णव, अनन्ताचार्य, कालादर्श, नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायन ; m. by नन्दपण्डित in श्राद्धकल्पलता. I. O. ms. (vide cat. p. 480 No. 1560) is dated संवत् 1659 (1602-3 A. D.). So between 1400-1600 A. D. Vide p. 420 above.

धर्मप्रश्न (आपस्तम्बीय) - part of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

धर्मचिन्दु.

धर्मबोधन.

धर्मभाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 747).

H. D. 72.

धर्ममार्गनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 11821).

धर्मरत्न-a digest by जीमूतवाहन of which the कालविवेक and दायभाग are parts.

धर्मरत्न by भैरवभट्ट, son of भट्टारकभट्ट. Divided into दीधितिस on आह्निक and other subjects.

धर्मरत्नाकर by रामेश्वरभट्ट ; on धर्मस्वरूप, तिथिमासलक्षण, प्रतिपदादिषु विहित-कृत्यविधान, उपवास, पुगादिनिरूपण, संक्रान्ति, अशुद्ध, आशौच, श्राद्ध, वेदाध्ययन, अनध्याय etc.

धर्मविवृति m. in मद. पा. (p. 772) on the constitution of परिवर्त्त, संस्कारमयूख and प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. मद. पा. 753 quotes a धर्मवृत्ति (on प्रायश्चित्त). It seems probable that both are identical and are the same as धर्मभाष्य above.

धर्मविवेक by चन्द्रशेखर ; explains and illustrates मीमांसान्यायs.

धर्मविवेक by विश्वकर्मव, son of दामोदर and हीरा and grandson of भीम. Deals with fasts and festivals in 8 काण्डs ; quotes कालमाधय, मदनरत्न, हेमाद्रिसिद्धान्तमंग्रह. Between 1450-1525 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 320 for detailed contents where the ms. is dated संवत् 1583.

धर्मविवेचन by रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन, son of रामशङ्कर.

धर्मशास्त्रकारिका.

धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध by फकीरचन्द्र.

धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह-collection of स्मृति texts on श्राद्ध ; BBRAS. cat. p. 219 No. 692.



धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह by बालशर्मपायगुण्ड, son of बेलनाथ and लक्ष्मी. I. O. cat. p. 458. Vide sec. 111. About 1800 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह by भट्टोजि. About 1600-1650 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of दिवाकर. Composed in 1686 A. D. Vide आचारक above.

धर्मसंहिता or धर्मस्मृति-m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत.

धर्मसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मन्.

धर्मसंग्रह by हरिश्चन्द्र.

धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका by आनन्द.

धर्मसार by पुनर्वेत्तम (ms. copied in 1607, vide Hp. cat. p. XV).

धर्मसार by प्रभाकर-m. in आचारमयूख. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

धर्मसारसमुच्चय- same as चतुर्विंशति-स्मृतिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

धर्मसारसुधानिधि m. in आचारक-संग्रह of दिवाकर काल and in com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत by भट्टोजि (vide BBRAS cat. p. 216).

धर्मसिन्धु or धर्मसिन्धुसार by काशीनाथ alias बाबा पाध्ये. Vide sec. 112.

धर्मसिन्धु by मणिराम.

धर्मसुबोधिनी by नारायण. Compiled from विज्ञानेश्वर, माधव and मदन-रत्न.

धर्मसेतु by तिमल of पराशर gotra on व्यवहार. Refers to विज्ञानेश्वर.

धर्मसेतु by रघुनाथ. A vast work.

धर्मानुसंग्रहविश्लोक by कृष्णपण्डित.

C. by रामपण्डित.

धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी of प्रेमनिधि ठक्कर, son of इन्द्रपति ठक्कर. He hailed from माहिष्मती in the territory of निजामसाह but compiled the digest in Mithila in संवत् 1410 (1353-54 A. D.). Contains twelve chapters on आद्रिक, पूजा, श्राद्ध, आशौच, शुद्धि, विवाह, religious benefactions, आपद्धर्म, optional feasts, pilgrimages, प्रायश्चित्त, कर्म-विपाक and duties common to all classes. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 18-20. M. M. Chakravarti (JASB. for 1915 pp. 392-393) says that संवत् 1410 must be taken to be Saka, since विक्रम era. was not in use in मिथिला. But this is not very convincing.

धर्माधर्मव्यवस्था.

धर्माध्वबोध by रामचन्द्र.

धर्मासूत m. by वर्धमान in तत्त्वासूतसारोद्धात. Probably धर्मासूत may not be a work at all, but may refer in general to works on धर्म.

धर्मासूतमहोदधि by रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव.

धर्माग्मोधि- same as अनुपविलास.

धर्माणव of पीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. Vide Bik. cat. p. 383 (on तिथिनिर्णय), which ms. is dated 1681 A. D.

धवलनिबन्ध m. in अन्वयेष्टिपद्धति of नारायण, by रघु० and in निर्णयासूत.

धवलसंग्रह m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत-वाहन, कालसार of गदाधर (धवल-निबन्ध and धवलसंग्रह are probably the same).



धान्याचलादिदानतत्त्व (on gifts of  
heaps of corn), N. (new series)  
II. p. 88.

ध्वजोच्छ्वाय - from धूर्तकमलाकर.

नक्तकालनिर्णय.

नक्षत्रयोगदान.

नक्षत्रविधान.

नक्षत्रशान्ति by बौधायन (D. C. No.  
97 of A 1882-83)

नयमणिमालिका.

नवकण्ठिकाश्राद्धसूत्र or आश्राद्धकल्पसूत्र  
6th परिशिष्ट of कान्यायन Vide  
under आश्राद्धकल्प.

C. by कर्क.

C. आश्राद्धकाशिका by कृष्णमिश्र, son  
of विष्णुमिश्र; composed in 1148-9  
A. D.

C. आश्राद्धकल्पसूत्रपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

नवग्रहदान.

नवग्रहमन्त्र- attributed to वसिष्ठ.

नवग्रहयज्ञ (Baroda O. I. 2279).

नवग्रहयज्ञाश्रुत (Baroda O. I. 6887).

नवग्रहयागविधि.

नवग्रहशान्ति- vide under वासिष्ठी.

नवग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of  
विश्राम for सामवेद followers. I. O.  
ms. (cat. p. 570) copied in संवत्  
1806 (1749 A. D.).

नवग्रहस्थापना BBRAS. cat. vol. II.  
p. 243.

नवग्रहहोम.

नवदीर्घनिबन्ध by रामजी. Is it same  
as निबन्धनवनीत ?

नवमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

नवमलदान.

नवमलमाला by प्रह्लादभट्ट.

नवरात्रकृत्य.

नवरात्रनिर्णय by गोपालन्यास.

नवरात्रप्रदीप by नन्दपण्डित (pr. in सर-  
स्वतीमधन series No. 23).

नवविधेकदीपिका by धरदराज.

नवाम्नाश्यानिर्णय by गौरीनाथचक्रवर्ति  
(Baroda O. I. 10219).

नवान्नाविधि.

नवधर्मप्रदीप by कृपाराम, pupil of जय-  
राम and patronised by त्रिलोकचन्द्र  
and कृष्णचन्द्र, Zamindars of  
Bengal in the 2nd half of 18th  
century. N. (new series) vol.  
II. p. 92.

नागदेशाह्निक m. in शुककमलाकर. Ear-  
lier than 1600 A. D.

नागदेशीय-m. in आचारमसूख; seems to  
be the same as नागदेशाह्निक.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by बौधायन.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by शौनक.

नागत्रलि by शौनक.

नागत्रालि संस्कार.

नागार्जुनीधर्मशास्त्र on आचार, espe-  
cially स्त्रीधर्म.

नाताशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by वर्धमान, son  
of भवेश. About 1500 A. D.

नान्दीमुखनिरूपण by हृदयनाथ.

नान्दीमुखआश्रमप्रयोग.

नान्दीआश्रमपद्धति by रामदत्त मन्त्रिन,  
son of गणेश्वर. First half of 14th  
century.



नारदस्मृति (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

C. by अमहाय, as amended by कल्याणभट्ट.

C. by रमानाथ.

नारदीय- m. in the समयमण्डल and other मण्डल. Probably the नारद-पुराण.

नारायणधर्मसारसंग्रह.

नारायणपद्धति m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

नारायणप्रबोधोत्सव.

नारायणबलिपद्धति by दाल्भ्य (Baroda O. I. 11497).

नारायणबलिप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

नारायणभट्टी. The same as प्रयोगरत्न and अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

नारायणमिश्रीय.

नारायणवृत्ति-m. in आचारमण्डल. Probably the com. on आश्वलायनश्रुति by नारायण.

नारायणस्मृति m. by अपरार्क.

नित्यकर्मपद्धति (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 603 dated संवत् 1547 i. e. 1490-1 A. D.).

नित्यकर्मपद्धति by श्रीधर, son of प्रभाकरनाथक for माध्यन्दिनशाखा, based on कान्वायन. Also called श्रीधर-पद्धति. D. C. ms. No. 228 of 1886-92. D. C. Ms. No. 119 of 1884-85 is dated संवत् 1434 i. e. 1377-8 A. D.

नित्यकर्मप्रकाशिका by कुलनिधि.

नित्यकर्मलता of धीरेन्द्रपथीसूयण, son of चर्केश्वर.

नित्यदानादिपद्धति by शामजित् त्रिपाठिन. Quotes महार्णव.

नित्यस्नानपद्धति by कान्हेदेव (Baroda O. I. 4011).

नित्याचारपद्धति by गोपालानन्द.

नित्याचारपद्धति of विद्याकर वाजपेयिन, son of शम्भुकर (pr. in B. I. series). For वाजसनेयशाखा. Between 1350-1500 A. D.

नित्याचारप्रदीप by नरसिंह वाजपेयिन of कौत्सवंश, son of मुरारि and grandson of धर्माधर and pupil of विष्णेश्वर; migrated to काशी. Family came from उत्कल; quotes कल्पतरु, प्रपञ्चसार, माधववीथ. A very large work. Later than 1400 A. D. (pr. in B. I. series, 2 parts pp. 1-725). Ulwar cat. extract 322.

नित्यादर्श m. by कालादर्श of आदित्यभट्ट.

नित्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by बलभद्र.

निबन्धनूतामणि by यशोधर (Bik. cat. p. 322). Contained at least 62 प्रकाशs and dealt with शास्त्रितs.

निबन्धन m. by सरस्वतीपिलास.

निबन्धनवनीत by रामजित्. Divided into four आश्वादाs on सामान्यतिथि-निर्णय, व्रतविशेषनिर्णय, उपाकर्मकाल and श्राद्धकार. Mentions अनन्तभट्ट, हेमाद्रि, माधव and निर्णयासूत as his authorities. D. C. Ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 was copied in संवत् 1673. Between 1400-1600 A. D.

निबन्धराज Vide under समयप्रकाश.

निबन्धशिरोमणि by नृसिंह (Baroda O. I. 4012 and 9212). A huge work on संस्कारs, astrological



- information about वार, नक्षत्र etc., अनुपनीतधर्म, कर्मविपाक.
- निबन्धसर्वरथ by महादेव, son of श्रीपति. Vide under प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय. A निबन्धसर्वरथ is m. in वृत्तिहप्रसाद.
- निबन्धसार by वसिष्ठ, son of श्रीनाथ. A huge work in three अध्यायस on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त. D.C. Ms. 123 of 1881-86 is dated संवत् 1632; m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.
- निबन्धसिद्धान्तबोध by गङ्गाधर.
- निर्णयकौस्तुभ by विश्वेश्वर m. by रघु-नन्दन and शङ्कर in संस्कारभास्कर.
- निर्णयचन्द्रिका by अङ्कुरभट्ट, son of सारा-यणभट्ट.
- निर्णयचिन्तामणि by विष्णुशर्मन् महा-याज्ञिक at the instance of श्रीराज-जालमदाम, son of विदुर, a वैद्य of the गोभिलगोत्र (Stein's cat. p. 308 contains the portion on मलमास).
- निर्णयतत्त्व by नागदैवज्ञ, son of शिव (C. P. cat. No. 2598); he is author of आचारप्रदीप, which is quoted in आचारमयूख. Earlier than 1450 A. D. (Uwar cat. No. 1256).
- निर्णयतरणि.
- निर्णयदर्पण by गणेशाचार्य (C. P. cat. No. 2599).
- निर्णयदर्पण by शिवाचन्द्र, son of तारा-पति ठक्कर. On श्राद्ध and other rites.
- निर्णयदीप m. in नि. मि., आचारमन् of लक्ष्मण.
- निर्णयदीपक by अचल द्विवेद, one of the three sons of वत्सराज and pupil of भट्टविद्यायक. He was from बृहदपुर and of महोदध subsection of नागर-ब्राह्मण and was also styled भागव-तेश. He wrote also करवेदोक्तमहारह-स्यम् before this work. The work deals with श्राद्ध, आशौच, eclipse, तिथिनिर्णय, उपनयन, विवाह, इत्यादि. The work was finished in संवत् 1375 ज्येष्ठशुक्लद्वादशी (i. e. in 1518 A. D.); quotes विश्व-रूपविचार, दीपिकाविवरण, निर्णयामृत, यज्ञतन्त्र, राजासमुच्चय, आचारतिलक. Vide Uwar cat. extract No. 323. He has the verse ये तम केचिदिह (मालतीमाधव) in his introductory verses; pr. at Nadiad, 1897.
- C. देवजानीय m. in निर्णयसिन्धु, विधानपरिज्ञान. Between 1520-1600 A. D.
- निर्णयदीपिका by वत्सराज m. in नि. सि. and श्राद्धमयूख. Probably same as निर्णयदीपक by अचल.
- निर्णयपीयूष m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.
- निर्णयप्रकाश.
- निर्णयप्रदीपिका m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.
- निर्णयविन्दु by अनन्तदेव son of महादेव, on तिथि.
- निर्णयविन्दु by बुक्कण.
- निर्णयभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ (C. P. cat. No. 2600).
- निर्णयभास्कर mss. dated संवत् 1725 माघ (1669 A. D.) in Peterson's 6th Report p. 10.



निर्णयमञ्जरी by गङ्गाधर.

निर्णयरत्नाकर by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

निर्णयशिरोमणि m. by निर्णयदीपक and by अनन्त in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

निर्णयशैली m. by नि. सि.

निर्णयसंग्रह by प्रतापरुद्र

निर्णयसंग्रह by मधुसूदन.

निर्णयसमुदाय.

निर्णयसार by क्षेमकर.

निर्णयसार by गोस्वामी ( C. P. cat. No. 2602 ).

निर्णयसार by नन्दराममिश्र son of दीप-चन्द्रमिश्र. In 6 परिच्छेदs on तिथि, श्राद्ध etc. Composed in विक्रम 1836 ( 1780 A. D. ).

निर्णयसार by भट्टरायव ( Baroda O. I. 8670 ). Later than 1612 A. D. and earlier than 1700 A. D.

निर्णयसार by गमभट्टाचार्य.

निर्णयसार by लालमणि.

निर्णयसारसंग्रह ( Baroda O. I. 4015 ).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by महादेव ( probably the same as author of कालनिर्णय-सिद्धान्त ).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by रघुराम ( This work is probably the same as काल-निर्णयसिद्धान्त ).

निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट, compos- ed in संवत् 1668 ( 1612 A. D. ). Vide sec. 106 ; pr. in Ch. S. series and at Nir. P.

C. रत्नमाला or स्त्रीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट आर्ह.

निर्णयानन्द m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

निर्णयासुत by अह्मद ( or -ट ) नाथसुरि, son of सिद्धलक्ष्मण, at the direc- tion of prince सूर्यसेन who ruled एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna. Gives a genealogy of the ब्राह्मण ( चाहुवाण ? ) kings of एकचक्रपुर. The introductory verses ( which vary to some extent in different mss. ) enumerate authorities on which he relies viz. मितक्षरा, अपरार्क, अर्णव, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, धवल, पुराणसमुच्चय, अनन्तभट्टीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, रामकौतुक, संवत्सरप्रदीप, देवदासीय, रूपनारायणीय, विद्याभट्टपद्धति, विश्व-रूपनिबन्ध. One verse occurring in some mss. mentions हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श, चिन्तामणि. But हेमाद्रि's कालनिर्णय p. 34 mentions a निर्णयासुत. The work is mention- ed in निर्णयदीपक, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी. So the work is earlier than 1500 A. D. and certainly later than 1250. There are four sections on व्रततिथिनिर्णय, श्राद्ध, द्रव्यशुद्धि and आशौच ( pr. by Ven. P. ).

निर्णयासुत of गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण, under सूर्यसेन ( Calcutta Sanskrit Col. mss. vol. II. p. 78 ). Seems to be the same as निर्णया-सुत of अह्मद, though गोपीनारायण causes some misgiving. The Bik. cat. p. 426 also refers to गोपीनारायण and सूर्यसेन.

निर्णयासुत by रामचन्द्र. N. vol XI preface p. 4.

निर्णयासुत ( पाश्चात्त्य ) m. in the शुद्धि-तत्त्व of रघु.



निर्णयार्थ by बालकृष्णदीक्षित.

निर्णयार्थप्रदीप m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

निर्णयोद्धार (also styled तिथिनिर्णयो) by राघवभट्ट. Mentions निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिदर्पण. So later than 1650 A. D. (Ulwar cat. extract 326). Vide तिथिनिर्णय of राघवभट्ट.

निर्णयोद्धारखण्डनमण्डन by यज्ञेश (Baroda O. I. 5247). Dilates upon certain doubts raised about the निर्णयोद्धार of राघवभट्ट.

नीतिकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

नीतिकल्पतरु by क्षेमेन्द्र.

नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र by लक्ष्मीपति.

नीतिचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

नीतिदीपिका.

नीतिप्रकाश by कुलमुनि.

नीतिप्रकाश by वैशम्पायन (ed. at Madras by Dr. Oppert, 1882). Also called नीतिप्रकाशिका. जनमेजय was instructed by वैशम्पायन at तक्षशिला in eight chapters on राजधर्मोपदेश, धनुर्वेदविवेक, खड्गोत्पत्ति, मुक्तायुधनिरूपण, सेनानयन, सैन्ययोग and राजन्यायाग. Enumerates the founders of राजशास्त्र.

C. तत्त्वविवृति by सीताराम, son of नञ्जुण्ड of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र.

नीतिप्रदीप ascribed to वेतालभट्ट.

नीतिभाजनभाजन-dedicated to भोजराज (Mitra's Notices vol. II, p. 33).

नीतिमञ्जरी by द्वाद्विवेदिन, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अञ्जि, son of मुकुन्द द्विवेदिन of आनन्दपुर. In चत्वारः chapters corresponding to the

eight astakas of the R̥gveda) and 200 verses, illustrating moral maxims by Vedic examples. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. V, p. 116. Composed in संवत् 1550 (1494 A. D.). He was a young man when he composed the work and could repeat the Veda in eleven ways.

C. युवदीपिका by author.

C. वेदार्थप्रकाश by author.

C. by देवराज.

नीतिमञ्जरी by जम्भुराज. A fragment called दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

नीतिमयूख by नीलकण्ठ (pr. at Benares and by J. R. Gharpure and by Gujarati P. Bombay).

नीतिमाला by नारायण.

नीतिरत्न attributed to बरकाचि.

नीतिगन्ताकर of कृष्णवृहस्पतिष्ठितमहापात्र, grandfather of गदाधर, author of कालसार. About 1450 A. D.

नीतिरत्नाकर or राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90; pr. by Mr. K. P. Jayasval.

नीतिलता by क्षेमेन्द्र m. in औचित्य-विचारचर्चा of the author. 2nd and 3rd quarters of 11th century.

नीतिवाक्यामृत of सोमदेवसुरि, pupil of नेमिदेव and younger brother of महेन्द्रदेव. Printed with com. in Bombay in the Maneckchand Digambar Jaina granthamālā. In 32 sections on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, भविष्यवर्ग, विद्यापद, आश्वीमेधी,



- त्रयी, वार्ता, दण्डनीति, मन्त्रिन, पुरो-  
हित, सेनापति, दूत, चाग, पिचार,  
व्यसन, सप्ताङ्गराज्य (स्वामि &c.),  
राज्यरक्षा, दिवसानुष्ठान, सदाचार, व्यव-  
हार, विवाद, पाङ्गुण्य, बुद्ध, विवाह,  
प्रकीर्ण. Aufrecht notes that he is  
quoted by महिनाथ on किराता-  
क्षुनीय.
- C. (anonyms). Very valu-  
able as regards quotations from  
numerous स्मृतिस and works on  
politics.
- नीतिविलास by व्रजराजशुक्ल.
- नीतिविवेक by करुणाशङ्कर.
- नीतिशास्त्रसमुच्चय.
- नीतिसमुच्चय.
- नीतिसार attributed to घटकपङ्क.
- नीतिसार attributed to शुक्राचार्य (pr.  
by Jivananda).
- नीतिरत्नसंग्रह by मधुसूदन.
- नीतिसुमालि by अण्णा वाजपेयिन्.
- नीराजनप्रकाश by जयनारायण तर्कपञ्चा-  
नन.
- नीलवृषोत्सर्ग by अनन्तभट्ट.
- नीलोत्सर्गपद्धति.
- नीलोद्वाहपद्धति on the ceremony of  
वृषोत्सर्ग in श्राद्ध. I. O. ms. (cat.  
p. 578) is dated संवत् 1618  
(1591-92 A. D.).
- नूतनप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.
- नूतनवर्तिप्रतिष्ठा by नारायणभट्ट (based  
on आश्वलायनश्रुतिपरिशिष्ट). Ba-  
roda O. l. 8876 A.
- नृसिंहजयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक.
- नृसिंहपरिचर्या m. in नि. सि. and स्मृति-  
कोशम् of अनन्त.
- नृसिंहपरिचर्या by कृष्णदेव son of रामा-  
चार्य. Stein's cat. p. 222.
- नृसिंहपूजापद्धति by वृन्दावन.
- नृसिंहप्रसाद of दलपतिराज son of बल्लभ.  
Vide sec. 99.
- नृसिंहाश्रिमहोदधि m. in आचाररत्न.
- नृसिंहाचनपद्धति by ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ.
- नैमिषिकप्रयोगरत्नाकर by प्रेमनिधि.
- नौकादान.
- न्यायदीपिका of अभिनवधर्मभूषणाचार्य.
- न्यायसूत्रमालिका or न्यायमातृका. Vide  
अय्यहारायणमातृका of जीमूतवाहन.
- न्यासपद्धति by त्रिविक्रम.
- पञ्चकविधान.
- पञ्चकविधि (rites performed for per-  
sons who died when the moon  
was in any nakṣatra from धनिष्ठा to  
रेवती).
- पञ्चकशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदनमोस्वामी.
- पञ्चकालक्रियादीप on वैष्णव daily duties.
- पञ्चकोशसंन्यासाचार.
- पञ्चकोशयात्रा by शिवनारायणानन्दतीर्थ.
- पञ्चगत्यसेलनप्रकाश.
- पञ्चगौडब्राह्मणजाति.
- पञ्चविंशच्छ्लोकी (श्राद्धपद्धति).
- पञ्चदशकर्मन् (according to हौनकका-  
रिका) on fifteen of the principal  
संस्कारs.
- पञ्चद्वारविहजाति.
- पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रयोग.



पञ्चमाश्रमविधि-attributed to शङ्कराचार्य; treats of fifth stage called परमहंस where a संन्यासी gives up even his दण्ड and कनण्डलु and wanders about alone like a child or lunatic. N. vol. X. p. 329.

पञ्चमीव्रतायापन.

पञ्चलक्षणविधि.

पञ्चविधान (i. e. संस्कार, अधिवास, उद्दामन, पञ्चाग्निसाधन, जलवासविधि).

पञ्चसंस्कार in 8 अध्याय. (Baroda O. I. 12355).

पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका by विजयीन्द्रभिक्षु, pupil of सुरेन्द्र; a manual of वैष्णव rites in accordance with the doctrines of मध्वाचार्य (तापः पुण्ड्रं तथा नाम मन्त्रो यागश्च पञ्चमः । अमी हि पञ्च संस्काराः परमैकान्त्यहेतवः ॥).

पञ्चसंस्कारविधि for all श्रीवैष्णवः.

पञ्चसूत्रीविधान from जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.

पञ्चाग्निकारिका m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

पञ्चायतनपद्धति by दिवाकर, son of भाग-  
व्राज महादेव (on पञ्चायतन of सूर्य, शिव,  
गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु); vide सूर्यादि-  
पञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

पञ्चायतनपूजा.

पञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by दिवाकर, son of  
महादेव. Probably same as पञ्चायत-  
नपद्धति.

पञ्चायतनसार m. in पुर्तुगलिकसंक्षेप.

पण्डितपरितोष m. by हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्ग-  
चिन्तामणि as refuting गोविन्दराज  
(III. 2. 481). Vide p. 314  
above.

पण्डितसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in ब्राह्मण-  
सर्वस्व and in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (Jiva-  
nanda, vol. I. p. 531).

पतितत्यागविधि by दिवाकर.

पतितसंसर्गप्रायश्चित्त by an assembly  
of pandits under king Sarfoji of  
Tanjore (Hultzsch's Report III.  
pp. XII and 120).

पतिसहगमननिषेधनिर्गसप्रकाश.

पदचन्द्रिका by दयाराम.

पदार्थादर्श of रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. सि.  
and शूद्रकमलाकर.

पद्धतिरत्न by रूपनारायण (Baroda O.  
I. 2393).

पद्मनाभनिबन्ध.

पद्यन्यास m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत०.

परभूजातिनिर्णय.

परभूषणकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि.

परभूषणकरण by बाबदेव आटले.

परभूषणकरण by गोविन्दराय (Mitra's  
Notices X p. 296). About 1740-  
49 A. D. during reign of Shahu,  
grandson of Shivaji; when Balaji  
Bajirao was Peshwa गोविन्दराय  
was राजलेखक and a favourite of  
Shahu; refers to बाबदेव आटले as  
a hypocrite and a Karhādā  
Brāhmaṇa.

परमहंसपरिव्राजकधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वर-  
सरस्वती-same as यतिधर्मसंग्रह (pr.  
by आनन्दश्रम Press).

परमहंससंन्यासपद्धति.

परमहंससंन्यासपासन by शङ्कराचार्य; BB-  
RAS. cat. vol. II. p. 246.

परमहंससंन्यासविधि.



संस्कृत-विधि or स्मृतिसंग्रह by हो-  
लिलमिश्र. B. S. cat. p. 431 a.

परशुरामकारिका m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम of  
अनन्तदेव.

परशुरामप्रकाश or-निबन्ध by खण्डेराय,  
son of नारायणपण्डित, who was  
धर्माधिकारी at घराणसी. This is a  
digest in two उल्लास on आचार  
and श्राद्ध compiled at यमुनापुरी on  
the गोमती by order of परशुराम-  
मिश्र (प्रभु), son of होलिलमिश्र (or  
होलिलमिश्र), who is styled शाकही-  
पीयकुलावतंस. The work is men-  
tioned in आचारार्क and स्मृत्यर्थ-  
सागर, and mention माधवीय and  
मदनपाल. Between 1400-1600  
A. D.

परशुरामप्रताप by साबाजी or साम्बाजी  
प्रतापराज, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of  
जामदग्न्यवन्तगोत्र and pupil of भट्ट  
कर्म and a protégé of निजामशाह.  
Seems to have contained at least  
आह्निक, जातिविधेक, दान, प्रायश्चित्त,  
संस्कार, राजनीति and श्राद्ध. Vide  
Viśrambag collection (in Deccan  
College) II. No. 243-246 and  
Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 131 a.  
A huge work. Baroda O. I.  
5887 is राजवट्टभकाण्ड which is  
like मानसोल्लास in subject matter.  
C. श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका or श्राद्धदीप-  
कलिका of बोपदेवपण्डित. Quotes  
हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श.

परशुरामपद्धति by भार्गवराज ( vide वर्ण-  
जातिसङ्ग्रहमाला ).

परशुरामस्मृति-Vide sec. 35 ( printed  
several times; B. S. series ed.

the best; pr. also in Jivananda  
Sm. part II pp. 1-52).

C. by माधवाचार्य vide. sec. 92  
(pr. B. S. series ).

C. by गोविन्दभट्ट, m. in मलमासतत्त्व  
of रघु० ( p. 787 of Jivananda ).  
Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. विद्वन्मनोहरा by नन्दपण्डित. Vide  
sec. 105. ( I. O. cat. vol. III. p.  
377 No. 1301 gives a summary );  
pr. in Benares in 'The Pandit',  
New series, vol. 29-32.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पाययण्ड, son of  
महादेव and वेणी and pupil of  
नागोजि.

C. हितधर्म by कामेश्वरयज्वन् ; men-  
tions माधवीय ; Palmleaf ms. No.  
6956 in Baroda O. I.

परिभाषाधिकेक by वर्धमान, son of भवेश,  
of शिवपञ्चक family. About 1460-  
1500 A. D. On नित्य, नैमित्तिक,  
and काम्य कर्म, कर्माधिकारी, प्रवृत्त and  
निवृत्त कर्म, आचमन, स्नान, पुजा, श्राद्ध,  
मधुपर्क, दान, युग, &c

परिशिष्टदीपकलिका of शूलपाणि m. in  
शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. This is probably  
a commentary on a ग्रन्थपरिशिष्ट  
( such as छन्दोग० ).

परिशिष्टप्रकाश m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and  
एकादशीतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Probably  
the same as छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश  
q. v.

C. by हरिराम.

परिशिष्टसंग्रह.

परिशेषखण्ड-part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

परीक्षातत्त्व-same as विषयतत्त्व of रघु०.



परीक्षापद्धति by वासुदेव. On ordeals.

Names विश्वरूप, यज्ञपार्श्व, मिताक्षरा  
शुलपाणि. Later than 1450 A. D.

पर्णपुरुष or पर्णपुरुषविधि (cremation of  
effigies of persons who died  
abroad).

पर्यङ्कशौचविधि (about resorting to  
the order of संन्यास).

पर्वकालनिर्णय.

पर्वतदानपद्धति.

पर्वनिर्णय by गणपति रावल, son of हरि-  
शङ्कर and grandson of रामदास,  
who was औदीच गुर्जर and honour-  
ed by गौडाधीश मनोहर. Discourses  
on the proper time for new and  
full moon sacrifices and corres-  
ponding obsequial offerings.  
Names कालविवेचन, निर्णयसिन्धु,  
निर्णयभास्कर, मदन; composed in  
संवत् 1742 (नेत्राम्भोधिराधरक्षिति-  
मिति श्रीविक्रमाकै शके) i. e. 1685-  
86 A. D.

पर्वनिर्णय by मुरारि.

पर्वनिर्णय by रघुनाथ बाजपेयिन, son of  
माधव. Between 1550-1625 A. D.

पर्वनिर्णय a portion of धर्मसिन्धु.

पर्वसंग्रह.

पलपीयपलता by मदनमनोहर, son of मधु-  
सूदन; in 7 chapters on the cano-  
nical use of various kinds of  
flesh.

पल्लव—a work on politics in. in the  
राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर. Ear-  
lier than 1300 A. D.

पल्लीपतन prognostications derived  
from the falling of a house  
lizard.

पल्लीपतनफल.

पल्लीपतनविचार.

पल्लीपतनशान्ति.

पल्लीशरटकाकभासादिशकुन.

पल्लीशरटयोः फलाफलविचार.

पल्लीशरटयोः शान्ति.

पल्लीशरटविधान.

पवित्ररोगपरिहारप्रयोग.

पवित्रारोपणविधान—rite in  
casting new threads around an  
image and hence taking them  
to wear.

पशुपतिदीपिका m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (pp.  
206, 210). Probably same as  
पशुपति's दशकर्मदीपिका.

पशुपतिनिघन्थ m. in आन्दक्रियाकौमुदी (p.  
503). Probably the same as the  
आन्दपद्धति of पशुपति, brother of  
हलायुध. About 1170-1200 A. D.

पाकयज्ञनिर्णय or पद्धति by चन्द्रशेखर  
alias चन्द्रचूड, son of उमापति  
alias उमाशङ्कर or उमणभट्ट, son of  
धर्मेश्वर alias धर्माभट्ट. Between  
1575-1650 A. D.

पाकयज्ञपद्धति by अनन्तमिश्र.

पाकयज्ञपद्धति by पशुपति.

पाकयज्ञप्रयोग by शम्भुभट्ट, son of बाल-  
कृष्ण. Follows आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र. I.  
O. cat. pp. 99-100 (ms. dated  
संवत् 1749 i. e. 1692-93 A. D.).  
Flourished between 1660-1710  
A. D.

पाश्चालजातिविवेक.

पाण्ड्यहणादिकृत्यविवेक by मथुरानाथतर्क-  
चार्गीश. (N. vol. IX. p. 244 says  
that author is रघुनाथ while the



colophon extracted has मथुरा-  
नाथ ).

पारस्करयुह्यारिका alias कातीययुह्यसूत्र-  
प्रयोगविहृति by रेणुकाचार्य, son of  
महेशचरि and grandson of सोमेश्वर  
of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र. Composed in  
śake 1188 i. e. 1266 A. D. ( I.  
O. cat. vol. I p. 67 ).

पारस्करयुह्यपरिशिष्टपद्धति by कामदेव-  
दीक्षित on वाय्पादिप्रतिष्ठा ( pr. in  
Gujarati P. ).

पारस्करयुह्यसूत्र ( also called कातीय-  
युह्यसूत्र ) in 3 काण्डs ( pr. by Sten-  
zler in 1876 at Leipzig and in  
Kashi S. series with several com-  
mentaries and by the Gujarati  
Press, Bombay, with several  
commentaries and translated in  
S. B. E. vol. 29 ).

C. असृतव्याख्या m. by नन्दपण्डित in  
his शुद्धिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than  
1550 A. D.

C. अर्थभास्कर by भास्कर, pupil of  
राघवेन्द्रारण्य.

C. प्रकाश by वेदमिश्र, son of विश्व-  
रूप दीक्षित; used by his son मुरारि-  
मिश्र.

C. संस्कारगणपति by रामकृष्ण, son  
of कोनेर, son of प्रयागभट्ट ( 4 खण्डs  
pr. in Ch. S. series ). He was of  
भारद्वाजगोत्र and was patronised  
by बिजयसिंह; he compiled it in  
विश्वमण्डलपत्तन on the वशिष्ठा river;  
mentions कर्क, हरिहर, गदाधर, हला-  
युष, काशिका and दीपिका. He wrote  
आद्यगणपति also. Vide I. O. cat.  
p. 562 for his आद्यसंग्रह. About  
1750 A. D.

C. सज्जनवल्लभा by जयराम, son of  
बलभद्र of भारद्वाजगोत्र, residing in  
Mewad. Names उवट, कर्क, and  
सूत्यर्थसार and is m. by गदाधर.  
Ulwar cat. extract 39 gives संवत्  
1611 ( 1554-5 A. D. ) as the date  
( probably of copying ). Between  
1200-1400 A. D. ; pr. at Gujarati  
Press and in Kashi S. series.

C. ( भाष्य ) by कर्क. m. by त्रिकाण्ड-  
मण्डन. हेमाद्रि and हरिहर. Earlier  
than 1100 A. D. ( pr. in Gujarati  
P. ed. ).

C. ( भाष्य ) by कामदेव ( on परि-  
शिष्टकण्डिका ). Pr. at Gujarati P.

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन.  
Names कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, भर्तृपञ्च,  
मदनपारिजात, हरिहर. About 1500  
A. D. ; pr. in Kashi S. series and  
in Gujarati P. edition.

C. by भर्तृपञ्च m. by जयराम in  
his भाष्य.

C. ( on पारस्करयुह्यमन्त्रs ) by  
मुरारिमिश्र, son of वेदमिश्र ; ms.  
( in Stein's cat. p. 252 ) dated  
संवत् 1430 ( 1373 A. D. ).

C. by वागीश्वरीदन.

C. by वासुदेवदीक्षित ; m. by हरिहर  
and रघुनन्दन in यज्ञवेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व.  
Contains पद्धति of all rites. Ear-  
lier than 1250 A. D.

C. by विश्वनाथ, son of सृष्टिह, a  
नागरब्राह्मण of the काश्यपगोत्र;  
compiled at Benares by लक्ष्मीधर,  
great-grandson of अनन्त, who  
was uncle of विश्वनाथ, in संवत्  
1692 माघ ( i. e. 1635 A. D. ).



- Names कर्क, हरिहर, कालनिर्णयदी-  
पिका. Therefore विश्वनाथ flouri-  
shed about 1550 A. D. Vide Ul-  
war cat. extract 42 (pr. in Gu-  
jarati P. ed.).
- C. by हरिशर्मन् m. in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व  
(Jivananda vol. I. p. 531.)
- C. (भाष्य and पद्धति) by हरिहर  
(pr. in Gujarati P. and Kashi  
S. series). Names कर्क, कल्पतरु-  
कार, रेणु, वासुदेव. विज्ञानेश्वर and is  
m. in श्रद्धाक्रियाकौमुदी of गोवि-  
न्दानन्द (p. 118). Between  
1275-1400 A. D. Vide sec. 84.  
गुणनन्दन in his यमुनेदिश्रद्धातत्त्व  
(Jivananda vol. II. p. 488)  
mentions both हरिशर्मन् and हरि-  
हर in the same sentence as ex-  
plaining a passage of काल्याणन-  
गृह्य.
- पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by कामदेव.
- पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by भास्कर. Vide  
above.
- पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by वासुदेव. Vide  
above.
- पारस्करमन्त्रभाष्य by सुरागि. Vide above  
under पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.
- पारस्करश्रद्धासूत्रवृत्त्यर्थमंग्रह by उदयंक  
(Stein's cat. p. 17).
- पारिजात- numerous works on dhar-  
ma have this ending, e. g. मद्-  
नपारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, विधान-  
पारिजात.
- पारिजात- vide sec. 73.
- पारिजात of भातुदत्त. B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I No. 257 and JBORS. for  
1927 parts III-IV p. VII.
- पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजा- founded on बौधायन-  
सूत्र, बृहद्वात्सिङ्ग. लिङ्गपुराण. (I. O.  
cat. p. 585).
- पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजाविधि (two different  
works in Stein's cat. p. 95).
- पार्वणचतुश्चाष्टप्रयोग by देवभद्र.
- पार्वणचन्द्रिका by रत्नपाणिशर्मा. son of  
गंगोली सञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा. On various  
kinds of श्राद्ध and particularly  
पार्वणश्राद्ध. according to the  
उन्देश school.
- पार्वणत्रयश्राद्धविधि (Stein's cat. p. 95).
- पार्वणप्रयोग- part of श्राद्धतृप्तिह.
- पार्वणश्राद्ध (आश्वलायनीय).
- C. प्रदीपभाष्य by नारायण.
- पार्वणश्राद्धपद्धति.
- पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग for उन्देश.
- पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग for वाजसनेयिय by  
देवभद्र.
- पार्वणस्थालीपाकप्रयोग (part of प्रयोग-  
रत्न of नारायणभट्ट).
- पार्वणादिश्राद्धतत्त्व- vide श्राद्धतत्त्व of  
रघु०.
- पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशीय) by  
चन्द्रचूडभट्ट. son of उमापति.
- पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias  
गागाभट्ट; vide Bik. cat. 136.
- पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न  
of हरिहर.
- पितामहस्मृति vide sec. 44.
- पितृद्विपाता of अनिरुद्ध. Vide sec. 82  
(pr. in संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषद् series,  
Calcutta).
- पितृपद्धति of गोपालाचार्य. Mentions  
शूलपाणि. Later than 1450 A. D.



पितृभक्ति by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89, p. 364; for students of यजुर्वेद.

C. by सुगति. About end of 15th century.

पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी alias श्राद्धकल्प by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98 p. 399.

पितृमेधप्रयोग--by a follower of कपर्दिहारिका ( N. vol. X. p. 271 ).

पितृमेधभाष्य ( आपस्तम्बीय ) by गार्ग्यगोपाल.

पितृमेधविवरण by रङ्गनाथ.

पितृमेधसार by गोपालयज्वन.

पितृमेधसार by वेङ्कटनाथ. son of रङ्गनाथ.

पितृमेधसारसुधीविलोचन ( a com. ) by a वैदिकसार्धभौम. Probably the same as वेङ्कटनाथ above.

पितृमेधसूत्र.

by गौतम.

C. by अनन्तयज्वन, son of कृष्ण.

by भरद्वाज.

by हिरण्यकेशिन.

आपस्तम्बीय ( प्रश्न 31-32 of कल्प ).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन ( pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1905 ).

पितृसांवत्सरिकश्राद्धप्रयोग.

पितृहितकरणी m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त. About 1300 A. D.

पितृपशुसंखण्डन by टीकाकारसर्मन N. ( new series ) vol. III. p. 116.

पितृपशुसंखण्डनमीमांसा or पितृपशुमीमांसा by नारायणपण्डित. son of विश्वनाथ and pupil of नीलकण्ठ. N. vol. X. p. 312. Recommends पितृपशु in sacrifices instead of a goat; nis. dated संवत् 1785 i. e. 1728 A. D.

पितृपशुसंखण्डन by टीकाकारसर्मन of गार्ग्यगोत्र ( Baroda O. I. No. 2436 ). This is probably the same as पितृपशुसंखण्डन above.

C ( contained in Baroda Ms. ).

पितृपशुसंखण्डनव्याख्यार्थदीपिका by रक्षपाल.

पितृपशुमीमांसाकारिका by नारायण, son of विश्वनाथ

पुंसवनादिकालनिर्णय.

पुण्याहवाचनप्रयोग by पुरुषोत्तम.

पुत्रक्रमदीपिका by रामभद्र on the rights of partition and inheritance of the twelve kinds of sons.

पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रयोग--ascribed to शौनक ( Peterson's 6th Report No. 122 ).

पुत्रपरिग्रहसंशयोद्धेदपरिच्छेद ( Stein's cat. p. 95 ).

पुत्रस्वीकारनिरूपण.

पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय of रामपण्डित, son of विश्वेश्वर, of the बत्सगोत्र. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रिका, कालादर्श, वरदराज. Later than 1400 A. D.

पुत्रीकरणमीमांसा of नन्दपण्डित. Same as दत्तकमीमांसा above. Vide sec. 105.

पुत्रोत्पत्तिपद्धति.

पुनःसन्धान ( on rekindling of the householder's fire ).

पनरूपनयन Second initiation of a brāhmaṇa, when first vitiated by partaking of forbidden food.

पनरूपनयनप्रयोग by दिवाकर, son of महादेव.



- पुनर्विवाहमीमांसा by बालकृष्ण (Baroda O. I. No. 9026).
- पुनर्विवाहविधि.
- पुरश्चरणकौमुदी by मुकुन्द, son of माधवाचार्य षष्ठः.
- पुरश्चरणकौमुदी of अहोबल, disciple of ईशानेन्द्र and नृसिंहेन्द्र. Composed in Benares.
- पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका m. in वर्षकृत्यकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द and by रघु० in तिथितत्त्व and आह्निकतत्त्व.
- पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by परमहंस देवेन्द्राश्रम, disciple of विष्णुपेन्द्राश्रम. (N. vol. VII p. 163). D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत् 1753.
- पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by माधव पाठक.
- पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by विष्णुपेन्द्राश्रम.
- पुरश्चरणदीपिका by काशीनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट.
- पुरश्चरणदीपिका by चन्द्रशेखर.
- पुरश्चरणदीपिका by रामचन्द्र.
- पुरस्क्रियाचार्या m. in तिथितत्त्व by रघु०.
- पुराणसमुच्चय m. by हेमाद्रि. निर्णयामृत, नि. मि., द्वैतनिर्णय. Earlier than 1200 A. D.
- पुराणसर्वस्व by गोवर्धनपाठक, compiled under Bengal Zamindar श्रीमन्त्र in śake 1396 (1474-5 A. D.).
- पुराणसर्वस्व by पुरुषोत्तम. (Mitra's Notices vol. I. p. 188).
- पुराणसर्वस्व by हलायुध, son of पुरुषोत्तम. On 730 interesting points; composed in 1474 A. D. (Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. pp. 84-87).
- पुराणसार m. in पराशरमाधवीय, नृसिंहप्रसाद, आह्निकतत्त्व. Earlier than 1300 A. D.
- पुराणसार by prince रुद्रशर्मन्, son of राघवराय, of नवहरीष. N. vol. X. pp. 62-65.
- पुराणसारसंग्रह.
- पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि of विष्णुभट्ट आठवले, son of रामकृष्ण. A very large work on काल, संस्कार etc. Relies upon हेमाद्रि and माधव principally; pr. by Nir. P. and by Ānan. P.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1666) dated śake 1706 (1784-5 A. D.).
- पुरुषार्थप्रबोध by ब्रह्मानन्दभारती, pupil of रामराजसरस्वती. Very large work in three parts, each having 4, 5 and 6 chapters respectively on religious efficacy of भस्म, रुद्राक्ष devotion to रुद्र &c.; composed in 1476 (probably śake) at Malavli village on the river Asanasi. Names विद्यारण्य and is m. in शूद्रकमलाकर. Vide BBRAS. cat. pp. 220-222 No. 699. Pr. at Chidambaram, 1907.
- पुरुषार्थप्रबोधिनी.
- पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर by रङ्गनाथहृरि, pupil of कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती; in 15 तरङ्ग on पुराणप्रामाण्यविवेक, त्रिवर्गतत्त्वविवेक, मोक्षतत्त्वविवेक, वर्णादिधर्मविवेक, नामकीर्तनादि, प्रायश्चित्त, अधिकारि, तत्त्वपदार्थविवेक, मुक्तगतविवेक.
- पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि by सायणाचार्य (according to some mss. such as Baroda O. I. No. 7101 and by विद्यारण्य according to others). On धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष.
- पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रतत्त्व of रघु०. On the famous shrine of जगन्नाथ in Orissa. Vide sec. 102.



पुष्पोत्तमप्रतिष्ठाप्रकार Vide Peterson's 6th Report, No. 95.

पुलस्त्यस्मृति Vide sec. 45 p. 228.

पुलहस्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and माधवाचार्य.

पुष्टिमार्गीयाह्निक by व्रजराज (for बह्वर्थाचार्य sect.).

पुष्पचिन्तामणि.

पुष्पमाला by रुद्रपर. On the flowers and leaves appropriate to the worship of deities.

पुष्पसारसुधानिधि m. in the अहल्याकामधेनु.

पूजनमालिका by भवानीप्रसाद.

पूजापद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ son of जनार्दन.

पूजापद्धति or पद्ममाला by जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ (Baroda O. I. 8685).

पूजापद्धति by रामचन्द्रभट्ट, son of विष्णुभट्ट तुजवलकर; Baroda O. I. No. 10471 copied in śake 1735 i. e. 1813-1 A. D.

पूजापाल m. in आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

पूजाप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय) Vide sec. 108.

पूजाप्रदीप by गोविन्द m. in दीक्षातत्त्व by रघु.

पूजाप्रत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

पूर्णचन्द्र by रिपुञ्जय. On प्रायश्चित्त.

पूर्वकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

पूर्वप्रकाश-a section of the प्रतापनारसिंह of रुद्रदेव.

पूर्णमाला by रघुनाथ.

पुनोदयोत by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट- part of दिनकरोदयोत q. v.

पूर्वाह्नलीला-(daily duties from स्नान to पूजा) for वैष्णव.

पृथगुद्वाह.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र probably same as पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय; m. in विधानपारिजात.

पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय m. by हेमाद्रि (चतुर्वर्ग III. i. 182), द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट, विधानपारिजात, नि. सि. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

पृथ्वीप्रेमोदय by प्रेमनिधिशर्मन, son of उमापति of भारद्वाजगोत्र and sur-named पन्त. D. C. Ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 was composed in नन्दपञ्चमुपसमितशाके (1659 i. e. 1757-38). It deals with अवणार्कर्म, प्रायश्चित्त &c.

पृथ्वीरहस्य m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

पैङ्गवस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 18).

पैठानमिरस्मृति-vide sec. 24.

पैतृकतिथिनिर्णय by चक्रभर.

पैतृमेधिक by यद्वाजि. son of यलुभट्ट of the भरद्वाजगोत्र. According to भारद्वाजीयसूत्र and कपर्दिन. Hultzsch R. I. No. 58.

पैतृमेधिकसूत्र by भारद्वाज in two प्रश्न (each in 12 कण्डिकास).

प्रकाश-several works end in प्रकाश e. g. सर्वधर्मप्रकाश of शङ्करभट्ट, परशुरामप्रकाश, परिशिष्टप्रकाश.

प्रकाश-vide sec. 74.

प्रक्रियाजनटीका by वैयनाथदीक्षित.

प्रथेतःस्मृति-vide sec. 46.



प्रजापतिस्मृति-vide sec. 47; pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 90-98.

प्रजापद्धति on राजनीति.

प्रजापालन.

प्रणवकल्प ascribed to शौनक. On the nature and mystic import of ओङ्कार.

C. by हेमाद्रि.

प्रणवकल्प by आनन्दतीर्थ.

प्रणवकल्प (from स्कन्दपुराण).

C. प्रकाश by गङ्गाधरसरस्वती, pupil of रामचन्द्रसरस्वती.

प्रणवदर्पण by वैकुण्ठाचार्य.

प्रणवदर्पण by श्रीनिवासाचार्य.

प्रणवपरिशिष्ट m. by रघु० in आह्निक-तत्त्व.

प्रणवार्चनचन्द्रिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

प्रणवोपासनविधि by गोपीनाथपाठक, son of अग्निहोत्रिपाठक and grandson of काशीपाठक.

प्रतापनारासिंह of रुद्रदेव, son of तोरो नारायण, of भारद्वाज गोत्र; composed at प्रतिष्ठान (modern Paithan on the Godavari) in śake 1632 i. e. 1710-11 A. D. An extensive digest divided into प्रकाशः on संस्कार, पुर्त, अन्योष्टि, संन्यास, यति, वास्तुशान्ति, पाकयज्ञ, प्रायश्चित्त, कुण्ड, उत्सर्ग, जातिविवेक. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 222 Nos. 700-703.

प्रतापमार्तण्ड or प्रौढप्रतापमार्तण्ड attributed to प्रतापरुद्र गजपति, king of उत्कल, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of कपिलेश्वर of the solar race. In 5 प्रकाशः. Vide sec. 100 and N. vol.

H. D. 74.

X. pp. 222-225; m. in समयमय्य and भास्वमय्य.

प्रतापमार्तण्ड by रामकृष्ण, son of माधव; composed at the bidding of king प्रतापरुद्रगजपति (Stein's cat. p. 96). Probably the same as above.

प्रतापरुद्रनिबन्ध m. in द्वैतनिर्णय by शङ्करभट्ट (probably the same as प्रतापमार्तण्ड).

प्रतापार्क by विश्वेश्वर of the शाङ्खिल्य-गोत्र and surnamed महाशब्द, son of रामेश्वर, son of गङ्गाराम, son of रत्नाकर; based on his ancestor's जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम and composed by order of king प्रताप, grandson of जयसिंह (Ulwar cat. extract 328).

प्रतिग्रहप्रायश्चित्तप्रकार.

प्रतिमादान.

प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा by नीलकण्ठ.

प्रतिमासंग्रह m. in दानरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता by बृन्दावन शुक्ल.

प्रतिष्ठाकौस्तुभ by शङ्कर.

प्रतिष्ठाकौस्तुभ.

प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि by गङ्गाधर.

प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व or देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन; vide sec. 102.

प्रतिष्ठादर्पण by पद्मनाभ, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण (ms. in Bhadkarnkar collection dated śake 1706 i. e. 1784-5 A. D.).

प्रतिष्ठादीधिति from the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय of गङ्गाधर.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by अनन्तभट्ट alias बापुभट्ट.



प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by त्रिविक्रमभट्ट, son of  
रघुशूरि; N. vol. V. p. 157, ms.  
copied in संवत् 1785 ).

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by नीलकण्ठ.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by भट्टेश्वरभट्ट हर्षे.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by राधाकृष्ण.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by शङ्करभट्ट.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश by हरिप्रसादशर्मन्.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग of कमलाकर.

प्रतिष्ठामयूख by नीलकण्ठ; vide sec.  
107; ( pr. by J. R. Gharpure ).

Styled प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग also ( vide  
Ulwar cat. extract 330 ).

प्रतिष्ठारत्न.

प्रतिष्ठार्कपद्धति by दिवाकर.

प्रतिष्ठारिवेक of उमापति.

प्रतिष्ठारिवेक of शूलपाणि ( sec. 95 ).

प्रतिष्ठासंग्रह.

प्रतिष्ठासमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of  
रघुनन्दन.

प्रतिष्ठासागर of बल्लालसेन m. in his  
दानसागर. Vide sec. 83.

प्रतिष्ठासार by रामचन्द्र m. in शान्ति-  
मयूख.

प्रतिष्ठासारदीपिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग टफले,  
son of चिन्तामणि, in पञ्चवटी;  
composed in śake 1702 ( 1780-81  
A. D. ); Baroda O. I. No. 333.

प्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि ( दानखण्ड  
p. 134 ), कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि and दान-  
मयूख.

प्रतिष्ठेन्दु by व्यम्बक, son of नारायण  
माटे. ( Baroda O. I. 11089 b ).

प्रतिष्ठोद्घोत- ( part of दिनकरोद्घोत ) by  
दिनकर and his son, त्रिविश्वेश्वर alias  
शाकभट्ट.

प्रतिसरबन्धप्रयोग ( rules for tying of  
a string as a charm on the wrist  
at weddings and other festive  
occasions ).

प्रतीताक्षरा com. of नन्दपण्डित on the  
मिताक्षरा; sec. 103.

प्रत्यवरोहणप्रयोग, part of प्रयोगरत्न of  
नारायणभट्ट.

प्रथिततिथिनिर्णय by नागदैवज्ञ.

प्रदीप occurs as the last part of the  
names of several works such as  
आचारप्रदीप, कृत्यप्रदीप, समयप्रदीप,  
संवत्सरप्रदीप.

प्रदीप vide sec. 80.

प्रदीपदानपद्धति vide महाप्रदीप०.

प्रदीपिका m. in गणेश's दण्डविवेक and  
in सरस्वतीविलास. Earlier than  
1450 A. D.

प्रदीपनिर्णय by विष्णुभट्ट ( from पुरुषार्थ-  
चिन्तामणि ).

प्रदीपपूजापद्धति by बल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of  
बासुदेवेन्द्र.

प्रपञ्चसार m. by वर्षक्रियाकौस्तुभदी, आह्निक-  
तत्त्व of रघु०. Seems to be a work  
of the तन्त्र class, earlier than  
1450 A. D.

C. व्याख्यान, quoted by देवनाथ  
in तन्त्रकौस्तुभदी. Earlier than 1550  
A. D.

C. by गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्र.

C. by ज्ञानस्वरूप.

प्रपञ्चसारविवेक or भवसारविवेक by  
गङ्गाधर महाडकर, son of सदाशिव.  
In 8 उल्लास; ms. dated संवत् 1840  
( 1783-4 A. D. ); vide N. vol. X.  
162. On आह्निक, भगवत्पूजा,  
भागवतधर्म, moral maxims.



प्रपञ्चावृतसार by एकराज (or Ekoji) of Tanjore, who reigned from 1676 to 1684 A. D. Some fragments on नीति and पूजा are recovered (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

प्रपञ्चगतिदीपिका by तातादास; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधव, सार्वभौम, वैयनाथदीक्षित.

प्रपञ्चदिनचर्या (according to रामानुज school).

प्रपञ्चलक्षण.

प्रपञ्चौर्ध्वदेहिकविधि.

प्रभाकराह्निक by प्रभाकरभट्ट.

प्रमाणदर्पण.

प्रमाणपल्लव of वृत्तिह or नरसिंह ठक्कर, divided into परिच्छेदs on आचार &c.

प्रमाणसंग्रह.

प्रमाणसारप्रकाशिका.

प्रमेयमाला.

प्रयागकृत्य (part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागप्रकरण or प्रयागप्रघट्टक (from त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागसेतु m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव (same as part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयोगकौस्तुभ by गणेशपाठक.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासशिष्य, brother of सीताराम.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका in 18 खण्डs. From पुंस्वन 10 ब्राह्म; follows आपस्तम्बगृह्य, mentions ऋणभूषण, पञ्चाग्निकारिका, जयन्तकारिका, कपर्दिकारिका, दशनिर्णय, वामनकारिका, सुधीविलो-

चन, स्मृतिरत्नाकर. (Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. cat. vol. VII. p. 2798 No. 3713).

प्रयोगचिन्तामणि (part of रामकल्पद्रुम) by अनन्तभट्ट.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection) on स्वस्तिक, पुण्याहवाचन, ग्रहयज्ञ, स्थालीपाक, दुष्टरजोदर्शनशान्ति, गर्भाधान, सीमन्तोन्नयन, षष्ठी-पूजा, नामकरण, चौल and other संस्कारs, उपनयन, विवाह.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. p. 22).

प्रयोगचूडामणि m. by रघुनन्दन.

प्रयोगतत्त्व of रघुनाथ, son of भानुजि of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, composed at Benares in 25 तत्त्वs on ordinary religious rites (संस्कारs), परिभाषा, स्वस्तिवाचन, ग्रहमन्त्र &c.; composed in Śaka 1577 (1656 A. D.).

प्रयोगतिलक by वीरराघव (Baroda O. I. 9806).

प्रयोगदर्पण by नारायण, son of चायम्भट्ट. Deals with domestic rites according to Rgveda ritual. Names उज्ज्वला of हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, श्रीधर, स्मृतिरत्नावलि. Later than 1400 A. D.

प्रयोगदर्पण by पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण; deals with देवप्रतिष्ठा, मण्डपपूजा, तोरणपूजा &c.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रघुनाथसूरि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रामानाथत्रियावाचस्पति on daily religious duties of householders; quotes हेमाद्रि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वैदिकसार्वभौम.



प्रयोगदर्पण Anu. N. (new series) vol.

II p. 190. On the last rites of a man, his cremation and श्राद्ध. Mentions श्रीधर (author of स्तुत्यर्थसार) as much removed from him.

प्रयोगदीप ( to शाङ्खनयनग्रन्थ ) by दयाशङ्कर.

प्रयोगदीपिका by मन्वन्ताचार्य.

प्रयोगदीपिका by रामकृष्णभट्ट.

प्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

प्रयोगपञ्चरत्न m. in चातुर्मास्यप्रयोग.

प्रयोगपद्धति

of गङ्गाधर ( बौधायनीय ).

of सिंगय्यकोविद्, son of पेञ्जल मन्वन्ताचार्य ( for आपस्तम्बीय ). This is called शिक्षणभट्टीय.

of दामोदरगार्ग्य; based on कर्कोपाध्याय, गङ्गाधर, हरिहर and follows पारस्करग्रन्थ. Also styled संस्कारपद्धति.

of रघुनाथ, son of रुद्रभट्ट अयाचित ( आश्वलायनीय ).

of हरिहर ( in 2 काण्डs on domestic religious rites ); attached to com. on पारस्करग्रन्थ.

प्रयोगपद्धति to कात्यायनश्राद्धसूत्र.

प्रयोगपद्धतिसुबोधिनी by शिवराम.

प्रयोगपारिजात by नरसिंह ( vide I. O. cat. p. 415 No. 1396 ). Mentions हेमाद्रि, विद्यारण्य, प्रसाद ( which the editor of I. O. cat. takes to be नृसिंहप्रसाद ). This is most probably the same as the next below and प्रसाद means probably no more than

the commentary प्रसाद of विठ्ठल on the प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभ of रामचन्द्र. Vide I. O. cat. p. 166 for प्रसाद com. and Bhandarkar Report 1883-84 p. 59 for pedigree.

प्रयोगपारिजात by नृसिंह a native of कर्णाटक, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र. Has five काण्डs on संस्कार, पाकपत्र, आधान, आह्निक, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय. Portion on संस्कार printed at Nir. Press ( 1916 ). Speaks of 25 संस्कारs; mentions कालदीप and कालप्रदीप ( on same page ), कालदीपभाष्य, क्रियासार, फलप्रदीप, विश्वादर्श, विधिरत्न, श्रीधरीय, स्तुतिभास्कर; criticizes हेमाद्रि and माधव; composed between 1360 and 1435 A. D. It is this work probably that is mentioned in नृसिंहप्रसाद ( दानसार ), धर्मप्रवृत्ति ( संस्कार portion ) and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट ms. ( Bik. cat. p. 439 ) is dated संवत् 1495 ( 1438-39 A. D. ).

प्रयोगपारिजात by पुरुषोत्तमभट्ट son of देवराजार्थ.

प्रयोगपारिजात by रघुनाथ वाजपेयिन.

प्रयोगपारिजातसारवलि m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

प्रयोगप्रदीप by शिवप्रसाद.

प्रयोगमञ्जरीसंहिता by श्रीकण्ठ ( Baroda O. I. No. 12959 ).

प्रयोगमणि by केशवभट्ट, son of अभयकर नारायण.

प्रयोगमुक्तावलि by मिमिक्षुरि (?) तिर्विलि; D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1871-72. Quotes विश्वेश्वर, प्रयोगपारिजात, नृसिंह, आचारमयूख. Later than 1650 A. D.



- प्रयोगसुक्तावलि by वीरराघव.
- प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति by अनन्त,  
son of विश्वनाथ ; deals with 25  
संस्कार according to आश्वलायन,  
and स्वस्तिपावन, पुण्याहवाचन,  
स्थालीपाक, परिभाषा, प्रायश्चित्त. (I.O.  
cat. vol. III, p. 315 ).
- प्रयोगरत्न ( हिरण्यकेशीय ) by अनन्तदेव,  
son of विश्वनाथ ; vide Peterson's  
5th Report No. 126. Probably  
same as above.
- प्रयोगरत्न by काशीदीक्षित, son of  
सदाशिव.
- प्रयोगरत्न by केशवदीक्षित, son of  
सदाशिव.
- प्रयोगरत्न by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामे-  
श्वरभट्ट ( pr. by Nir. P. ) for आश्व-  
लायनीयः. Vide sec. 103.
- प्रयोगरत्न by प्रेमनिधि.
- प्रयोगरत्न by नृसिंहभट्ट, son of नारा-  
यणभट्ट, according to आश्वलायन  
and शौनक ; quoted in चतुर्विंशति-  
मतस्याख्यान of भट्टोजि ; between  
1500-1600 A. D.
- प्रयोगरत्न by भट्टोजि ( C. P. cat.  
No. 3131 ).
- प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तप्रयोगरत्न of महेश, son  
of महादेव वैशम्पायन ; composed at  
Kāśī on संस्कार, ज्ञान्ति and श्राद्ध ;  
pr. in śake 1798 ; enlogises मान-  
दत्त ; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1626)  
dated 1841 सेवन् i. e. 1787-8  
A. D.
- प्रयोगरत्न by महादेव ( हिरण्यकेशीय ).
- प्रयोगरत्न by बासुदेवदीक्षित, son of  
आपदेव.
- प्रयोगरत्न by हरिहर.
- प्रयोगरत्न by ननुनाथ भयहस्त ( BBR.  
AS. cat. vol. II p. 183 ).
- प्रयोगरत्न by श्रीकण्ठपाचार्य.
- प्रयोगरत्नमाला by बासुदेव, son of आप-  
देवभट्ट, व चित्तपावन ब्राह्मण ; on  
विष्णवादिसर्पदेवप्रतिष्ठा, mentions  
निर्णयमिन्नु. Between 1620 and  
1760 A. D. Also called बासुदेवी  
and प्रतिष्ठात्ममाला.
- प्रयोगरत्नमाला by पुरुषोत्तम विद्यावागीश.
- प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार by प्रेमनिधि.
- प्रयोगरत्नसंग्रह m. by संस्कारमण्डल.
- प्रयोगरत्नाकर -vide प्रयोगदीप of दया-  
शङ्कर above.
- प्रयोगरत्नाकर by यशवन्तभट्ट ( for मैत्रा-  
यणीयः ). Baroda O. I. 8365.
- प्रयोगरत्नावली by परमानन्दधन, pupil of  
चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती ( probably  
on śrauta-rites only ).
- प्रयोगलाघव by विदुल, son of महादेव.
- प्रयोगसंग्रह by रामनाथ.
- प्रयोगसागर by नारायण आरड. Later  
than 1650 A.D. ; called also गृह्य-  
सागर.
- प्रयोगसागर ( W. and K. cat. II p. 97 )  
in 8 काण्डः.
- प्रयोगसार by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश, son  
of नारायण. This is also called  
कृष्णतत्त्व or संवत्सरप्रयोगसार.
- प्रयोगसार by केशवस्थामिन ( बौधायनीय ).  
On Vaidic sacrifices. Names नारा-  
यण and भवस्थामी and is m. by त्रि-  
काण्डमण्डन. About 1100 A. D.
- प्रयोगसार by गङ्गाभट्ट ( आपस्तम्बीय ).
- प्रयोगसार by देवभद्र पाठक, son of बल-  
भद्र ( कात्यायनीय ). Refers to गङ्गा-



धरपाठक, भर्तृपञ्च. वासुदेव. रेणु, कर्क, हरिस्वामी. भाधव, पञ्चनाभ, गदाधर, हरिहर, रामपद्धति of अनन्त. Deals with श्रौत matters.

प्रयोगसार by नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Same as दृष्ट्याग्निसागर or प्रयोगसागर.

प्रयोगसार by निजानन्द.

प्रयोगसार by बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य, residing in गोकुलग्राम.

प्रयोगसार by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर. On पुण्याहवाचन, गणपतिपूजन &c.

प्रयोगसार by शिवप्रसाद.

प्रयोगसारवलि m. in धर्मप्रज्ञप्ति.

प्रयोगसारपीपथ of कुमारस्वामि त्रिष्टु; on परिभाषा, संस्कार, आह्निक, प्रायश्चित्त.

प्रयोगसारसमुच्चय.

प्रयोगादर्श by कनकसभापति. son of वैद्यनाथ. of मौडुलगोत्र. It is a com. on his own कारिकाभञ्जरी.

प्रवरकाण्ड (आश्वलायनीय) pr. by P. Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्ध-कदम्बक (Mysore, 1900).

C. by नारायण (pr. in the above).

प्रवरखण्ड (आपस्तम्बीय).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन (pr. by Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक. Mysore, 1900, pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1914).

प्रवरखण्ड (वैखानस in one प्रश्न).

प्रवरगण- a work on प्रवर in शार्दूल-विक्रीडित verses. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 22; No. 707; breaks off in verse 25).

प्रवरदर्पण by कमलाकर; also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (p. in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्ध-कदम्बक edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900).

प्रवरदीप or प्रवरप्रदीप m. in प्रवरदीपिका प्रवरदीपिका by कृष्णशैव; mentions प्रवरमञ्जरी, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

प्रवरनिर्णय- from the विश्वादर्श.

प्रवरनिर्णय of भास्करत्रिकाण्डमण्डन. Calcutta S. College mss. cat. vol. II p. 69 No. 65.

C. रामनन्दिन.

प्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजि. Also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

प्रवरनिर्णयवाक्सुधारण्य of विश्वनाथदेव.

प्रवरमञ्जरी- vide गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी; m. in वृसिहप्रसाद.

प्रवरविवरण m. in the प्रवरदीपिका.

प्रवराध्याय (there is a section on प्रवर in most of the श्रौतसूत्रs).

प्रवराध्याय of the मानवश्रौत BBRAS. cat. vol. II, p. 177.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to अगस्त्य. On गोत्रs and प्रवरs.

प्रवराध्याय by पशुपति, minister of लक्ष्मणसेन; about 1170-1200 A.D.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to भृगुदेव.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to लौगाक्षि, the eleventh परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन.

प्रवराध्याय by विश्वनाथकवि.

प्रवराध्याय from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर.

प्रवराध्याय from स्मृतिदर्पण.

प्रवासकृत्य by गङ्गाधर son of रामचन्द्र; composed at सत्सभतीर्थ (modern Khambayat or Cambay) in संवत्



1663( 1606-7 A.D. ). Deals with duties of **सामिनक ब्राह्मण**s driven to foreign lands for livelihood.

**प्रस्तावपारिजात.**

**प्रस्तावरत्नाकर** of **हरिदास** son of **पुरुषोत्तम**, under **वीरसिंह**, in **गदापत्तन** in **संवत् 1614 ( 1557-8 A. D. )**. A work in verse on various subjects including **नीति**, **ज्योतिःशास्त्र**.

**प्रह्लादसंहिता** in **आचाररत्न** of **लक्ष्मण** (follows **बल्लभमत** ).

**प्राचीनषडशीति** ( as opposed to **अभिनवषडशीति** ) vide under **षडशीति**, **प्रातःकृत्य**.

**प्रातःपूजाविधि** by **नरोत्तमदास** ( for the followers of **चैतन्य** ).

**प्रायश्चित्तकदम्ब** or **निर्णय** by **गोपाल-न्यायप्रधान**. Points out differences between **रघुनाथ**, **नारायण**, **जगन्नाथतर्कप्रधान**. N. vol. X, p. 119.

**प्रायश्चित्तकदम्बसारसंग्रह** by **काशीनाथ-तर्कालङ्कार**. Mentions views of **शूलपाणि**, **मदनपारिजात**, **नव्यद्वैतनिर्णय-कृष्णचन्द्रशेखर**. N. ( new series ) I. pp. 233-35.

**प्रायश्चित्तकमलाकर** by **कमलाकरभट्ट**.

**प्रायश्चित्तकल्पतरु**— portion of **कल्पतरु**.

**प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड**— 2nd part of **वैद्यनाथ's** **स्मृतिसुक्ताफल**.

**प्रायश्चित्तकारिका** by **गोपाल**; based on the **बौधायनसूत्र**; flourished before **सायण**.

**प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल** by **कृष्णराम**.

**प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल** by **सुकुन्दलाल**.

**प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल** by **रघुनाथ**, son of **गणेशभट्ट** and pupil of **अनन्तदेव**. Stein's cat. p. 96. Hultzsch's Report III p. 56. On both **श्रौत** and **स्मार्त** **प्रायश्चित्त**. About 1660-1700.

**प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल** by **रामचन्द्र**; modelled on **प्रायश्चित्तविवेक** of **शूलपाणि**. N. X. p. 197.

**प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी** alias **प्रायश्चित्तविवेक** of **कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश**.

**प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी** alias **प्रायश्चित्तविवेक-टिप्पणी** of **रामकृष्ण**.

**प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका** by **दिवाकर**, son of **महादेव**, son of **रामेश्वर** surnamed **काल**.

**प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका** by **सुकुन्दलाल**.

**प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका** by **रमापति** of the **भैयाल** race.

**प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका** by **राधाकान्तदेव**.

**प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका** by **विश्वनाथभट्ट**; m. by **दिवाकर** in his **प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका** and in **स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार**.

**प्रायश्चित्तचिन्तामणि** by **वाचस्पतिमिश्र**. Vide sec. 98.

**प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व** of **रघुनन्दन**. Vide sec. 102; pr. by **Jivananda**.

C. by **काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार** ( pr. at Calcutta in 1900 ).

C. by **राधामोहनगोस्वामी** ( pr. at Calcutta 1885 in Bengali characters). He was a friend of **Colebrooke** and a descendant of **अहैत**, an associate of **चैतन्य**.

C. **आदर्श** by **विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवागीश**.



- प्रायश्चित्तदीप m. in प्रतापनारासिंह of रुद्र-  
देव. Earlier than 1700 A. D.
- प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by भास्कर.
- प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by राम.
- प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by लोकनाथ, son of  
वैद्यनाथ (from his सकलागमसंग्रह).
- प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by वाहिनीपति.
- प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide  
sec. 73. Also called-प्रकरण.
- प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by रिपुञ्जय (pr. in  
Bengali characters at Calcutta  
1883).
- प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.
- प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.  
Summary of रघुनन्दन's work.
- प्रायश्चित्तपटल.
- प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by कामदेव. Ms. copi-  
ed in 1669 A. D. (Aufrecht's  
Oxf. cat. 293 a).
- प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by जम्बूनाथसभाधीश,  
son of हेमाद्रि; in four पटलs.
- प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of  
सूर्यदास.
- प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by गणेशमिश्र महामहो-  
पाध्याय.
- प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by रत्नपाणि. Men-  
tions कामधेनु. (N. vol. VI. p.  
300).
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण (Stein's cat. pp. 96,  
310).
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भट्टोजि.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भवदेव बालबलभी-  
भुजङ्ग. Sec. 73.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by रामकृष्ण.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश of प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son  
of बलभद्र.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप m. by स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (on  
तिथि).
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by गोपालसूरि. (Bik cat.  
p. 137 says so, but it appears  
that गोपालसूरि is a भाष्यकार on  
बौधायनश्रौत, whom the author  
follows on श्रौतप्रायश्चित्त.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by प्रेमनिधि of पन्थवंश,  
composed in lake 1675 (Baro-  
da O. J. 1490).
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by राजचूडामणि, son of  
रत्नखेट श्रीनिवासदीक्षित.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by रामशर्मन्.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वरदाधीशयज्वन्, pu-  
pil of वैष्णवाधीश.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वाहिनीपति.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of  
भवनाथ. He was गुरु of वर्धमान,  
flourished in 2nd and 3rd quar-  
ters of 15th century).
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by अनन्तदेव, son of  
आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by भास्कर (Same as  
प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी) on प्रायश्चित्त in  
श्रौत rites.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by द्वयम्बक (N. vol. X.  
164), based on आश्वलायन.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by दिवाकर. Vide un-  
der स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्री कामलकर.
- प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोगरत्नमाला-mentions स्मृत्य-  
र्थसार, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, प्रदीप, केशवी-  
कार.



प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी of बापुभट्ट, son of महादेव केळकर. Stein's cat. p. 96, gives विरचनकाल as śaka 1736.

प्रायश्चित्तमनोहर of सुरारिमिश्र, son of रुष्णमिश्र, and pupil of रामभद्र and केशवमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ; vide sec. 107. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड of मार्तण्डमिश्र (Mitra's Notices vol. VII, p. 7, No. 2252 dated śaka 1544 i. e. 1622-23 A. D.).

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by दिवाकर, son of महादेव (part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि).

अनुक्रमणी to above by वैद्यनाथ, son of author.

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्न by कमलाकरभट्ट m. in शूद्र-कमलाकर.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नमाला by रामचन्द्रदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नाकर by रत्नाकरमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तरहस्य by दिनकर m. in स्मृति-रत्नावली.

प्रायश्चित्तवारिधि by भवानन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by माधुर अप्ययदीक्षित; mentions हेमाद्रि and माधव.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि from वसिष्ठस्मृति.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि attributed to शौनक.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by यशोधरभट्ट.

H. D. 75.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of झलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 (Baroda O. l. 10849 dated संवत् 1501 i. e. 1444-45 A. D.); pr. by Jivananda.

C. तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द son of गणपतिभट्ट. Vide sec. 101 (pr. by Jivananda).

C. कौमुदी or टिप्पणी by रामकृष्ण.

C. निगूढार्थप्रकाशिका. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 114.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of श्रीनाथ. About 1475-1525 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोद्घोत- (part of मदन्-रत्न). Sec. 94.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by चिन्तामणि-न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य (N. vol. IV No. 1580). He wrote also व्यवस्थासंक्षेप on तिथि, उद्वाह, श्राद्ध, दाय, शुद्धि. Ms. dated śaka 1611.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंग्रह by मोहनचन्द्र.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासार by अमृतनाथ.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी by भास्कर in 4 प्रकरणस m. in नि. सि., प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल of रघुनाथ. भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. by वेङ्कटेश वाजपेययाजी; ms. dated संवत् 1641 (1584-5 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 311.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयीकारिका by गोपाल-स्वामिन् (बौधायनीय).

प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकपद्धति by गोविन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तसंक्षेप by चिन्तामणिन्यायालङ्कार. Probably the same as प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप above.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तशास्त्री N. (new series) 1 p. 239.



प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by द्वैगज ( This is in Hindi, prepared for महाराज जेत-सिंग of Benares). 1770-1781 A.D.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by नारायणभट्ट; mentions शूलपाणि, रघुनन्दन, स्मृतिसागरसार. So later than 1600 A. D. Defines प्रायश्चित्त as 'पापक्षयमात्रकाम-नाजन्यकृतिविषयः पापक्षयसाधनं कर्म प्रायश्चित्तम्'.

प्रायश्चित्तसौदोदय of सदाराम, son of देवेश्वर.

प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by त्रिलोचनशिव.

प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by भारकर.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by व्यम्बकभट्ट मोह.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by दलपति. ( part of सुसिंहप्रसाद ). Vide sec. 99.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by (भट्टोजि ?) दीक्षित m. in जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by श्रीमदाउच्चशुक्लदीक्षित m. in प्रतापनारसिंह ( vide BBRAS. cat. p. 224 ).

प्रायश्चित्तसार by हरिराम.

प्रायश्चित्तसार from स्मृतिसार of याद-वेन्द्रविद्याभूषण. N. (new series) I. p. 240. Ms. dated 1613 (1691 A.D.).

प्रायश्चित्तसारकौमुदी of वनमालिन ( N. vol. IX p. 58 ).

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by आनन्दचन्द्र N. (new series) vol. III. p. 126.

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by नागोजिभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by रत्नाकरमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तसारशलि ( portion of बृह-स्फारदीयपुराण ).

प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of मायण, son of मायण and brother of माधवाचार्य. Vide sec. 92.

प्रायश्चित्तसुधाधिनी by श्रीनिवासमाविन ( आपस्तम्बीय ).

प्रायश्चित्तसेतु by सदाशङ्कर.

प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय 3rd chap. of निबन्ध-सर्वस्व of महादेव, son of महाज-सहस्रमल्लश्रीपति. ( I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555 ).

प्रायश्चित्तानुक्रमणिका by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by काशीनाथ, son of अनन्त, ( also called प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग-सारसंग्रह ) composed for बालकृष्ण ; pr. in Bombay in 1863 and 1882. Vide sec. 112.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110 ; ms. ( N. vol. V p. 23 ) is dated संवत् 1818 i. e. 1781-82 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखरसारसंग्रह by नागोजि, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. ( I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555 ).

प्रायश्चित्तोद्योत by दिनकर ( part of दिनकरोद्योत ).

प्रायश्चित्तोद्योत by मदनसिंहदेव ( part of मदनरत्न ). Vide sec. 94.

प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महा-देव, surnamed काल. Also called स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त and स्मार्तनिष्कृतिपद्धति ( vide Baroda O. I. 1334, 1543, 1663 ).

प्रायश्चित्तौघसार by आनन्दचन्द्र. Of- fences classified under 4 heads, heinous, gross, venial and slight, and their expiation.



प्रासाददीपिका m. by जटमल्लविलास.  
Earlier than 1500 A. D.

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा by नृहरि, surnamed  
पण्डरपुर. Based on the प्रतिष्ठामयूख  
and मत्स्यपुराण; ms. in Bhadkam-  
kar collection copied in śake  
1714 (1792-3 A. D.); names  
नि. सि., रामराजपेय.

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा by भागुणिमिश्र.

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठादीधिति (part of राजधर्म-  
कौस्तुभ) by अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

प्रासादशिवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by कमलाकर.  
Sec. 106.

प्रेतकृत्यनिर्णय.

प्रेतकृत्यादिनिर्णय Anon.

प्रेतदीपिका by गोपीनाथ अग्निहोत्रिव.

प्रेतप्रदीप by कृष्णमिश्र-वार्ध.

प्रेतमञ्जरी- vide Hp. cat. XVII (ms.  
dated 1707 A. D.).

प्रेतमञ्जरी or प्रेतपद्धति by यादुमिश्र. Ul-  
war cat. No. 1403.

प्रेतमुक्तिदा by क्षेमराम.

प्रेतश्राद्धव्यवस्थाकारिका by स्मार्तवागीश.

प्रौढप्रतापमार्तण्ड or कालनिर्णयसंग्रह by  
प्रतापनरदेव. Vide प्रतापमार्तण्ड.

फलप्रदीप m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.  
(probably a purely astrological  
work).

फलाभिषेक.

बभ्रुस्मृति m. in परा. मा.

बलदेवविहङ्ग compiled from the महा-  
भारत.

बहिन्यामनुष्य.

बहिर्घातिका.

बहिर्यागपूजा.

बहुचकारिका m. in नि. सि.

बहुचकर्मप्रयोग (according to शाकल)  
N. vol. X. p. 5.

बहुचकृत्यकारिका by शाकलाचार्य. Vide  
Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 14 b.  
This is the same as the above;  
m. in समयमयूख.

बहुचकृत्यपरिशिष्ट m. in हेमाद्रि, १४०,  
नि. सि.

बहुचश्राद्धप्रयोग.

बहुचषोडशकर्ममन्त्रविवरण.

बहुचसन्ध्यापद्धतिभाष्य.

बहुचार्हिक by कमलाकर, son of राम-  
कृष्ण. Refers to his प्रायश्चित्तसूत्र.

बादरायणस्मृति m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख and  
in coin. on नीतिवाक्यासुत.

बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रविधान.

बार्हस्पत्यस्मृति m. by हेमाद्रि.

बार्हस्पत्यसंहिता on मुहूर्तः for गर्भाधान,  
पुंभवन, उपनयन and other संस्कारs  
and on portentous phenomena.  
The वार्गमित्रोदय (लक्षणप्रकाश p.  
356) quotes बार्हस्पत्यसंहिता on  
elephants in prose and verse.

बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र (pr. in Punjab S.  
series). Also called नीतिसर्वस्व.

बालबोधक of आनन्दचन्द्र. In १६ श्लोकs  
on प्रायश्चित्त.

बालमरणविधिकर्तव्यता.

बालम्भट्टी by लक्ष्मीदेवी; pr. (आचार, व्यव-  
हार and प्रायश्चित्त) by J. R. Ghar-  
pure and vyavahara portion is



translated by him. Vide sec. 111.

बालार्कदीप m. in वृत्तिद्वयसाद (दानसार).

बालावबोधपद्धति on शाङ्खायनग्रन्थसूत्र.

बाष्कलस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 58. ).

बुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन.

बुधभूषण by शम्भुराज (son of the great Shivaji). 1680-1689 A. D. On politics &c, pr. in Govt. Oriental series, Poona, 1926.

बुधस्मृति a small treatise of about one page in print in prose. D. C. mss. No. 207 of A 1881-82 and 145 of 1895-1902. Defines धर्म as श्रेयोभ्युदयसाधन; and summarises rules on उपनयन, विवाह, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, पाकयज्ञ, हविर्यज्ञ, सोमयाग, rules common to all, duties of the four वर्णs, वानप्रस्थ and यति, राजधर्म. हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्ग० (III. 2. 746) quotes some sūtras on उपनयन and it is m. in प्रायश्चित्तमय्यस. I. O. cat. vol. III p. 386 (No. 1323) sets out the whole स्मृति. Vide sec. 25.

C. by हरिराम.

बुधाष्टमी.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतकालनिर्णय.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतोपायन Stein's cat. p. 96.

बृहज्जातिविवेक by गोपीताथकवि (Baroda O. I. 9705).

बृहत्पाराशरस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm., part II. pp. 53-309).

बृहत्संहिता by व्यास.

बृहथम pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 99-107.

बृहद्रत्नाकर of वामनभट्ट.

बृहद्राजमार्तण्ड m. by रघु० in मलमास-तत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व.

बृहद्वसिष्ठस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा, हलायुध, मद्र. पा.

बृहद्विष्णुस्मृति.

बृहद्व्यास m. by मिता०.

बृहत्पतिशान्ति (from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

बृहत्पतिस्मृति-vide sec. 37; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 644-651 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 108-111.

C. m. by हेमाद्रि (परिशेषस्वण्ड, काल० p. 309).

वैजवाप (or-पि) गृह्य m. by कुमारिल-भट्ट in तन्त्रवार्तिक on मीमांसासूत्र (I. 3. 11) in the words 'आश्वलायनकं सूत्रं वैजवापिकृतं तथा'.

वैजवापस्मृति m. by अपरार्क (in verse about शुभवृत्तिका and सपिण्डन).

वैजवापायन m. by हेमाद्रि.

वोपणभट्टीय.

C. by माधवमुनि.

वौधायनगृह्य Pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, ed. by Dr. Shamaśāstri; divided into 4 प्रश्नs of गृह्य, two प्रश्नs of गृह्यसूत्रपरिभाषा, 5 प्रश्नs of गृह्यशेष, 3 of पितृमेवसूत्र and one of पितृमेवशेषसूत्र. It is the वौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र (II. 6) that contains a passage about पुत्रपतिग्रह (adoption) that resembles closely a passage of वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र.

C. पूरणव्याख्या by अष्टावक्र.



- C. भाष्य (called शिष्टिभाष्य). Hultzsch II No. 668.
- बौधायनगृह्यकारिका by कनकसभापति.
- बौधायनगृह्यपद्धति by केशवस्वामिन.
- बौधायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (ed. by Harting).
- बौधायनगृह्यप्रयोगमाला by राम, son of चौण्ड or चाउण्ड. Ulwar cat. extract 21; refers to प्रयोगसार.
- बौधायनगृह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र.
- बौधायनतति on गृह्य ritual.
- बौधायनधर्मसूत्र—vide sec. 6:pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 425-484 and Mysore G. O. L. series
- C. by गोविन्दस्वामिन (Mysore G. O. L. series).
- C. अमल by परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक.
- बौधायनसंग्रह.
- बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग by कनकसभापति. Hultzsch R. II. No. 672.
- बौधायनस्मृति.
- बौधायनाह्निक by विद्यापतिभट्ट.
- बौधायनीयपरिशिष्ट m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु०.
- ब्रह्मगर्भस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 268), अपराक, स्मृतिच०
- ब्रह्मचारिव्रतलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 246.
- ब्रह्मदत्तभाष्य m. in ह्यद्वितत्त्व by रघु० as quoted by कल्पतरु. So earlier than 1100 A. D. It appears to be a com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्य.
- ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका (com. on सन्ध्यामन्त्र) of वनमालिमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र.
- ब्रह्मपञ्चशिरोरत्न by नरसिंह
- ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायणठकुर. Refers to मृत्तरिभाष्य, उवटभाष्य, पारम्पर्यगृह्यभाष्य. N. (new series) p. 250.
- ब्रह्मौदनप्रायश्चित्त by श्रीनिवासदीक्षित (Baroda O. I. 6789 d).
- ब्राह्मणपद्धति.
- ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व by हन्यायुध; (sec. 72). pr. at Calcutta in 1893 and at Benares.
- ब्राह्मवधस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (या. III. 257).
- भक्तिजयार्णव by रघुनन्दन. Probably different from the famous रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series) I. p. 251.
- भक्तिप्रकाश by वैद्यरघुनन्दन in 8 उदयोत्स.
- भक्तिमार्गमर्यादा by विठ्ठलेश्वर.
- भक्तिमार्गसंग्रह (for ब्राह्मण).
- भक्तिरत्नाकर by a son of शिवदास.
- भक्तिरामायतसिन्धु by सनातन; composed in Śake 1463 (1541-42 A.D.); m. in भक्तिजयार्णव.
- C. दुर्गासङ्गमनी by जीव.
- भक्तिरसार्णव by कृष्णदास.
- भक्तिरहस्य by सोमनाथ.
- भक्तिवर्धिनी by बल्लभाचार्य.
- भक्तिविवेक by श्रीनिवास (for रामानुज).
- भक्तिहंस by विठ्ठलेश.
- भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय by विठ्ठलेश.
- C. by रघुनाथ.



भगवत्स्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and आचारमयूख.

भगवद्दर्शनविधि by रघुनाथ.

भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय or भगवद्भक्तिविवेक by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली by विष्णुपुरी composed at Benares. The author was a मैथिल.

C. कान्तिमाला by author. Composed in Śaka 1555 Phālguna (1634) A.D. Bhandarkar's Report for 1887-91 p. LXXX.

भगवद्भक्तिरसायन by मधुसूदनसरस्वती.

भगवद्भक्तिविलास by गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधानन्द, in 20 विलास on religious ceremonies of वैष्णव ; m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

C. (with text pr. at Calcutta in 1815).

भगवन्तभास्कर or स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ, divided into twelve मयूख. Vide sec. 107 (the whole published at Benares in 1879-80).

भट्टकारिका m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

भरद्वाजस्मृति-Vide sec. 27.

C. by बालभट्ट.

भर्तृसहस्रनामविधि.

भट्टाट्टसंग्रह m. in नि. सि. (on जन्म-नक्षत्रफल). Probably a purely astrological work.

भवदेवनिबन्ध m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. Probably the प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण of भवदेवभट्ट. Vide p. 303 above.

भस्मकरोगप्रकाश.

भस्मवादावली.

भागविवेक or धनभागविवेक by भट्टराम-जित, son of श्रीनाथ.

C. मितवादिनी by author. Relies on मितक्षरा.

भारद्वाजगार्ग्यपरिणयप्रतिषेधवादार्थ on the prohibition of intermarriage between persons of the भारद्वाज and गार्ग्य gotras.

भारद्वाजगृह्य ed. by Dr. J. W. Salomons at Leyden.

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन.

C. गृह्यप्रयोगवृत्ति by भट्टरङ्ग.

भारद्वाजश्राद्धकाण्डव्याख्या.

भारद्वाजसंहिता vide भारद्वाजस्मृति.

भारद्वाजस्मृति.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड, son of महादेव and वेणी and pupil of नागोजि. Vide sec. 111.

भारद्वाजीयभाष्य m. by भास्कर in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (it is probably कपर्दिभाष्य on भारद्वाजगृह्य) and by हरिहर in पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य.

भार्गवार्चनचन्द्रिका m. by भट्टोजि in तिथिनिर्णय.

भार्गवार्चनदीपिका m. in नि. सि. and रामकपट्टम.

भार्गवार्चनदीपिका by साबाजी (or-म्बा) alias प्रतापराज. Ulwar cat. extract 648.

भाविप्रायश्चित्त or भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्त-प्रकरण. Ano.; mentions माधवाचार्य. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 197.

भाष्यसंग्रह m. in निर्णयदीपक.



- भाष्यार्थसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1360, where a verse in उपजाति metre is quoted in which क्य-दिन्व is named), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच, कालनिर्णय of माधव. Between 1000-1200 A. D.).
- भास्कराह्निक.
- भिक्षुतत्त्व by श्रीकण्ठतीर्थ, pupil of महा-देवतीर्थ, on the duties of ascetics, and on those entitled to take to संन्यास. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 260.
- भीमपराक्रम m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, in श्राद्धसौख्य (टोडरानन्द), in तिथितत्त्व (seems to be an astrological work).
- भुक्तिदीपिका (On the question, when food may be taken before an eclipse).
- भुक्तिप्रकरण by कमलाकर.
- भुजबलभीम of भोजराज. Vide pp. 278-279 above; m. in श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि, टोडरानन्द. An astrological work.
- भूतशुद्धि Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 538.
- भूतशुद्ध्यादिप्राणप्रतिष्ठा Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 537.
- भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर (p. 499) of चण्डेश्वर. Probably a work of भोज धारेश्वर.
- भूपालपद्धति m. in कुण्डाकृति.
- भूपालवल्लभ by परशुराम. An encyclopaedia of Dharma, astrology, poetics &c. m. in नि. मि. निर्णय-दीपक, कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्तन्यास.
- भूप्रतिमादान.
- भृगुस्मृति m. by विश्वरूप, कालविवेक of जीमूत°. मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क.
- भैरवार्चपारिजात by जेजुसिंह.
- भैरवार्चपारिजात by श्रीनिवासभट्ट, pupil of सुन्दरराज, and son of श्रीनिकेतन.
- भट्टवैष्णवखण्डन by श्रीधर.
- मकरन्दप्रकाश by हरिकृष्ण सिद्धान्त. On आह्निक. संस्कार; ms. (Bik. cat. p. 416) is dated संवत् 1725 (1668-9 A. D.).
- मङ्गलनिर्णय by गणेश, son of केशव दैवज्ञ. On the rites to be performed at उपनयन, विवाह &c.
- मञ्जरी. Occurs as the last component of many works, e. g. गोत्र-प्रवग्मञ्जरी, स्मृतिमञ्जरी (of गोविन्दराज).
- मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.
- मठाभ्यासादिविचार (on religious practices in the seven principal mathas of the शंकराचार्य school). N. vol. X. 256 and Stein's cat. p. 312.
- मठोत्सर्ग of कमलाकर (C. P. cat. Nos. 3771-72).
- मठोत्सर्ग of माध्वदेव (C. P. cat. No. 3770).
- मणिमञ्जरीच्छेदिनी.
- मण्डपकर्तव्यतापुजापद्धति by शिवरामशुक्ल.
- मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन of नरहरिभट्ट सप्तर्षि. C. प्रकाशिका (by author).
- मण्डपकुण्डसिद्धि by विठ्ठल दीक्षित, son of वरहर्मा; composed at काशी in Śaka 1541 (1619-20 A. D.).



C. चिह्नति by author ; mentions  
कुण्डकोद्गदी, कुण्डरत्नाकर, प्रतिष्ठासार-  
संग्रह, प्रयोगसार, रामभाजपेयी.

मण्डपनिर्णय m. in उत्सर्गमयूख.

मण्डपप्रकरण.

मण्डपोद्घासनप्रयोग by a son of धरणीधर.

मण्डलकारिका ( Aufrecht's Leipzig  
cat. No. 647 ).

मण्डलदेवतास्थापन ( Aufrecht's Leip-  
zig cat. No. 648 ).

मतपरीक्षा.

मतोच्चार by शङ्करपण्डित.

मधुरासेतु by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव ;  
m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Sec. 109.

मदनपारिजात attributed to मदनपाल  
( composed by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट ).  
Vide sec. 93.

मदनमहार्णव Vide महार्णव.

मदनरत्न or मदनरत्नप्रदीप attributed to  
मदनसिंहदेव. Vide sec. 94. Ulwar  
cat. extract 336 for समयोद्घोत ;  
Baroda O. I. No. 1035 on छांदी  
is dated संवत् 1551 (1494-5 A.D.).  
This last refers to भट्टविश्वनाथ  
श्रीमल्लिगुप्त as the author.

मधुपर्कनिर्णय.

मधुपर्कपद्धति.

मध्यमाङ्गिरसस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा ( या.  
III. 243, 247, 257, 260 ).

मध्वाङ्किक.

मनुस्मृति or मानवधर्मशास्त्र. Vide sec.  
31 ( vide p. 157 for editions of  
commentaries ).

C. मन्वर्थसूतावली by कुल्लूकभट्ट.  
Vide sec. 88. He was a native  
of बारेन्दी i. e. Rājshāhi in Bengal.

C. मन्वाशयानुसामिणी by गोविन्दराज  
( pr. by V. N. Mandlik ). Vide  
sec. 76.

C. नन्दिनी by नन्दनाचार्य. A late  
writer. ( pr. by V. N. Mandlik ).

C. मन्वर्थविहृति by नारायणसर्वज्ञ.  
Between 1100-1300 A. D. ( pr.  
by V. N. Mandlik ).

C. मन्वर्थचन्द्रिका by राघवानन्द-  
सरस्वती. Later than 1400 ( pr. by  
V. N. Mandlik ).

C. सुखबोधिनी by मणिरामदीक्षित  
son of गङ्गागम ( vide Stein's cat.  
p. 98 ).

C. by असहाय. Vide sec. 58.

C. by उदयकर m. in वि. र. Ear-  
lier than 1300 A. D.

C. by उपाध्याय. m. in मेधातिथि  
भाष्य.

C. by कल्लु m. in मेधातिथिभाष्य.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by धरणीधर m. by कुल्लूकभट्ट.  
Between 950-1200 A. D.

C. by भागुरि m. by वि. र. ; vide  
p. 157.

C. ( भाष्य ) by मेधातिथि; vide sec.  
63 ( pr. by V. N. Mandlik and  
by J. R. Gharpure ).

C. by यज्वन, m. by मेधातिथि.

C. by रामचन्द्र ( pr. by V. N.  
Mandlik ).

C. by रुचिदत्त.

C. anonymous ( Kashmirian );  
portions pr. by Dr. Jolly.

मन्वकमलाकर by कमलाकर.



मन्त्रकोश m. in आचारमूल.

मन्त्रकोश by आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन in 20 परिच्छेदस. Ulwar cat. extract 651.

मन्त्रकौमुदी by अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय, said to be a दाक्षिणात्य. In four कण्डs explains मन्त्रs of सामवेदग्रन्थसूत्र; ms. (N. vol. X. p. 122) dated śake 1717 i. e. 1795 A. D.

मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in एकादशीतत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in दीक्षातत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रश्नभाष्य by हरदत्त. Vide under एकाग्रिकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या.

मन्त्रमुक्तावली m. in इन्द्रिय and मलमासतत्त्व by रघु०.

मन्त्रलदीपिका m. in अहल्याकामपेठ.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह of शिवराम.

मयूरचित्रक or मेघमाला or स्वामाला attributed to नारद. Deals with indications of prospective rain, famine etc. from the appearance of the atmosphere &c.; m. in अजुतसागर of बलालसेन.

मयूरचित्रक by भट्टगुरु in 7 kāṇḍas. (Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 4404).

मरणकर्मपद्धति (ascribed to the यजुर्वेदग्रन्थसूत्र).

मरणसामयिकनिर्णय on rites and expiations to be performed at time of death (Bik. cat. p. 420).

मरीचिसृष्टि- vide sec. 48.

मर्षादासिन्धु m. in द्रव्यसुद्धिर्दीपिका of पुरुषोत्तम.

M. D. 76.

मलमासकार्यकार्यनिर्णय.

मलमासतत्त्व or मल्लिलुचतत्त्व of रघु-नन्दन; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीगम वाचस्पति, son of गंधावल्लभ and grandson of राम-कृष्ण.

C. by मधुगनाध.

C. टिप्पणी by राधामोहन.

C. by वृन्दावन.

C. by हरिराम.

मलमासनिरूपण.

मलमासनिर्णय by दशपुत्र.

मलमासनिर्णय by बृहस्पति, son of भव-देव (Baroda O. I. No. 12851).

मलमासनिर्णय by वक्षेस्वर, son of मर-सिंह.

मलमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार by बालदेव.

मलमासग्रहस्य by बृहस्पति, son of मयवेव, composed in śake 1603 (1681-2 A. D.).

मलमासविचार Ano.; composed in 1579 A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 417). The date seems to be rather 1679 (1600 शके).

मलमासाद्यमर्षणी Ano.

मलमासार्थसंग्रह by गुरुप्रसादशर्मन्; N. (new series) vol. I. p. 279.

महागणपतिपूजापद्धति.

महादाननिर्णय by king भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला, with the help of वाचस्पतिमिश्र; ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XII, 36 and 122) dated ल. सं 392 (i. e. 1511 A. D.). The pedigree is given as भवेश, his son हरसिंहदेव, his son भैरवेन्द्र,



styled रूपनारायण here, though हरिनारायण elsewhere; vide also Ulwar cat. No. 1413 where this work appears to be styled महादानप्रयोगपद्धति.

महादानपद्धति by रूपनारायण (I. O. cat. p. 550. No. 1715 must be taken as dated in śake 1452, i. e. 1530 A. D., as the cyclic year विक्रति agrees). Also called महादानप्रयोगपद्धति; m. by वाचस्पति in द्वैतनिर्णय, by कमलाकर, in दाननूप्रवृत्त.

महादानपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर.

महादानवाग्म्यावली of रत्नपाणिमिश्र, son of गंगोलीसञ्जीवेश्वरमिश्र; mentions a work called इतिहाससमुच्चय.

महादानानुक्रमणिका.

महादीपदानविधि.

महादेवशरिचर्याप्रयोग (बौधायनीय) by सुरेश्वरस्वामिन्, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ. N. vol. X. p. 239.

महादेवीय m. by निर्णयासुत.

महाप्रदीपरत्नपद्धति N. (new series) I. p. 280.

महाप्रयोगसार m. by रघु० in आह्निक-तत्त्व.

महाप्रवरनिर्णय.

महाप्रवरभाष्य by पुरुषोत्तम m. in his गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी.

महारुद्रकर्मकलापपद्धति.

महारुद्रजपहोमपूजापद्धति.

महारुद्रन्यासपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महारुद्रपद्धति- see रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महारुद्रपद्धति by अचलदेव द्विवेदिन, son of बत्तराज (acc. to शांसायन). About 1518 A. D.

महारुद्रपद्धति by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत; quotes प्रयोगसूत्र of नागयणभट्ट. So later than 1575 A. D. (also called महारुद्रप्रयोगपद्धति).

महारुद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महारुद्रपद्धति by नारायण (acc. to आश्वलायन).

महारुद्रपद्धति by परशुराम, son of कर्ण (acc. to सामवेद); m. by शूद्रकमलाकर. Composed in 1459 A. D.

महारुद्रपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महारुद्रपद्धति by मालजित् (or मालजी) son of तिलगलभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट; of श्रीरथल, in गुर्जरदेश. The work is also called रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी and the author was also called वेदाङ्गराय. About 1627-1655 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1415).

महारुद्रपद्धति by रामचन्द्राचार्य (for गोभिलीय). Baroda O. I. 1250.

महारुद्रपद्धति by विष्णुशर्मन्.

महारुद्रपद्धति by वेदाङ्गराय, son of तिलगलभट्ट. Same as the work of मालजी.

महारुद्रयजपद्धति.

महार्णव or महार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि (vol. III. part 1, pp. 183, 1440) and by आश्वविष्णु of छलपाणि. This is also called रघुतिमहार्णव or -प्रकाश. Vide p. 308 above.

महार्णव (कर्मविपाक) attributed to मान्वाह, a son of मदनपाल. Vide sec. 93 pp. 382-83.



- महार्णव by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of पोट्ट-  
भट्ट (? वेदिभट्ट). Vide sec. 93.  
( N. vol. VII p. 121 ). Same as  
महार्णव attributed to मान्धातु.
- महार्णवव्रतार्क.
- महालयप्रयोग.
- महालयश्राद्धपद्धति.
- महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by अखण्डानन्द,  
disciple of अखण्डानुपद्धति.
- महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.
- महाशान्ति in two अध्याय ( of 18 and  
25 sections ) on expiatory and  
propitiatory rites.
- महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.
- महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय by कृष्णराम of  
काश्मीर.
- महाष्टमीनिर्णय.
- महिषीदान.
- महिषीदानमन्त्र.
- महेश्वरधर्माधर्म.
- मांसनिर्णय by दुग्धि.
- मांसपीयूषकृता by रामभट्टाक्षय ( C. P.  
cat. No. 1143 ).
- मांसभक्षणदीपिका by वेणीराम शाकदी-  
पिन.
- मांसमीमांसा by नारायणभट्ट, son of  
रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. सि.
- मांसविवेक by भट्टदामोदर. Tries to  
prove that the directions about  
offering of flesh do not apply to  
the present age.
- मांसविवेक or मांसतत्त्वविवेक by विश्व-  
नाथन्यायप्रकाश. Composed about  
1634 A. D.; pr. in सरस्वतीभवन se-  
ries. Styled also मांसतत्त्वविचार.
- माघोपासन.
- माण्डूक्यस्थिति m. in कालविवेक ०  
जीवत ०, हेमाद्रि, दानमयूख.
- मातुलसुतापरिणय.
- मातृगोत्रनिर्णय by नारायण.
- मातृगोत्रनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि मास्कर, son  
of मुद्गल, son of रुद्रकबोद्ध. ( Ba-  
roda O. I. No. 1463 ). On the  
question of मातृगोत्र being prohi-  
bited in marriage to माध्यन्दिनीय  
ब्राह्मणः.
- मातृवर्गीय com. on हिरण्यकेशिस्तुत्र m.  
in नि. सि.
- मातृसावितारेकश्राद्धप्रयोग.
- मातृस्थापनाप्रयोग.
- मायादिश्राद्धनिर्णय by कोकिल.
- माधवप्रकाश or सदाचारचन्द्रोदय. Vide  
आचारचन्द्रोदय above.
- माधवीयकालनिर्णय. Vide कालनिर्णय of  
माधव above.
- माधवीसारोद्धार by रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son  
of नारायण. An abstract of परा-  
शरमाधवीय for महाराजाधिराज लक्ष्म-  
णचन्द्र. Vide Stein's cat. p. 309  
for extract. About 1575-1600  
A. D.
- माधवोद्गास m. by रघु० in देवप्रतिष्ठा-  
तत्त्व ( p. 509 ).
- माध्यन्दिनीयाचारसंग्रहदीपिका by पद्मनाभ.
- मानवयज्ञसूत्र ( ed. by Knauer and  
and in the G. O. series with  
com. ) in two parts called  
पुरुषः.
- C. ( माध्य ) by अष्टावक्र : mentions  
याज्ञवल्क्य, गौतम, पराशर, वैजवाप,



- शबरस्वामी, भट्टकुमार, and भट्टअष्टा-  
वक्र himself. In the Intro. to  
2nd पुरुष he says he composed  
when 100 years (of what era?)  
were completed.
- मानवगृहपरिशिष्ट (BBRAS cat. p.206  
No. 657).
- मानवधर्मशास्त्र- vide under मनुस्मृति.
- मानवधर्मादकल्प m. by हेमाद्रि.
- मानसागरीपद्धति of मानसिंह (C. P.  
cat. No. 4116).
- मानसोल्लास of सोमेश्वर. Vide अभिल-  
षितार्थचिन्तामणि above.
- मार्कण्डेयस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on या.  
III. 19) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.
- मार्तण्डदीपिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.
- मार्तण्डाचनचन्द्रिका by मुकुन्दलाल.
- मालवदर्शन m. in दानरत्नाकर of चण्डे-  
श्वर. It is probably only a refe-  
rence to some view of भोज and  
not to a work of that name.
- मासकृत्य.
- मासतत्त्वविवेचन Anon. On the months  
and appropriate feasts, fasts  
and religious rites in each.  
(Bik. cat. p. 421).
- मासदर्पण.
- मासनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.
- मासमीमांसा by गोकुलनाथ महामहो-  
पाध्याय. On 4 kinds of months,  
चान्द्र, सौर, सावन and नाक्षत्र, and  
on the various religious rites  
and festivals of each of the  
twelve months of the year.
- मासाधिनिर्णय by वृण्ड.
- मासिकश्राद्धनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण father  
of कसदाहर ; m. in नि. सि.
- मासिकश्राद्धपद्धति by गोपीनाथभट्ट.
- मासिकश्राद्धप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by  
रघुनाथभट्टमहोदयस्थपति.
- मासिकश्राद्धमानोपन्यास by मोनि मल्लारि-  
दीक्षित.
- मिताक्षरा com. on गौतमधर्मसूत्र by  
हरदत्त. Vide sec. 86.
- मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by  
मधुगनाथ.
- मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by  
विज्ञानेश्वर; also called कञ्जुमिताक्षरा.  
Vide sec. 70.
- C. प्रमिताक्षरा or प्रतीताक्षरा by  
मन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.
- C. बालम्भट्टी alias लक्ष्मीन्याख्या  
by लक्ष्मीदीर्घा. Vide sec.  
111; pt. in Ch. S. series  
(अवधार) and by J. R. Gharpure  
(अवधार, प्रायश्चित्त and व्यवहार).
- C. सुशोधिनी by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.  
Vide sec. 93 p. 285. (व्यवहार  
text pr. by Mr. Gharpure and  
tr. by him).
- C. मिताक्षरासार by मधुसूदन गो-  
स्वामी.
- C. by मुकुन्दलाल.
- C. by रघुनाथ बाजपेयी (vide  
Peterson's 6th Report p. 11).
- C. सिद्धान्तसंग्रह by राधामोहन-  
जमः.
- C. by हलायुधभट्ट.
- C. व्याख्यानदीपिका by निर्द्वि-  
वन्धनोपाध्याय, son of देवराजभट्ट,  
on व्यवहार.



मिताक्षरासार (summary of विज्ञानेश्वर's work) by मयाराम.

मिथिलेशाह्निक by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोलीसञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा : composed under prince छत्रसिंह of मिथिला. Speaks of the daily religious duties according to सामवेद such as शौचविधि, दन्तधावन, स्नान, सन्ध्याविधि, तर्पण, जपयज्ञ, देवपूजा, भोजन, मांसभक्षण, द्रव्यशुद्धि, गार्हपत्यधर्म. N. vol. VI. pp. 30-32. He wrote also मिथिलेशचरित describing महेशचक्र and his nine descendants, महेश having got राज्य from Delhi king. N. vol. VI. p. 48.

मीमांसापत्रवल् by हनुमत्पति, son of रुचिपति and रुचिमणी; applies rules of मीमांसा to धर्मशास्त्र matters such as एकादशीव्रत, आश्व, उत्सर्ग. N. vol. V. p. 281-82. His teacher was गोपालभट्ट.

मुक्तिसौत्रप्रकाश by भस्कर son of आपाजिभट्ट; divided into प्रकाश on seven holy places अयोध्या, मथुरा, माया &c. (Baroda O. I. 12386). He quotes vedic passages like मितासिते सरिते (for प्रयाग), अष्टचक्रा तपद्वाग देवानां पुरयोध्या (तेनिरयिरण्यक), वागक्षरं प्रथमजा (ते. ब्रा.) for अवन्तिका and गोपालतापनी, वृसिंहपूर्वतापनीय and रामतापनीय for मथुरा, माया and काशी respectively.

मुक्तिचिन्तामणि by गजपति दुर्धनदेव. On religious duties on a pilgrimage to जगन्नाथपुरी. About 1500 A. D.

मुद्रालसृष्टि (Palm-leaf Ms. No. 11950 Baroda O. I.) on मौनादिविधि, दाप, अशौच, प्रायश्चित्त.

मुद्राविवरण.

मुनिमतमणिमाला by बामदेव.

मुमुक्षुसूतकृत्यादिपद्धति by शङ्करशर्मन्. Quotes शुद्धितत्त्व. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 152.

मुहूर्तकण्ठाभरण.

मुहूर्तकालान्तर by जीतलदीक्षित.

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम m. by महादेव in मुहूर्तदीपक (Earlier than 1650 A. D.).

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम by केशव.

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम by विठ्ठलदीक्षित, son of दूधशर्मन्, of कृष्णाग्रिगोत्र; composed in 1628 A. D.

C. मञ्जरि by author.

मुहूर्तकल्पाकर by दुःखभञ्जन.

मुहूर्तगणपति by गणपतिरावल, son of हरिशङ्कर, composed in 1685 A. D.

C. by परमसुख, son of जीताग्राम.

C. by परशुराममिश्र.

मुहूर्तचक्रावलि.

मुहूर्तचन्द्रफला by हरजीभट्ट. About 1610 A. D.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि by रामदैवज्ञ, son of अनन्त and younger brother of नीलकण्ठ, composed at Benares in 1600-01 A.D.; m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर; pr. at Bombay in 1902; (vide Ulwar cat. extract 543 which shows that नीलकण्ठ was a Pandit in Akbar's court). His ancestors came from विदर्भ.



- C. प्रमिताक्षरा by author ; pr. at Benares 1848.
- C. कामधेनु.
- C. by नीलकण्ठ.
- C. पीयूषकर्णिका.
- C. पीयूषधारा by गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ, composed in 1603 A.D. Pr. at Bombay in 1873. गोविन्द was nephew of author.
- CC. by रघुदेवज्ञ.
- C. षडसाहस्री.
- सहस्रचिन्तामणि by वेङ्कटेशभट्ट.
- सहस्रचिन्तामणिसार.
- सहस्रचिन्तामणिमारिणी.
- सहस्रचूडामणि by शिवदैवज्ञ, son of श्री-  
लक्ष्णदैवज्ञ of भारद्वाजगोत्र.
- सहस्रतन्त्र by केशव दैवज्ञ, son of कम-  
लाकर ; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ.
- C. by author.
- C. by कृपाराम.
- C. by गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशव-  
दैवज्ञ ; composed about 1540 A.D.
- C. by महादेव m. in सहस्रदीपक.
- सहस्रदर्पण m. in मार्तण्डबल्लभा.
- C. दीपिका ( Madras Govt. mss.  
cat. No. 1870, 1874 ).
- सहस्रदर्पण by लालमणि, son of जगन्नाथ,  
son of गङ्गाराम of अलकपुर to the  
south of प्रयाग. Ulwar cat. ex-  
tract 544.
- सहस्रदर्पण by विद्यासाधव.
- C. by साधवभट्ट.
- सहस्रदीप by जयानन्द.
- सहस्रदीप by a son of शिवदैवज्ञ.
- सहस्रदीपक by नागदेव.
- सहस्रदीपक by महादेव, son of काहुजि  
( कान्हजित ? ). Vide Aufrecht's  
Oxf. cat. p. 336a.
- C. by author composed in śake  
1583 ( 1661 A. D. ). Mentions  
शेडरानन्द.
- सहस्रदीपक by रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त.
- सहस्रदीपिका m. in कालाविधान acc. to  
नि. सि.
- सहस्रदीपिका attributed to बादरायण.
- सहस्रनिर्णय.
- सहस्रपदवी.
- सहस्रपरीक्षा by देवराज.
- सहस्रभूषण or मञ्जीर by रामसेवक त्रिवे-  
दिन ( N. vol. XI preface p. 4 ).
- सहस्रभूषणटीका by रामदत्त.
- सहस्रभैरव by गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव-  
दैवज्ञ.
- सहस्रभैरव by दीनदयाल पाठक.
- सहस्रमञ्जरी by पदुनन्दनपण्डित in 4  
गुच्छs and 101 verses. Vide  
Ulwar cat. extract No. 545; com-  
posed in संवत् 1726 ( 1670 A.D. ).
- सहस्रमञ्जरी by हरिनागयण.
- सहस्रमञ्जूषा.
- सहस्रमणि by विश्वनाथ.
- सहस्रमाधवीय ascribed to सायण or  
साधवाचार्य.
- सहस्रमार्तण्ड by केशव.
- सहस्रमार्तण्ड by नारायणभट्ट, son of  
अनन्त. Composed in śake 1493  
Phālguna ( i.e. about March 1572  
A. D. ) near Devagiri in 160  
verses.



*List of works on Dharm edition*

- C. मारुणहृद्भा by author ; pr. ( with text ) in Bombay, 1861.
- मुहूर्तमाला by रघुनाथ, son of सरस, of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र and चिन्पावन subcaste : pr. at Ratnagiri in 1878.
- मुहूर्तसूक्तामणि.
- मुहूर्तसूक्तावली by काशीनाथ.
- मुहूर्तसूक्तावली by देवराम.
- मुहूर्तसूक्तावली by भास्कर.
- मुहूर्तसूक्तावली by योगीन्द्र ( vide Ul-war cat. extract 546 ).
- मुहूर्तसूक्तावली by लक्ष्मीदास, son of गोपाल; composed in 1618 A. D.
- मुहूर्तसूक्तावली by श्रीकण्ठ.
- मुहूर्तसूक्तावली by हरिभट्ट.
- मुहूर्तरचना by दुर्गासहाय.
- मुहूर्तरत्न by ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिष-राय ( also called मुहूर्तरत्नाकर ).
- मुहूर्तरत्न by गोविन्द.
- मुहूर्तरत्न by रघुनाथ.
- मुहूर्तरत्न by शिरोमणिभट्ट.
- मुहूर्तरत्नमाला by श्रीपति ; m. by रघु०.
- C. by author.
- मुहूर्तरत्नाकर by हरिनन्दन.
- C. by author.
- मुहूर्तराज by विश्वदाम.
- मुहूर्तराजीय.
- मुहूर्तलक्षणपटल.
- मुहूर्तविधानसार m. in कालमाधव.
- मुहूर्तविवरण.
- मुहूर्तवृत्तशत.
- मुहूर्तशिरोमणि by धर्मेश्वर, son of राम-चन्द्र.
- मुहूर्तसंग्रह m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर and सं.क्रौ. Earlier than 1650 A. D.
- C. by लक्ष्मीपति.
- मुहूर्तसंचय by क्षेमराम.
- मुहूर्तसर्वस्व by रघुनाथाचार्य ( ? ). Is it not the same as the next ?
- मुहूर्तसर्वस्व by रघुबीर, son of विठ्ठल दीक्षित, son of दृष्ट, at Benares ; composed in Śake 1557 i. e. 1635-36 ( vide N. vol. I. p. 109 ).
- मुहूर्तसार ( vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 79 a ).
- मुहूर्तसार by भानुदन.
- मुहूर्तसारिणी.
- मुहूर्तसिद्धि.
- मुहूर्तसिद्धि by नागदेव.
- मुहूर्तसिद्धि by महादेव.
- मुहूर्तसिन्धु by मधुसूदनमिश्र pr. at Lahore.
- मुहूर्तस्कन्ध by बृहस्पति.
- मुहूर्तासुत m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.
- मुहूर्तार्क by सत्युजय कोकिल.
- C. प्रभा by author.
- मुहूर्तालङ्कार by गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव. Composed in Śake 1534 माघ 15 ( 1633 A. D. ). Vide Stein's cat. p. 343 for extract.
- मुहूर्तालङ्कार by जयगम.
- मुहूर्तावलि.
- मूर्खहा- a treatise on सङ्कल्पबाधसः, ना-म्नीभादः, तिथिव्यवस्था, एकोद्दिष्टकाल-व्यवस्था, आद्यव्यवस्था, गोवधादिमास-श्रित्त, व्यवहारश्चाद्यादिव्यवस्था, विवाहः



- नक्षत्रादि. Vide N. vol. II p. 49 and N. (new series) vol. II pp. 146-7.
- वर्तिप्रतिष्ठा. N. (new series) I. p. 293.
- वर्तिप्रतिष्ठापन.
- मूलनक्षत्रशान्ति (rites for averting the evil effects of birth on a day when the moon is in the Mūla constellation).
- मूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग attributed to शौनक.
- मूलभट्टप्रयोग by मूलभट्ट.
- मूलशान्ति attributed to शौनक.
- मूलशान्तिनिर्णय Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.
- मूलशान्तिविधान.
- मूलशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.
- मूलादिशान्ति.
- मूल्यनिरूपण of गोपाल (C. P. cat. No. 1321).
- मूल्यसंग्रह or मूल्याध्याय by बापुभट्ट; contains summary of fines ordained in lieu of various gifts at various ceremonial rites, when one is unable to give the gifts. Names गोपालभाष्य. Ms. dated šake 1756 (N. vol. X. p. 238).
- मूल्याध्याय (in 5 1/2 verses) attributed to कात्यायन. Deals with substitution of money for gifts of cows and other property. Vide BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 171 for text.
- C. by कामदेवदीक्षित. N. (new series) vol. III preface p. IV.
- C. by गोपालजी.
- C. by चिद्वल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed चन्द्रगुप्त and resident of श्रीपुर. Mentions नीलकण्ठ and his son. Later than 1670 A. D.
- सुत्तिकास्तान.
- सृष्टुञ्जयसृष्टि m. in हेमाद्रि दानखण्ड pp. 764-65, 784 and in दानमुख.
- सृष्टुमहिषीदानविधि (gift of a she-buffalo at the time of death of a person).
- मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपदार्थानुक्रम.
- मैत्रायणगृह्यपद्धति (on 16 संस्कारs according to मैत्रायण school). The chap. called प्रथमपुरुष.
- मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हलायुध, हेमाद्रि, म. पा.
- मैत्रायणीयौर्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति-पद्धति. Vide क्रिया.
- मोक्षकल्पतरु (a part of कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु) by लक्ष्मीधर. Sec. 77.
- मोक्षेश्वरनिबन्ध m. by गदाधर in com. on पारस्करगृह्यपरिशिष्ट. This is probably the same as the प्रज्ञज्ञानदीप-पृच्छाप्रकरण of ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर (Bik. cat. pp. 325-326).
- मोहचङ्गेतर or मोहचुहोतर; m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 883 as मोहचङ्गेतर), नि. सि.
- यजुर्वल्हभा or कर्मसंगणि by चिद्वलदीक्षित or चिद्वलश. son of बह्मभार्या and younger brother of गोपीनाथ, in 3 काण्डs on आह्निक, संस्कार, आवश्यक धान (consecration of गृह्य fire) according to यजुर्वेद. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1280.



यजुर्विवाहपद्धति.

यजुर्वेदिष्टोक्तर्गतत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदिष्टाद्वतत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदीयश्राद्धविधि of ढोण्डू. Vide under श्राद्धविधि.

यजुःशास्त्राभेदतत्त्वनिर्णय by पाण्डुरङ्ग टकले (Baroda O. I. 374). His सिद्धान्त is that wherever the word यजुर्वेद occurs by itself तैत्तिरीयशास्त्रा is to be understood and not गृह्ययजुः०.

यज्ञपार्ष्वसंग्रहकारिका m. in गदाधरभाष्य on पारस्कर.

यज्ञसिद्धान्तविग्रह by रामसेवक.

यज्ञसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by रामप्रसाद.

यज्ञोपवीतनिर्णय.

यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति by रामदत्त, son of गणेश्वर (for वाजसनेयिशास्त्रा).

यतिक्षौरविधि by मधुसूदनानन्द (Baroda O. I. 5015).

यतिसननादिप्रयोग by श्रीशैलवेदकोटीरलक्ष्मण; mentions यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

यतिधर्म by पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिधर्म Ano.

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by बासुदेवाग्रम (Baroda O. I. 12289).

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर. Same as ०संग्रह below.

यतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी by नीलकण्ठयतीन्द्र.

यतिधर्मसंग्रह Ano (N. vol. IX. p. 278). First speaks of आचार्यपरम्परा from शाङ्कराचार्य, of मठाभ्यास and then of यतिधर्म.

M. D. 77.

यतिधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश (pr. by आनन्दाग्रम, Poona).

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by वादप्रकाश in 11 parvans for वैष्णवस.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by रघुनाथभट्टाचार्य.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 293) dated संवत् 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). Also called यतिधर्मसंग्रह (same as above).

यतिनित्यपद्धति by आनन्दानन्द (Baroda O. I. 5017).

यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण by पुरुषोत्तमानन्द-सरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिमरणोपयुक्तांशसंग्रह.

यतिलिङ्गसमर्थन in 3 स्कन्धः.

यतिवन्दननिषेध.

यतिवन्दनशतदूषणी.

यतिवन्दनसमर्थन.

यतिवृत्तभा or संन्यासपद्धति of विश्वकर्मन्. On संन्यास, the four kinds of यतिस, viz. कुटीचक, वृद्धक, हंस, परमहंस and their duties. N. vol. X. 175. Mentions विधानमाला.

यतिसंस्कार (a part of प्रतापनारसिंह).

यतिसंस्कार (on the funeral rites and श्राद्धs for यति performed by his son). N. vol. X. p. 10.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by रायम्भट्ट.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वर. N. vol. I p. 173.

यतिसंस्कारविधि (two different works) Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.



यतिसंस्कारविधिनिर्णय (I. O. cat. p. 523 No. 1647).

यतिसंस्कारोपयोगिनिर्णय.

यतिसन्ध्यावार्तिक by सुरेश्वर, pupil of शङ्कर. N. vol. X. p. 9.

यतिसिद्धान्तनिर्णय by सच्चिदानन्द-सरस्वती.

यत्यनुष्ठान.

यत्यनुष्ठानपद्धति by शङ्करानन्द.

यत्यन्तकर्मपद्धति by रघुनाथ.

यत्याचारसंग्रहीययतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती (N. vol. I p. 174).

यत्याचारसप्तपिपुजा.

यत्याराधनप्रयोग.

यत्याह्निक (Baroda O. I. 8563).

यमस्मृति. Vide sec. 49; pr. Jivānanda Sm. part I pp. 560-567 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 112-116.

यज्ञाजीय by यज्ञाजि son of यदुभट्ट.

On funeral rites, सविण्डीकरण etc. Relies on आश्वलायनसूत्र, भारद्वाजसूत्र, भाष्यs thereon and on शौनक.

यशवन्तभास्कर by भास्कर or हरिभास्कर, son of आपाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम; patronised by यशवन्तदेव, son of उन्मदमणि, king of Bundelkhand, Bik. cat. p. 508 contains सत्रसंग्रहप्रकाश out of this work. N. vol. IV p. 269 has same. हरिभट्ट hailed from अम्बकेश्वरपुरी and was of काश्यपगोत्र and आपाजिभट्ट dwelt in काशी. About 1676.

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति- vide sec. 34.

C. by अपराई; vide sec. 79.

C. by कुलमणि शुक्ल.

C. by देवबोध m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

C. by धर्मेश्वर m. in शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (p. 529).

C. बालक्रीडा by विश्वरूप. Vide sec. 60.

CC. विभावना.

CC. अमृतस्यन्दिनी of सोमयाजिन.

CC. वचनमाला by pupil's pupil of सोमयाजिन.

CC. ano.

C. मिताक्षरा by मथुरानाथ.

C. मिताक्षरा by विज्ञानेश्वर. Vide sec. 70. For com. on मिताक्षरा, vide under मिताक्षरा above.

C. by रघुनाथभट्ट.

C. दीपकलिका of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

C. घोरमित्रोदय by मित्रमिश्र. Sec. 108 (portion printed in Ch. S. series).

याज्ञिककमलाकरी (C. P. cat. No. 4414).

यात्राप्रयोगतत्त्व by हरिशङ्कर.

यात्राविवाहाद्युपाय (auspicious times for marriage, journey &c.) N. (new series) vol. II p. 149.

युक्तिरत्नमञ्जरि of भोजदेव. Deals with state administration and topics of राजनीति, such as दूत, कोष, कृषि-कर्म, बल, यात्रा, सन्धि, विग्रह, नगर-निर्माण, वास्तुप्रवेश, छत्र, ध्वज, पद्म-रागादिपरीक्षा, अन्न, शस्त्रपरीक्षा, नौका-



- लक्षण &c. Names भोज himself as authority and उशनस, गर्ग, बृहस्पति, पंगवा, याम्य, लोहप्रदीप, शार्ङ्गधर and several others. (pr. in Cal. O. series No. 1).
- सुगार्णव ( C. P. cat. No. 1418 ).
- सुद्धकुतुहल.
- सुद्धकौशल by रुद्र.
- सुद्धचिन्तामणि by रामसेवक त्रिपाठिन.
- सुद्धजयप्रकाश by दुःखभञ्जन.
- सुद्धजयार्णव m. by रघु० in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.
- सुद्धजयार्णव ( from अग्निपुराण chap. 123-125 ).
- सुद्धजयोत्सव.
- C. ano.
- C. by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.
- C. by रामदेव.
- सुद्धजयोत्सव by गङ्गाराम in five प्रकाशs.
- Ulwār cat. extract 551.
- सुद्धयात्रा m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.
- सुद्धरत्नावली.
- रङ्गनाथदेशिकाह्निक by रङ्गनाथदेशिक.
- रजतदानप्रयोग by कमलाकर.
- रत्नकरण्डिका by द्रोण. ( Hp. cat. pp. X-XI ms. copied in संवत् 1189 i. e. 1132-33 A. D. ); treats of rites for Vajasaneyins. D. C. Ms. No. 273 of 1886-92 is incomplete and contains the following topics, viz. प्रायश्चित्त, सृष्टासृष्टप्रकरण, आवाशौच, श्राद्ध, गृहस्थाश्रमधर्म, दाय, कण, व्यवहार, दिव्य, छच्छ &c.
- रत्नकोश m. by हेमाद्रि ( III. 2. 750 ), in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०, टोडरानन्द.
- रत्नदीपविश्वप्रकाश.
- रत्नमाला by शतानन्द ; m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व ( vol. I. p. 596 ).
- रत्नमाला m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, गोविन्दार्णव, निर्णयदीपक ; probably श्रीपति's work or शतानन्द's work.
- रत्नसंग्रह m. in ति. सि.
- रत्नसागर m. in ति. सि.
- रत्नाकर- vide under चण्डेश्वर sec. 90.
- रत्नाकर by गोपाल.
- रत्नाकर by रामप्रसाद. Stein's cat. p. 100 has the portion on प्रायश्चित्त.
- रत्नार्णव m. by रघु०.
- रत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि ( III. 2. 857 ), by रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व.
- रथमहर्षीकालनिर्णय.
- रत्रिभङ्गान्तिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ son of माधव.
- रत्नामृतसिन्धु m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका ( probably on भक्ति ).
- राघवभट्टीय m. by ति. सि.
- राजकौस्तुभ or राजधर्मकौस्तुभ ( part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ ) by अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.
- राजधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to तलाजिराज of Tanjore ( 1765-1788 ).
- राजनीति ano.
- राजनीति by देवीदास.
- राजनीति by भोज.
- राजनीति by बरकाच (?). Begins with the well-known verse about nine gems ' धन्वतरिः etc. ' ( vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 141 b ).



राजनीति by हरिसेन of Benares.

राजनीतिकामधेय m. by राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय) pr. in Ch. S. series.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र अल्लडीवार.

राजनीतिमण्डल—same as नीतिमण्डल of नीलकण्ठ.

राजनीतिशास्त्र by चाणक्य in 8 chapters and about 566 verses. W. and K. cat. II. p. 182.

राजधूपणी or वृषधूपणी (on politics) by रामानन्दतीर्थ. Names कुल्लूफ's टीका on मनुस्मृति..

राजमार्तण्ड of भोज. Vide p. 278 above. D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1879-80 is a work called राजमार्तण्ड of भोज on astrology in relation to धर्मशास्त्र and contains such topics as व्रतबन्धकाल, विवाह-शुभकाल, विवाहाराधियोजनविधि, संक्रान्तिनिर्णय, दिनक्षय, पुरुषलक्षण, भेषादिलक्षणफल. The Ms. is dated संवत् 1655 चैत्र (i. e. about April 1598).

C. by गणपति.

राजलासक m. in सरस्वतीविलास (Mysore ed. p. 21).

राजधल्लभ (by सूत्रधारमण्डन ?) m. in छद्मदीपक of महादेव.

राजाभिषेक by अनन्त.

राजाभिषेकप्रयोग (from नीतिमण्डल of नीलकण्ठ).

राज्याभिषेक (from टोडरानन्द).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति (part of दिनकरो-द्व्योत).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by शिव, son of विश्व-कर्मन्.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ सद्भास्व-पति, son of माधवभट्ट.

रामकल्पद्रुम by अनन्तभट्ट, son of कम-लाकरभट्ट. Divided into ten kāṇ-ḍas, which were in order काल, श्राद्ध, व्रत, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, शास्त्रि, दान, आचार, राजनीति and (gap, probably उत्सर्ग). Aufrecht says that there were seven kāṇḍas, but a ms. in Bhadkamkar collection gives ten and names them as above except the last. Flourished about 1640-1670 A. D. (Vide Bik. cat. pp. 445-447 for some of these kāṇḍas).

रामकौतुक m. in निर्णयासुत and नि. सि.

रामतत्त्वप्रकाश attributed to सायण.

रामदेवप्रसाद alias गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ or विश्वेश्वर, son of शम्भुदेव; composed in Śāke 1506 (1584 A. D.).

रामनवमीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिकार्य. Quotes नि. सि.

रामनवमीनिर्णय by विठ्ठलदीक्षित.

रामनाथपद्धति by रामनाथ.

रामनित्यार्चनपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

रामनिबन्ध by क्षेमराम, son of श्रीमध-नन्द, son of दीक्षितबाबू. Compos- ed in 1720 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1431).



रामपुजापद्धति by क्षेमराज. (Ulwar cat. No. 1432 and extract 341).

रामपुजापद्धति by रामोपाध्याय. Stein's cat. p. 101.

रामप्रकाश.

(1) com. on कालतत्त्वार्णव by राम-  
देव.

(2) a digest of religious obser-  
vances compiled in the name  
of कृपाराम (described as गौड-  
क्षत्रकुलोद्भव), son of यादवराज  
and descendant of the royal  
family of माणिक्यचन्द्र. कृपाराम  
was himself a feudatory of  
Jehangir and Shah Jehan.  
The I. O. cat. (vol. III, p.  
502) says that the real author  
was राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ  
and father of गमदेव चिरञ्जीवि.  
Relies on हेमाद्रि, माधव, and  
गौड writers. Latter half of  
17th century. Peterson, (in  
Ulwar cat. No. 1433) says  
that this is a com. on the  
कालतत्त्वविवेचन. But from the  
description in the I. O. cat.  
this does not appear likely.

रामप्रसाद- vide तीर्थरत्नाकर.

रामानुजमित्यकर्मपद्धति Vide Peterson's  
6th Report p. 107.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in तिथितत्त्व and  
छादितत्त्व of रघु०, नि. ति.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by अच्युताश्रम.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by आनन्दवनपति, pu-  
pil of परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमंन्ध-  
कुन्दवन in 5 पटल. (D. C. ms. 440  
of 1891-95 is dated Śaka 1607

i. e. 1685 A. D.). Traces गुरु-  
परम्परा from वसिष्ठ to गौडपाद,  
गोविन्द, शङ्कराचार्य, विश्वरूप, सुरेश्वर;  
in four पटल.

C. लघुदीपिका by गदाधर.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by कुलमणिशुक्ल.

रामार्चनदर्पण (Ulwar cat. No. 1435).

रामार्चनदीपिका.

रामार्चनपद्धति by रामानन्द.

रामार्चनरत्नाकर by केशवदास m. in  
अहल्याकामधेनु.

रामार्चापद्धति by रामानुज.

गयस्तुतपद्धति m. by रघुनन्दन in शु-  
द्धितत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 213).

गयसिंहप्रकाश of गदाधर.

गसयात्रापद्धति by रघु०. Vide p. 417  
above.

गसयात्राविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec.  
95.

रुद्रकलशस्थापनविधि by रामकृष्ण, son  
of नारायण.

रुद्रकल्प.

रुद्रकल्पतरु.

(1) ano. (Burnell's Tanj. cat.  
p. 138a); ms. dated संवत्  
1714 (1657-8 A. D.).

(2) by a son of विश्वेश्वर.

रुद्रकल्पद्रुम or महारुद्रपद्धति by अनन्त-  
देव, son of उद्धव द्विपेदी, resident  
of Benares. Mentions हेमाद्रि,  
टोडरानन्द, प्रयोगपारिजात रुद्रकारिका  
of परशुराम, नि. ति. Later than  
1640 A. D.

रुद्रचिन्तामणि or रुद्रपद्धति by शिवराम,  
son of विश्राम; for छन्दोग  
(Baroda O. I. 8018).



रुद्रजपसिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by रामचन्द्र-  
पाठक. A very large work. Bar-  
roda O. L. 10946 has 13 प्रकरणस  
and probably there were more.

रुद्रपद्धति.

(1) by परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an  
उदीच्यब्राह्मण. Describes the  
rites connected with Śiva  
worship in the form of महा-  
रुद्र. There are in all 1028 ver-  
ses on रुद्रजपप्रशंसा, कुण्डमण्डप-  
लक्षण, पीठपूजाविधि, न्यासविधि.  
Composed in संवत् 1515  
(1458 A. D.). Also called  
रुद्रकारिका.

(2) another shorter treatise on  
same subject; introduction  
being partly identical. Com-  
posed between 1578-1643 A.D.  
(vide I. O. cat. p. 584).

(3) by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्व-  
नाथ. Baroda ms. 8030 is  
dated संवत् 1809 (1752-3 A.D.).

(4) Describes रुद्रप्रयोग following  
तैत्तिरीयशाखा, though रुद्र is  
recited in all śākhās; says  
'स्मार्तरुद्रप्रयोगस्य बौधायनसूत्रमूल-  
कत्वेन बह्वृचादीनां च तत्र बौधायनं शा-  
खम्। रुद्रः पञ्चधा रूपं रुद्री लघुरुद्रो  
महारुद्रोतिरुद्रश्चेति एकादशगुणवृ-  
द्ध्या। सर्वश्च त्रेधा जपरुद्रो होमरुद्रो-  
भिषेकरुद्रश्चेति।' I. O. ms. dated  
संवत् 1587 i. e. 1530-31 A. D.  
(vide cat. p. 580 No. 1783);  
quotes रूपनाथ often.

रुद्रपद्धति (मैत्रायणीय) Baroda O. L.  
2452.

रुद्रपद्धति by आपदेव.

रुद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदा-  
शिव. Also called रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति  
and महारुद्रपद्धति.

रुद्रपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामे-  
श्वरभट्ट. 'यद्यप्यनेकास्तु शाखास्तु रुद्रः  
पठ्यते तथापि तैत्तिरीयशाखानुसारेण  
रुद्रः पठ्यते.'

रुद्रपद्धति by भास्करदीक्षित, son of राम-  
कृष्ण (according to शाङ्खायनग्रन्थ).

रुद्रपद्धति by रेणुक; ms. (Bik. cat.  
p. 601) dated śake 1604 (1682  
A. D.).

रुद्रपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुदेव  
and younger brother of रामदेव  
(for माध्यन्दिनीय).

रुद्रपूजापद्धति- Peterson's 6th Re-  
port p. 109.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son  
of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by चन्द्रचूड.

रुद्रविलासनिबन्ध by नन्दनमिश्र.

रुद्रस्नानविधि or रुद्रस्नानपद्धति by राम-  
कृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट; m. in  
ज्ञानिरत्न of कमलाकर. About  
1570-1600.

रुद्रप्रतिष्ठा.

रुद्रलघुन्यास- manual of formula  
intended for रुद्र worship.

रुद्रसूत्र or -योग by अनन्तदेव, son of  
उद्धव, residing at Benares, also  
called त्रैविद्यामौढ for वाजसनेयशाखा;  
Peterson's 5th Report p. 175.

रुद्राक्षधारण.

रुद्राक्षपरीक्षा.



रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर (D. C. No. 283 of 1886-92). Seems to be same as रुद्रपद्धति (4) above.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by मेरुनाथ, of the family of सर्वज्ञ. Relies on महार्णव as the principal authority.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by झङ्कर, son of बल्लालहरि m. in व्रतोद्यापनपद्धति ; q. v. About 1750 A. D.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति or -दीपिका. Vide रुद्रपद्धति above.

रुद्रानुष्ठानप्रयोग by खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर, surnamed अयाचित.

रुद्रार्चनचन्द्रिका of शिवराम.

रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी by वेदाङ्गराय ; vide महा-रुद्रपद्धति.

रूपनारायणीय (पद्धति) by उदयसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह. In the D. C. ms. No. 240 of A. 1881-82 (428 folios) a pedigree is given, which starts with भारद्वाजसरी, in whose family was born मुग्धसिंह who conquered भोगिराज; his son was मदनसिंह. उदयसिंह was 13th from मदनसिंह and king of उत्तरकोसल. The work deals with षोडशमहादानs such as तुलापुरुष (upto folio 210), and with रूपवारीतडागादिविधि, नवग्रहहोम, अशुतहोम, लक्षहोम, दुर्गोत्सव. Relies upon भोजराज, लक्ष्मीधर (कल्पतरु), हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, पारिजात, हरिहर, भीमपराक्रम, विद्याधर, चिन्तामणि, वर्षदीप. महादानपद्धति of रूपनारायण ; described above seems to be a part of

this; m. in जलाशयारामोत्सर्गपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1450-1525 A. D.

रेणुकारिका or रेणुककारिका- vide पारस्करगृह्यकारिका above. In 1266-67 A. D.

लक्षणप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र ; part of वीरमित्रोदय (on politics) ; pr. in Chowkhamba S. series.

लक्षणरत्नमालिका by नागेजिपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ ; in five पद्धतिस on वर्णाश्रमाचार, दैव, राज, उद्योग, शरीर ; seems to be a com. on his लक्षणशतक (in one hundred verses). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 132 b and 164 b.

लक्षणशतक by नागेजिपण्डित.

लक्षणसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 328, कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

लक्षणसमुच्चय by हेमाद्रि. On the indications and predictions from bodily signs and on Prakrits. Vide Bik. cat. p. 411.

लक्षणसमुच्चय m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 823, by नि. सि.

लक्षणसारसमुच्चय- rules for the construction of शिवलिङ्गs in 32 sections.

लक्षहोमपद्धति.

(1) by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

(2) by गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम.

(3) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. Sec. 103.

लक्ष्मणसमुच्चय m. in सहस्रदीपक or महादेव.



लक्ष्मीनारायणार्चाकौस्तुभ by शिवानन्द गोस्वामी in five प्रकाशः.

लक्ष्मीसपर्यासार by श्रीनिवास.

लघुकारिका by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of देव-दत्त ( for माध्यन्दिनशाखा ). Baroda O. I. 12072 dated संवत् 1552 and No. 4055 dated 1507 संवत्.

लघुकालनिर्णय by माधवाचार्य. The first verse is व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्मान्पाराशरानथ and the last verse is व्यतिपाते च वैधृत्यां तत्कालव्यापिनी तिथिः । ( vide Bik. cat. pp. 408-409 ).

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुचिन्तामणि by वीरेश्वरभट्ट गोडबोले.

लघुजातिविशेष m. in 'शूद्रकमलाकर.

लघुनारदस्मृति m. by नि. सि., सं. कौ.

लघुनिर्णय by शिवनिधि ( Baroda O. I. 12854 ).

लघुपद्धति or कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ ; based on कारिका and वृत्ति, वामनभाष्य and जयन्त. Deals with leading topics of आचार, न्यवहार. N. vol. X. p. 248 ; Baroda O. I. No. 1422 is dated संवत् 1592 ( 1535-6 A. D. ). It mentions चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार, स्मृत्यर्थसार. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

लघुपाराशरस्मृति.

लघुबृहस्पतिस्मृति.

लघुयमस्मृति m. by अपरार्क ( on य. I. 238 ) and by हलायुध in ब्राह्मण-सर्वस्व.

लघुवसिष्ठस्मृति.

लघुविष्णुस्मृति m. in अपरार्क and ब्राह्मण-सर्वस्व of हलायुध ; pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 117-123.

लघुन्यास ( pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 310-320 ) m. in संस्कारमयूख.

लघुशङ्खस्मृति pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 124-127.

लघुशातातपस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 128-135.

लघुशौनकस्मृति in 114 verses (Baroda O. I. 11863 ).

लघुहारीतस्मृति- m. in अपरार्क ( pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 136-141 and Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 177-193 ).

लघ्वत्रिस्मृति ( pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 1-12 ) vide p. 109 above.

लघ्वाम्बलायनस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm. ( pp. 142-181 ).

लघ्वाह्निक.

ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका by सच्चिदानन्दनाथ, guru of विद्यानन्दनाथ.

ललितार्चनदीपिका.

ललितार्चनपद्धति by चिदानन्दनाथ, pupil of स्वयंप्रकाशानन्दनाथ. Probably same as ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लवणभ्राष्ट्र ( on offerings of salt cakes to the deceased on 4th day after death ).

लिखितस्मृति- vide sec. 13, p. 76 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 375-382 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 182-186 D. C. ms. 44 of 1866-68 contains a लिखितस्मृति in 6 अध्यायः where वसिष्ठ and other sages are represented as asking लिखित about चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्म and प्रायश्चित्तः.



लिङ्गलोभट्ट.

लिङ्गलोभट्टकारिका.

लिङ्गधारणचन्द्रिका.

लिङ्गधारणदीपिका.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा by अनन्त.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठापनविधि by अनन्त (according to बौधायन). I. O. cat. vol. III. pp. 584-585.

लिङ्गादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट.

लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका by सदाशिवदाशुव, son of गदाधर, son of विष्णु, composed for pleasing king जयसिंह. He wrote आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका also. First quarter of the 18th century.

लेखपञ्चाशिका on fifty forms of deeds, bonds and letters, composed in 1232 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, No. 410; ms. dated संवत् 1536, i. e. 1479-80 A. D.

लेखपद्धति contains forms of mortgage-deeds, sale-deeds, treaties, cited from actual documents in the royal secretariat from 9th to 16th century of Vikrama era, published in G. O. series (1925).

लेखसूक्तमणि by हरिदास, son of चतुराज in 464 verses and four सर्ग on उद्भव (origin of writing), गणित, लिखन (the art of the scribe) and शृपनीति; ms. copied in 1625 A. D. (Aufrecht's Catalogue).

लोकपालाष्टदान.

B. D. 78.

लोकप्रकाश by क्षेमेन्द्र. Latter half of 11th century; gives specimens of letters, bonds, deeds &c.

लोकसागर m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

लोहितस्मृति.

लौगादिस्मृति sec. 50.

वज्रिपुरेश्वरकारिका by वज्रिपुरेश्वर.

वचनसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 5507).

वचनसमुच्चय (Bik. cat. p. 489).

वचनसारसंग्रह by श्रीशैलताताचार्य, son of सुन्दराचार्य; mentions मद. पा.

यदेश्वरसिद्धान्त m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

वत्सस्मृति m. in कालसाधन and by भस्कराचार्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

वपननिर्णय.

वर्द्धगर्जिव (Hultzsch R. I. No. 448).

वर्ज्याहारविचक्र by वेङ्कटनाथ.

वर्णकाचार.

वर्णशासन.

वर्णनक्षत्रातिमात्रा by भार्गवराम. On mixed castes. N. (new series) I. p. 332.

वर्णनामनि by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.

वर्णाश्रमनि by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित. Probably the same as above.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप or दीपिका by कृष्ण, son of गोविन्द, son of राघव of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; composed at Benares on संस्कार, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, स्थालीपाक, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम, तुलापुरुष वास्तुविधि, आह्निकविधि, सर्वप्रायश्चित्त मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा &c.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप by king कृष्ण who ruled over महाराष्ट्र on the banks



of the गोदावरी ( vide Bik. cat. p. 489 ). This is a large work.

वर्धमानपद्धति m. in आशुतत्त्व of रघु० ( styled नव्यवर्धमान० ).

वर्षकृत्य by कृष्णधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर ; pr. at Benares in 1903 ; m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि.

„ of राघवशर्मन् of चम्पहट्टि family. Deals with संक्रांति and the festivals and व्रतस of the 12 months of the year.

„ by विद्यापति. About first half of 15th century ; m. in मल-मासतत्त्व of रघु०.

„ by शङ्कर. It is also styled स्मृतिप्रदीपकर or वर्षकृत्यनिधन्य ( Bik. cat. p. 468 ).

„ by हरिनारायण ( C. P. cat. No. 5017 ).

वर्षकृत्यतरङ्ग from the कृत्यमहर्णव.

वर्षकृत्यप्रयोगमत ( माला ) by मोक्षेश्वर-शर्मन् ; ms. dated 1477 A. D. ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 312 and J B O R S. for 1927 parts III-IV p. IV ).

वर्षकौस्तुभ or वर्षकृत्यकौस्तुभ by गोविन्दा-नन्द, son of गणपतिभट्ट ( pr. in B. I. series ). Vide sec. 101.

वर्षदर्पण m. in कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of विवाकर, in समयमयूख. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

वर्षदीपिति part of स्मृतिचौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

वर्षदीप m. in रूपनारायणीय.

वर्षदीपिका m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर by शङ्कर.

वर्षभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश, composed by order of king धर्म-देव.

वसन्तराजीय alias शकुनार्णव by वसन्त-राजभट्ट, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयराज ; composed by order of चन्द्रदेव of मिथिला ; m. in अद्भुतसागर by ब्रह्मानन्द and in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि. Earlier than 1150 A. D. C. by भानुचन्द्रगणि in Akbar's reign.

वसिष्ठकल्प.

वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र vide sec. 9 ; pr. in B. S. series, Jivananda Sm. part. II. pp. 456-496 and Ānar. Sm. pp. 187-231.

C. by दशस्वामिन् m. in गोविन्द-स्वामिदीक्षा on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

वसिष्ठसंहिता or महासंहिता in 45 अध्याय on ज्ञान्ति, जप, होम, बलि-हारा, on certain astrological aspects of दक्षव्रत, वार etc. ( Ulwar cat. extract 582 ).

वसिष्ठश्रुति in ten अध्याय and about 1100 verses. On the topics for वैष्णवब्राह्मणस, स्त्रीधर्म, विष्णुधर्म, आशुच, विष्णु-संहितादि ( I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 392 No. 1339 ). Baroda O. I. Ms. No. 1885 is dated śake 1564.

वसिष्ठस्मृति or वासिष्ठी.

C. वासिष्ठभाष्य by वेदमिश्र. राम is said to have asked वसिष्ठ why he was exiled. Deals with propitiatory rites for evil aspects of



planets, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम. Says that it was based by वसिष्ठ on माध्यन्दिनी शाखा. Vide D. C. ms. No. 245 of 1879-80. Baroda O. I. 1412 is dated संवत् 1565 (1508-9 A. D.). The com. gives only the प्रतीक of verses. It says that लक्षहोम was imparted to नारद and others by वसिष्ठ.

वसिष्ठहोमपद्धति.

वाक्यतत्त्व of सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन. On proper times for religious ceremonies. Part of द्वैततत्त्व.

वाक्यमीमांसा m. in वृत्तिहप्रकाश.

वाक्यान्तावलि m. in हालमा of महाधर.

वाग्भटस्मृतिसंग्रह m. by धर्मरत्न.

वाग्भटीतीर्थयात्राप्रकाश by गौरीदत्त, son of रामभट.

वातव्याधिकर्मप्रकाश.

वादभयङ्कर- a work by a follower of विज्ञानेश्वर, according to नीलमित्रोदय. Vide pp. 289-90 above; m. by कल्पतरु. Between 1080-1125 A. D.

वायुलङ्घनिरहस्य or वायुलङ्घनागमवृत्ति- रहस्य by सङ्गमश्रमवासिमिश्र. Deals with कणत्रयापाकरण, ब्रह्मलये, संस्कार, आह्निक, श्राद्ध, स्त्रीधर्म.

वापीकृततडागादिपद्धति.

वायुन्याय.

वामनकारिका- a large work in verse; follows खादिशृङ्गा mainly.

वामनपद्धति m. in श्राद्धसौम्य (टीका- नन्द).

वारव्रतनिर्णय.

वाराणसीदर्पण by सुन्दर, son of राघव.

वाराहयुद्ध- pr. in G. O. series in 21 खण्ड on संस्कार from जातकर्म, नामकरण to पुंसवन and on वैश्वदेव and पाकयज्ञ.

वार्तिकसार by घटीश, son of टेकचन्द्र; composed in 1785 A. D.

वार्षिककृत्यनिर्णय.

वासकर्मप्रकाश.

वासन्तीचिदेक by शूलपाणि. Sec. 95.

वासिष्ठलघुकारिका.

वासिष्ठीशान्ति by महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ (he rather revised or restored it). Vide Bik. cat. p. 490 (खलैर्यादृषिता ज्ञान्तिर्वासिष्ठी सा प्रशोधिता).

वासुदेवी or प्रयोगरत्नमाला; pr. in Bombay 1884. Quotes हेमाद्रि, कृत्य- रत्नाकर, त्रिविक्रम, रूपनारायण. नि.सि. So later than 1620 A. D. Speaks of मूर्तिनिर्माणप्रकार, मण्डपप्रकार, विष्णुपतिष्ठा, जलाधिवास. शान्तिहोम- प्रयोग, नूतनपिण्डकारस्थापन, जर्ण- पिण्डिकायां देवस्थापनप्रयोग.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by करुणाशङ्कर.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by कृपाराम.

वास्तुतत्त्व by गणपतिशिष्य; pr. at Lahore (1853).

वास्तुपद्धति or वास्तुशास्त्र (Baroda O. I. No. 1672).

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by परमानन्द.

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by यतीशङ्कर.

वास्तुप्रदीप by वासुदेव m. in नि.सि.

वास्तुयागतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Sec. 102.



वास्तुशिल्पावलि by जीवजायदेयज्ञ. pr. at Benares, 1883 and Calcutta, 1885.

वास्तुशान्ति by रामकृष्ण, son of नाग-  
वर्णभट्ट. According to आश्वलायन-  
श्रुत; m. in शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकर-  
भट्ट.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- शाकलोक.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- extracted from  
शान्तिसार of दिनकर.

वास्तुशास्त्र by मय; m. in नि. सि.

वास्तुशिरोमणि by शङ्कर at the bidding  
of स्यामसाह son of माननरेन्द्र. Ul-  
war cat. extract 576.

वास्तुसर्वस्वसंग्रह pr. at Bangalore,  
1884.

विचारनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायप्रधान-  
भट्टाचार्य.

विजयदशमीनिर्णय.

विजयदशमीपद्धति (Ulwar cat. No.  
1441 and extract 341).

विजयविजय by रामकृष्ण on शौच,  
स्नान, मन्त्रा, वस्त्रादि, नियमिण्य.  
Relies upon भाष्य of कर्क, हरिहर,  
and गदाधर.

विज्ञानमार्कण्ड m. in वृत्तिप्रसाद.

विज्ञानललित m. by हेमाद्रि (भाष्यवृत्त  
p. 109), in दानसार (part of  
वृत्तिप्रसाद).

विहलीय m. in श्राद्धसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण.

विदुरनीति- (from the उद्योगपर्व of महा-  
भारत chapters 33-40 of the Bom-  
bay edition); pr. at Gujarati  
Press, Bombay.

विद्याकरपद्धति m. in विन्यास-पट्टीप pp.  
566, 571.

विद्याधरीविलास m. in ज्योतिषाक्ष by  
रघु०.

विद्यारण्यसंग्रह- vide स्मृतिसंग्रह.

विद्यापिनोद m. in नि. सि. (may also  
be the name of an author).

विद्वन्मनोहरा- com. on पराशरस्मृति by  
नन्दर्षण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

विधवाधर्म.

विधवाविवाहखण्डन.

विधवाविवाहविचार by हरिमिश्र.

विधानखण्ड m. in नि. सि.

विधानयुक्त m. in विधानपारिजात of  
अनन्त.

विधानपारिजात of अनन्तभट्ट, son of  
नागसूत. Composed at Benares in  
1625 A. D. He styles himself  
काण्वशास्त्रविदां प्रियः. In five स्कन्ध-  
on स्मृतिवाचन, शान्तिकर्म, आह्निक,  
संस्कार, तीर्थ, दान, प्रकीर्णविधान and  
funeral ceremonies, the third  
dealing with आह्निक, संस्कार and  
काल, the fifth with श्राद्ध, आशौच,  
व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त. Mentions देव-  
जातीय, दीपोदासीय, त्रिस्थलीसेतु (pr.  
B. I. series).

विधानमाला or शुद्धार्थविधानमाला by  
वृत्तिभट्ट of अत्रिगोत्र. Resided on  
the बरभूमि near चन्द्रनगर in वेङ्ग-  
देश; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ and विधान-  
पारिजात. Earlier than 1550 A. D.  
There are 240 प्रकरण in the I.  
O. ms. (cat. p. 575 No. 1769)  
which was copied in संवत् 1732;  
pr. in Anan. P. series, 1920.  
(1765-6 A. D.). Baroda O. I.  
No. 10149 copied in संवत् 1622  
(1565-6 A. D.).



- C. by विश्वनाथ, son of हरि.  
विधानमाला by लक्ष्मण.  
विधानमाला by विश्वकर्मन.  
विधानरत्न by नारायणभट्ट.  
विधानारहस्य m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.  
विधानसारसंग्रह Ano. Vide Bik. cat. p. 494.  
विधिपुष्पमाला (पद्धति) m. in पित्रभक्ति of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.  
विधिरत्न by गङ्गाधर.  
विधि-रत्न m. in चित्ताण्डमण्डल, हेमाद्रि, प्रयोगपत्रिणित.  
विनायकपूजा by रामकृष्ण, son of श्रीगो-  
श्वर, surnamed जीव (जीवे ?).  
Composed in 1702 A. D.  
विनायकशान्तिपद्धति.  
C. by श्रीधराचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 5491 dated संवत् 1607 (1550-1 A. D.).  
विशुद्धकण्ठसुवर्ण- com. on सुवर्ण by वेङ्कटनाथ.  
विभक्ताविभक्तनिर्णय.  
विभागतत्त्व or-तत्त्वविचार by रामकृष्ण, son of नागयणभट्ट. Relies on मिताक्षरा. About 1575-1600 A. D. Deals with अप्रतिबन्ध and सप्रतिबन्ध दाय, मुख्यगौणपुत्राः, विभागकाल, अपुत्रदायादक्रम, माता preferred to पितर as heir. The Bhadkamkar collection ms. comes up to only प्रातः.  
विभागनिर्णय.  
विभागसार of विद्यापति ; composed under orders of दर्पनायण, son of हरिभिह, son of भवेश. On दाय-

लक्षण, विभागस्वरूप, दायानर्ह, अविभाग्य, स्त्रीधन, द्वादशविधपुत्र, अपुत्र-यथाधिकार, समुष्टविभाग. N. vol. VI. p. 67.

विभूतिधारण.

विमलादयमाला or विमलोदयजयन्तमाला-  
a com. on आश्वलायनश्रुतारू.

विमलविधिविध्वंस by लक्ष्मीधर, son of मङ्गदेव and श्रीदेवी and pupil of यशवद्रोधभास्ती. His gaura was केशव and his grandfather was वामन and grand-uncle स्कन्द and great grand-father was रोह, who was a minister of योगेश्वर of शाकम्भरी (Sambhar). स्कन्द was commander-in-chief and वामन was सान्धिविशदिक of प्रह्वीराज, who was killed by तुरुष्क. स्कन्द crowned हरिराज in शाकम्भरी and वामन went to अणहिलुपाटक. The family originally came from आनन्दनगर. Work is divided into seven अधि-  
करण ; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 489 No. 1577) is dated संवत् 1582 श्रेष्ठ (1526 A. D.). Deals with disputed points of sacred law, such as the persons entitled to offer श्राद्ध to the deceased, शूद्र-  
कायश्चिन etc.

विलक्षणजन्मप्रकाशिका.

विनायकसंग्रहकाशिका m. by कालभार of गदाधर.

विवस्वत्स्मृति m. by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि.

विवादकल्पतरु (a portion of the कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर) vide sec. 77.

विवादकौमुदी by पतिभूष सिद्धान्तवागीश  
composed in śaka 1529 (1604



A. D. ). He was patronised by the Raja of Assam.

विवादचन्द्र by मिश्रकृष्ण. Vide sec. 97.

विवादचन्द्रिका by अमन्तराम ; quotes कल्पसूत्र and स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य. Later than 1600 A. D.

विवादचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, pupil of जगन्नेश्वर. In his श्राद्धचन्द्रिका quotes वर्धमान. On the 18 titles of law. About 1450 A.D.

विवादचिन्तामणि by बालस्पतिमिश्र. Sec. 98 ; pr. at Bombay.

विवादताण्डव by कर्मकरभट्ट. Sec. 106.

विवादनिर्णय by गोपाल.

विवादनिर्णय by श्रीकर.

विवादभरण्य by जगन्नाथतर्कपञ्चानन. Sec. 113. Colebrooke translated two out of the several principal topics of this work. Vide N. ( new series ) vol. I. preface pp. XIII-XIV.

विवादरत्नाकर by जगन्नेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

विवादवारिधि by रमापतिउपाध्याय सन्मिश्र, on the 18 titles of law.

विवादव्यवहार by गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश.

विवादसार of कुल्लुक, m. in his श्राद्धसागर. Vide sec. 88.

विवादमारण्य compiled by सर्वोत्तमजी त्रिवेदी at the instance of Sir William Jones in 1789 in nine तरङ्ग. The colophon has the rather picturesque words 'सर्विलयं मिस्तरश्रीजोन्तमहीपात्रम् etc.'

( cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2107, No. 3203 ).

विवादसिन्धु.

विवादार्णवभञ्जन or -भङ्ग compiled by गौरीकान्त and several other Pandits. ( D. C. ms. No. 364 of 1875-76, N. vol. IX p. 244 No. 3165 ).

विवादार्णवसेतु compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by बाणेश्वर and several other Pandits and translated into English by Halhed ( which translation was published in 1774 A. D. ). Divided into 21 ऊर्मि ( waves, sections ) on कृष्णादान and the other titles of law ( व्यवहारपद ). Pr. by the Venk. Press, Bombay. This edition shows that the work was composed at the court of Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Towards the end the names of the Pandits who compiled it are given. Vide N. vol. X p. 115-116 and N. ( new series ) I pp. 339-341 where the verses about the names of the collaborating Pandits are given, but the reference to Ranjit Singh does not occur.

विवादार्थसंग्रह.

विवाहकर्म by अग्निहोत्रि विष्णु of मथुरा.

विवाहकर्मपद्धति. Vide विवाहपद्धति.

विवाहकर्ममन्त्रव्याख्या सुबोधिनी ( Ulwar cat. No. 1452 and extract ). Relies on हरिहर.



विवाहकर्मसमुच्चय ms. copied in 1113  
A. D. (Hp. cat. p. XI).

विवाहकौमुदी (C. P. cat. No. 5140-41).

विवाहचतुर्थीकर्म.

विवाहतत्त्व or उदाहृतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन  
Sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम.

विवाहतत्त्वार्णव m. in उदाहृतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 117) of रघु०.

विवाहद्विरागमनपद्धति.

विवाहनिरूपण by नन्दभट्ट.

विवाहनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

विवाहपटल m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व of रघु०.  
Probably an astrological work  
of वराहमिहिर or of शार्ङ्गधर.

विवाहपटल by सारङ्गपाणि (शार्ङ्गपाणि?),  
son of मुकुन्द.

विवाहपटल by हरिदेवसूरि.

विवाहपटलस्तवक by सोमसुन्दरशिष्य.  
Baroda O. I. No. 133.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिपद्धति गोभिलीय.

विवाहपद्धति by गौरीशङ्कर.

विवाहपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

विवाहपद्धति by जगन्नाथ.

विवाहपद्धति by नरहरि.

विवाहपद्धति by जगन्नाथभट्ट.

विवाहपद्धति by रामचन्द्र.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिकर्मपद्धति by  
रामदत्त राजपण्डित, son of गणेश्वर,  
son of देवादिन्द्र. He was paternal  
first cousin of चण्डेश्वर and so  
flourished about 1310-1360  
A. D. On आभ्युदयिकश्राद्ध, विवाह,

चतुर्थीकर्म, पुंसवन and the other  
संस्कारs up to समावर्तन. He wrote  
for वाजसनेय students.

विवाहपद्धति from the अनुपविष्टास.

विवाहपद्धतिव्याख्या by मुदङ्गमह.

विवाहप्रकरण- from the लघुकाशिका of  
कर्क.

विवाहस्त by हरिभट्ट. An elaborate  
treatise on marriage in 122  
chapters.

विवाहस्तसंक्षेप by क्षेमकर.

विवाहस्तदावन by केशवाचार्य, son of  
राणिग or राणिग, in 17 chapters on  
auspicious times for marriage.  
One ms. is dated śake 1326 i. e.  
1398-99 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part  
I p. 109 No. 322); m. in मुहूर्त-  
दीपक of महादेव, in दोहरानन्द.

C. दीपिका by गणेशदेवज्ञ, son of  
केशव, in śake 1476 i. e. 1554-5  
A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part I p.  
110 No. 334). See Bhandarkar's  
Report for 1883-84 pp. 372-373,  
where we read that गणेश first  
composed महादेव, then श्राद्ध-  
विधि, then a com. on लीलावती,  
a com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व.

C. by कल्याणवर्मन.

विवाहसौख्य by नीलकण्ठ (seems to be  
a portion of दोहरानन्द).

विवाहाग्निष्टिप्रायश्चित्त.

विवाहादिकर्माभ्युदायपद्धति by भवदेव.

विवाहादिप्रयोगतत्त्व-ascribed to रघुनन्दन  
(N. vol. XI Preface p. 11).

विवाहादिकन्यास्वरूपविर्णय by अनन्तराम-  
शास्त्रि.



**विविधविद्याविनाशचतुरा** of भोज on propitiation of angry deities and consecration of tanks and wells &c. Ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XIII and 65) dated ल. सं. 372 i. e. 1490-91. This is different from धरि-  
श्वरभोज.

**विवेककौमुदी** by गमकृष्ण. Discussion about wearing the शिखा and यज्ञोपवीत, विधि, नियम, परिसंख्या, स्नान, तिलधारण, तर्पण, शिष्यवृत्ता, त्रिपुण्ड्र, प्रतिष्ठोत्सर्गभेद. N. vol. X. pp. 105-107.

**विवेकदीपक** by दामोदर. Treats of महादास; compiled under auspices of संप्रदायसंहा; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 551 No. 1716) copied in संवत् 1638 (1382 A. D.).

**विवेकमञ्जरी.**

**विवेकसारवर्णन.**

**विवेकानंद** by श्रीनथ m. in his कृत्य-  
तत्त्वार्णव. 1175-1525 A. D.

**विशुद्धिदण्ड** by रघुनन्दन. On आशीर्च्य of two kinds, ऊनभाशीर्च्य and आन-  
शीर्च्य.

**विश्वदीप** m. in आचारार्क.

**विश्वदेवदीक्षितयि.**

**विश्वनाथभट्टी** (C. P. cat. No. 5197.

**विश्वप्रकाश** D. C. ms. No. 144 of 1884-86. For राजर्मन्य followers on daily duties like सन्ध्याकर्म, कृष्णतन्मासमीनिर्णय, ग्रहणनिर्णय, and श्राद्ध.

**विश्वप्रकाशिनन्दन** of विश्वनाथ of the पराशरशास्त्र, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of नारायणशास्त्र.

On various ceremonies and ex-  
piations; based on आपस्तम्ब.  
Composed in 1514 A. D. Vide  
N. vol. X. pp. 233-235.

**विश्वम्भरशास्त्र** m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

**विश्वरूपनिबन्ध** m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि,  
नि. नि. Vide pp. 263-364 above.  
Bik. cat. p. 497 No. 1967 is  
विश्वरूपनिबन्ध which deals with  
संविण्ड relationship in marriage,  
particularly about the girl being  
beyond the fifth and the seven-  
th from the mother and father  
respectively.

**विश्वरूपसमुच्चय** m. in उद्गाहतरव by  
रघु (vol. II p. 116).

**विश्वादर्श** by कविकान्तसरस्वती, son of  
आचार्यादित्य, who styles himself  
गीतार्थप्रवीण. Author was devotee  
of विश्वेश्वर in Benares. Divided  
into 4 काण्ड on आचार, व्यवहार,  
प्रायश्चित्त and ज्ञान. 1st काण्ड has  
42 अक्षरग verses and one अनुष्टुप  
on daily religious duties such as  
शौच, दन्तधावन, कुशविधि, स्नान,  
सन्ध्या, होम, देवतार्चन, दान, 2nd  
काण्ड (on व्यवहार) has 44 verses  
in various metres (मालिनी, अनु-  
ष्टुप्, मन्दाक्रान्ता, &c.); 3rd (प्राय-  
श्चित्त) has 53 verses (all अक्षरग  
except last which is मालिनी);  
4th ज्ञानकाण्ड has 53 verses in  
शाङ्ख्यविक्रीडित, शिखरिणी, अनुष्टुप्,  
and other metres on यत्नप्रत्य,  
संन्यास, व्रतार्थ, काशीभाषास्य. Au-  
thor's patron seems to have been  
धन्य or धन्यराज, son of भागमुक्त, at



काशी. Refers to मुञ्ज, धरेश्वर, मेधातिथि and विज्ञानेश्वर. M. by हेमाद्रि ( III 2. p. 102, which occurs in com. on विश्वादर्श III. 37) and by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ( आशौच, Mysore ed. p. 164 'पतिव्रता त्वन्य-दिनेनुगच्छेद्या स्त्री पतिं चित्यधिरौहणेन । दशाहतो भर्तुरयस्य शुद्धिः श्राद्धद्वयं स्या-नृथमेककाले ॥ ). Later than 1100 A. D. and earlier than 1200 A. D. ( This information is based on two mss. in the Bhadkamkar collection ).

C. by author ( Vide BBRAS. cat. part 2 pp. 229-231 for fuller details ).

विश्वामित्रकल्प- on the daily ceremonies performed by ब्राह्मणः.

विश्वामित्रकल्पतरु.

विश्वामित्रसंहिता by श्रीधर.

विश्वामित्रस्मृति- vide sec. 57 p. 236.

विश्वेश्वरनिबन्ध m. in संस्कारमयूख. Probably the मदनपारिजात or हनुमन्निनीटीका of विश्वेश्वर.

विश्वेश्वरपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर on संन्यास m. in संस्कारमयूख.

विश्वेश्वरस्मृति ( Hultzsck R. I. No. 69 ).

विश्वेश्वरस्मृतिभास्कर ( Hultzsck R. I. No. 144 ).

विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति ( or यतिधर्मसंग्रह ) by अच्युताश्रम, pupil of चिदानन्दाश्रम. Mentions ज्ञानार्णव.

विश्वेश्वरीस्मृति by अच्युताश्रम.

विषयटिकाजननशान्ति or विषनाहीजनन शान्ति ( from बृद्धगार्ग्यसंहिता ) on B. D. 79.

rites for averting evil consequences of being born at one of the four periods called विषय-टिका.

विष्णुतत्त्वप्रकाश by वनमालिन्. Digest of स्मार्त rites for माध्व followers.

विष्णुतत्त्वविनिर्णय by आनन्दतीर्थ.

विष्णुतीर्थविषयस्थान by सुरोत्तमाचार्य.

विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा by वृत्तिहभट्ट, son of सोमभट्ट. Ulwar cat. 1457.

विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 10. Pr. Jivānanda Sm. part I pp. 60-176.

C. वैजयन्ती by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

विष्णुधर्माश्रुत m. in नटमल्लविलास.

विष्णुधर्मोत्तराश्रुत m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका by शिवशङ्कर.

C. by सदानन्द.

विष्णुपूजापद्धति.

विष्णुपूजाविधि by शुक्लदेव ( Baroda O. I. No. 5487 said to be author's copy is dated संवत् 1692 i. e. 1635-6 A. D. ).

विष्णुप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिदर्पण of नरसिंहसोमयाजी, son of माधवाचार्य.

विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्र m. in निर्णयदीपक.

विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय by वृत्तिहारण्य or वृत्तिहाचार्य in 19 kalās; m. by वरुणोत्तम in ब्रह्मशुद्धिदीपिका. Deals with principal वैष्णव fasts, festivals, and ceremonies; ms. dated संवत् 1496 ( 1440 A. D. ). Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 76.



विष्णुभक्तिरहस्य m. by रामानन्द.

विष्णुसूत्रप्रतिष्ठाविधि by कृष्णदेव, son of रामान्दाय (part of a larger work called विष्णुयथामातुष्टानपद्धति or विष्णुपञ्चमोपद्धति). Ms. copied in संवत् 1675.

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति by उत्तमदेव, son of उत्तमदेव. See. 109. Deals with rites in honour of Viṣṇu to be performed by one who desires a son. Ulwar cat. No. 1458; Baroda I. O. 2264 dated संवत् 1604, which seems to be fake.

विष्णुश्राद्ध m. by अयनाक, दानसागर, कालविंशतः of जीमूत.

विष्णुश्राद्ध (part of नारायणव्रति in गोभिलशृङ्ग).

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति alias वीरपूजापद्धति.

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति by नारायण son of रामेश्वर (Baroda O. I. 8171).

विष्णुसमुच्चय m. in अकर्ण. मद्र. पा. (p. 291).

विष्णुसूत्र- vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र, above.

वीरनारसिंहावलोकन- vide वीरसिंहावलोकन.

वीरमित्रोदय, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यसूत्र by मित्रमिश्र (4 parts on आचार pr. in Chowkhamba S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरमित्रोदय by मित्रमिश्र. A digest divided into प्रकाशs on व्यवहार (pr. by Jivananda), दर्शनाभा, आह्निक, तीर्थ, पूजा, राजनीति, दक्षिण, क्षुद्धि, समय (the first six pr. in Ch. S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरहौवर्धननिर्णय.

वीरसिंहमित्रोदय (संस्कारप्रकरण) by राम-येतिषिद्ध.

वीरसिंहावलोकन or -वलोकन by king वीरसिंह, son of देववर्मन, son of कमलसिंह of तोमरवंश. On expiations for lapses committed in this life; composed in संवत् 1439 (1383 A. D.). Stein's cat. p. 189. D. C. Ms. No. 85 of 1869-70 is dated संवत् 1572. It says that the work (which is over 400 folios) is a compendium of आयुर्वेद, ज्योतिःशास्त्र and धर्मशास्त्र. It borrows from गर्ग, गौतम, शालिहोत्र, मनु, त्यास, पुराण. The work is also styled सूर्यरुण.

वसोधापन.

वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका by वात्स्यधेदान्तदास on proper time for breaking fast on द्वादशी.

वृत्तज्ञानसंग्रह or वृत्तज्ञानक by महेश्वर, son of मनोरथ and father of भास्कराचार्य; m. in नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव. An astrological work. About 1100-1150 A. D. In 11 प्रकरणs on रागविधि, नक्षत्रविधि, संस्कार, विवाह, अग्न्याधान, भूपाविधि, भूपाभिषेक, यात्रा, गोचरविधि, गंक्रान्ति, देवप्रतिष्ठा. Baroda O. I. No. 8173.

वृद्धगौतमसंहिता pr. in Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 497-638.

वृद्धपाराशरीसंहिता (in 12 chap.). Vide ब्रह्मपाराशरसंहिता pp. 195-96 above.

वृद्धशातातपस्मृति- pr. in Anan. Sm. pp. 232-235.



वृक्षहारीतस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 194-409 and Anan. Sm. pp. 236-356).

वृक्षात्रिस्मृति pr. in Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 47-59.

वृद्धिआद्यः.

वृद्धिआद्यदीपिका by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव.

वृद्धिआद्यपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विवेदिन at Benares.

वृद्धिआद्यप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट (part of प्रयोगरत्न).

वृद्धिआद्यविधि by करुणाशङ्कर.

वृद्धिआद्यविनिर्णय (माध्यान्दिनीय) by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव (Baroda O. I. 10464.).

वृन्दावनपद्धति for followers of the वल्लभाचार्य sect.

वृषभज्ञान.

वृषभोत्सर्ग.

वृषोत्सर्गकौस्तुभ by रामकृष्ण.

वृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघु०. He wrote one for each of ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद.

वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति ascribed to शानक with reference to कातीयशास्त्र.

वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर.

वृषोत्सर्गपरिशिष्ट.

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग (वाचस्पतिमंमन) for यजुर्वेद students (बोधायनीय).

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेव. Also called नीलवृ०.

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग (उद्देश्य) attributed to रघु०.

वृषोत्सर्गभाष्य Stein's cat. p. 104.

वृषोत्सर्गविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

वृषोत्सर्गादिपद्धति of कात्यायन in 307 verses. Baroda O. I. ms. 9470 is dated संवत् 1592.

वेगराजसंहिता by वेगराज in 1559 संवत् (रन्ध्रेषुबाणशाशि) i. e. 1503 A. D.

वेणी Directions for worshipping वरुण before starting on a journey. Bik. cat. p. 492.

वेणुगोपालप्रतिष्ठा.

वेदव्यासस्मृति- pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 357-371.

वेदवत्.

वेदानध्याय On the holidays as to Vedic studies.

वेदान्तधर्मप्रश्न Vide sec. 15.

C. by वृद्धिवाजपेयी, son of माध्याचार्य (on 2 out of 3 प्रश्न only found yet).

वेदान्तसमन्वयप्रश्न (containing the मन्त्र required in the वेदान्तसंस्मार्तश्रव) in 8 प्रश्न 4 प्रश्न pr. at Kumbhakonam in 1910).

वेदान्तसमहिता m. by कालमाधवीय, नि. मि., समयमश्रव.

वेदान्तसमृद्धिर्वेग by वृद्धि, son of माध्याचार्य राजपेययाजिन. Hand-book of domestic rites according to वेदान्तसमृद्धि; pr. at Ellore 1915.

वेदान्तसमृद्धितुलकमदीपिका of वेङ्कटयोगिन, son of कौण्डपाचार्य.

वेदान्तसंस्मार्तश्रव in 10 प्रश्न, 7 of श्रव and 3 of धर्म) pr. at Kumbhakonam 1914 and by Dr. Caland in B. I. series with English translation (1927 text, 1929).



- C. by नृसिंह वाजपेयी, son of माधवाचार्य.
- वैजयन्ती, com. on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र by नन्द-  
पण्डित composed in 1623 A. D.  
Vide sec. 105.
- वैतरणीदान (on gift of a black cow  
to secure for the soul of a de-  
ceased person a safe passage over  
the Vaitarani river in hell).
- वैतरणीदानप्रयोग-Stein's cat. p. 104.
- वैदिकप्रक्रिया.
- वैदिकविजयध्वज.
- वैदिकाचारनिर्णय by सच्चिदानन्द.
- वैद्यनाथसंग्रह.
- वैद्यनाथीय. Vide स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.
- वैशम्पायननीतिसंग्रह- vide under नीति-  
प्रकाश or- प्रकाशिका.
- वैशम्पायनस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (या.  
III. 326 ), अपरार्क.
- वैष्णवचन्द्रिका by रामानन्द न्यायवागीश.
- वैष्णवदीक्षापद्धति.
- वैष्णवधर्मखण्डन (Baroda O. I. 1741)  
against पुण्ड्रधारण &c.
- वैष्णवधर्मपद्धति of कृष्णदेव.
- वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा by अनन्तराम.
- वैष्णवधर्मशास्त्र in 109 verses divided  
into five chapters on संस्कार, गृहि-  
धर्म, आश्रमः, पारिव्राज्य, राजधर्म.
- वैष्णवधर्मसुरद्रुममञ्जरी by सङ्कर्षणशरण, a  
follower of केशवकाशमीरी, who was  
a follower of निम्बार्क.
- वैष्णवधर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by कृष्णदेव, son  
of रामाचार्य.
- वैष्णवनिर्णय Ulwar cat. No. 1466.
- वैष्णवप्रक्रिया by वेदचूडालक्ष्मण. Men-

- tions विज्ञानेश्वर. नि. सि., सुधीवि-  
लोचन.
- वैष्णवलक्षण by कृष्णताताचार्य.
- वैष्णववर्षकृत्य (Baroda O. I. 8133).
- वैष्णवसदाचारनिर्णय.
- वैष्णवसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in his ब्राह्म-  
णसर्वस्व.
- वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका by रामचन्द्र, son  
of कृष्ण, son of नृहरि.
- C. by त्रिवल, son of नृसिंह, son of  
रामचन्द्र (the author).
- वैष्णवाचारसंग्रह.
- वैष्णवामृत m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु०  
and in नि. सि.
- वैष्णवामृत by भोलानाथ. N. vol. VI.  
p. 185-6.
- वैष्णवाह्निक (Baroda O. I. 10543).
- वैष्णवोपयोगिनिर्णय. D. C. Ms. No.  
160 of 1884-86 is dated संवत्  
1732 (1675-6 A. D.). It men-  
tions ब्रह्माद्वैतसंहिता, रामार्चनचंद्रिका.  
It supports the marking of the  
body with चक्र by citing verses  
from कठशास्त्रा and अथर्ववेद (एभि-  
र्व्यमुक्तमस्य चिह्नैरङ्किता लोके सुभगा  
भवेत्).
- व्यतिषहनिर्णय by रघुनाथभट्ट.
- व्यतीपातजननशान्ति by कमलाकरभट्ट.
- व्यतीपातप्रकरण.
- व्यतीपातव्रतकल्प.
- व्यवस्थादर्पण by आनन्दशर्मा, son of  
रामशर्मा. On points of स्मृति rites  
and rules, such as तिथिस्वरूप, मल-  
मास, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, श्राद्ध, दाय-  
नधिकार, दायविभाग. N. vol. VIII  
p. 211.



व्यवस्थादीपिका by राधानाथशर्मा. N. vol. X p. 84 is confined only to आशौच.

व्यवस्थानिर्णय Anon. on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, दाय.

व्यवस्थाप्रकाश.

व्यवस्थारत्नमाला by लक्ष्मीनारायणन्यायालङ्कार, son of गदाधर. In ten मुच्छस on दायभाग, स्त्रीधन, दत्तकव्यवस्था; mentions मिताक्षरा and विधानमाला.

व्यवस्थार्णव Anon.

व्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनन्दन (on pre-emption).

व्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथ, at order of king रायराघव.

व्यवस्थार्णव of रामभद्र. Vide under स्मृतितत्त्वविनिर्णय.

व्यवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.

व्यवस्थासंग्रह by गणेशभट्ट. Gives decisions on प्रायश्चित्त, inheritance etc.

व्यवस्थासंग्रह by महेश. On definite conclusions about आशौच, सपिण्डीकरण, संक्रान्तिविधि, दुर्गोत्सव, जन्माष्टमी, आह्निक, देवप्रतिष्ठा, दित्य, दायभाग, प्रायश्चित्त. Based on रघु०.

व्यवस्थासार by नारायणशर्मा (I. O. cat. p. 452) on आह्निक, आशौच, तिथि, दत्तपुत्र, विवाह, श्राद्ध. Different from next.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मा. On law of inheritance. This is also called व्यवस्थासारसञ्चय. Vide N. vol. III pp. 126-127 and I. O.

cat. p. 453 which shows that the work embraced आशौच, दायभाग and श्राद्ध.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by महेश. Probably same as व्यवस्थासंग्रह.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्ती, son of मुकुन्द, on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, अन्येष्टि, आशौच etc. Vide N. vol. IV pp. 289-291; N. (new series) I. p. 349 describes him as the son of रामगोपाल of चतुर्वंश.

व्यवस्थासेतु by ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मा; ms. copied in Śake 1741 (1819-20 A. D.).

व्यवहारकमलाकर by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण (7th section of धर्मतत्त्व).

व्यवहारकल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर (portion of कल्पतरु). Vide sec. 77.

व्यवहारकोश by वर्धमान. A part of his तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार on judicial procedure and civil and criminal law composed under राम, king of मिथिला. Latter half of 15th century.

व्यवहारकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य. (Baroda O. I. 10105 dated Śake 1535).

व्यवहारचण्डेश्वर m. in संस्कारमयूख.

व्यवहारचन्द्रोदय (part of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय, on judicial procedure and the विवादपद).

व्यवहारचमत्कार by रूपनारायण, son of भवानिदास, son of नाथमल्ल; composed in संवत् 1637 (1580-81) in 13 प्रकरण (in D. C. ms. No. 199 of A 1883-85 and 14 in Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 91, which



- splits विवाह into two); on astrology in connection with गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, मीमन्तेस्त्रयन and the other संस्कारs, विवाह, यात्रा, मन्त्रमासनिर्णय.
- व्यवहारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पति. Vide above p. 400; on भाषा, उत्तर, क्रिया and निर्णय. N. III. p. 34.
- व्यवहारतत्त्व by नीलकण्ठ. son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec. 107.
- व्यवहारतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 107.
- व्यवहारतत्त्वालोक- vide व्यवहारालोक.
- व्यवहारतिलक by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide sec. 73 pp. 301-302.
- व्यवहारदर्पण by अनन्तद्वय याज्ञिक. On meaning of व्यवहार, plaint, reply, means of proof, witnesses, documents, possession, judgment.
- व्यवहारदर्पण by रामकृष्णभट्ट. On राजधर्म, भाषा, उत्तर, प्रत्यवस्कन्दन, प्राङ्न्याय, माक्षि, लिखित, भुक्ति, जयपत्र.
- व्यवहारदशश्लोकी or दायदशक by श्रीधरभट्ट.
- व्यवहारदीधिति (part of राजधर्मकौस्तुभ).
- व्यवहारदीपिका m. by रघु० in दिव्यतत्त्व on ordeals.
- व्यवहारनिर्णय (गौड) m. in गृहकर्मनाकर.
- व्यवहारनिर्णय by मयागममिश्रगौड residing at Benares, by order of जयसिंह. On judicial procedure and the व्यवहारपदs. D. C. ms. 140 of 1892-93 copied in संवत् 1885 ( 1798-99 A. D. ).
- व्यवहारनिर्णय by दशदशज; m. in स. वि. नि. मि.; composed about 1500 ( tr. into English by Burnell ).
- व्यवहारनिर्णय by श्रीपति m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व of रघु०. Probably astrological as bearing on धर्मशास्त्र.
- व्यवहारपदन्यास. ( Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV p. 4836). Breaks off in the midst of 8th topic ( भाषानिरूपण ), the other seven being व्यवहारावलोकनधर्म, प्राङ्गुविवाकधर्म, सभालक्षण, सभ्यलक्षण, सभ्योपदेश, व्यवहारस्वरूप, विचारविधि.
- व्यवहारपरिभाषा by हरिदत्तमिश्र.
- व्यवहारपरिशिष्ट.
- व्यवहारप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र ( part of वीरमित्रोदय ). Vide sec. 108.
- व्यवहारप्रकाश by शरभोजी ( king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D. ).
- व्यवहारप्रकाश by हरिगम.
- व्यवहारप्रदीप by कल्याणवर्मा.
- व्यवहारप्रदीप by कृष्ण. On astrology applied to धर्मशास्त्र. ( Hp. cat. pp. XX and 253 ) m. in दिव्यतत्त्व by रघु०.
- व्यवहारप्रदीप by पद्मनाभमिश्र. On judicial procedure.
- व्यवहारप्रदीपिका m. by वर्धमान.
- व्यवहारमथुर by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 ( pr. by the Bhandarkar O. Institute Poona, by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by V. N. Mandlik ).
- व्यवहारमातृका or न्यायमातृका of जीवतवाहन. Vide sec. 78 p. 321.
- व्यवहारमाधय- ( the third part of पराहारमाधय ).
- व्यवहारमाला by दशदशज. 18th century. Much used in Malabar.



- व्यवहारमालिका (Baroda O. I. 6373).
- व्यवहारमन्त्र by भानुनाथद्वैज, son of चन्दनानन्द of the भौआलवंश.
- व्यवहारमन्त्राकर by चण्डेश्वर. Sec. 90 p. 367.
- व्यवहारमन्त्रावली.
- व्यवहारशिरोमणि of नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर; vide pp. 292-293. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. III. part 1 C. p. 3938 No. 2750.
- व्यवहारसमुच्चय by हरिगण.
- व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातच by रघु०, and in नि. मि.
- व्यवहारसर्वस्व by सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वरदीक्षित, on व्यवहार i. e. judicial procedure etc.
- व्यवहारसार by मयाराममिश्र.
- व्यवहारसार m. in नि. मि. and निर्णयदीपक.
- व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मा.
- व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by रामनाथ. N. (new series) vol. III p. 192.
- व्यवहारसारोद्धार by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी composed under Ranjit Singh of Lahore (1799 A. D.).
- व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपीठ by चित्रपति, son of नन्दीपति, at the request of Colebrooke. in sake 1725 (1803-4 A. D.). C. by author.
- व्यवहारसौख्य (part of मोडगनन्द).
- व्यवहारसंस्मृतिमर्ग by गौडमयाराममिश्र of Benares at the order of जयसिंह. Deals with judicial procedure and व्यवहारपद (titles of law).
- व्यवहारादर्श by चक्रपाणिमिश्र; D. C. ms. No. 247 of 1887-91 deals with भोजनविधि, अभाज्यान्त्र (ms. is incomplete).
- व्यवहारार्थसार by मधुसूदन. Same as व्यवहारसारोद्धार.
- व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by शरभोजी (king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D.). Probably same as व्यवहारप्रकाश above.
- व्यवहारालोक by गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश.
- व्यवहारोच्चय by सुरेश्वर उपाध्याय; m. by टोडरानन्द, नि. मि., गोविन्दार्णव, स्मृति कौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- व्याघ्रस्मृति or व्याघ्रपादस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. 3. 30), अपराक्ष, हरदत्त.
- व्यासस्मृति Vide sec. 32; pr. in Jivānanda Sm. II. pp. 321-342 and Anan. Sm pp. 357-371 (about 248 verses). C. by कृष्णनाथ.
- व्रजतन्त्र.
- व्रजपद्धति.
- व्रतकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट, Sec. 106.
- व्रतकल्प m. by निर्णयदीपक.
- व्रतकालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट.
- व्रतकालनिर्णय by भारतीतीर्थ.
- व्रतकालनिकर्ष by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.
- व्रतकालविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.
- व्रतकौमुदी of रामकृष्णभट्ट.
- व्रतकौमुदी of शङ्करभट्ट.
- व्रतकौस्तुभ.



व्रतखण्ड ( the first part of the चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि ).

व्रतशूडामणि.

व्रततत्त्व of रघु०. Sec. 102.

व्रतनिर्णय by औदुम्बरर्षि.

व्रतपञ्जी by नवराज of द्रोण family ; son of देवसिंह.

व्रतपद्धति of रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय. Vide sec. 96 p. 397. One ms. dated लक्ष्मणसेनसंवत् 344 i. e. 1463 A. D. Hp. cat. XIII and 73 ).

व्रतप्रकाश ( a part of the वीरामित्रोदय ).

व्रतप्रकाश- vide व्रतराज.

व्रतप्रकाश by अनन्तदेव.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघु०. Vide व्रततत्त्व.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग or साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

व्रतबन्धपद्धति by रामदत्तमन्त्रिण, son of गणेश्वर ( for वाजसनेयशाखा ).

व्रतबोधविष्टृति or व्रतबोधनीसंग्रह in five परिच्छेदs for वैष्णवs on तिथिनिरूपण, व्रतमहाद्वादशी, रामनवम्यादिव्रत, मास-निरूपण, वैशाखादिचैत्रान्तमासकृत्यनिरूपण. N. ( new series ) vol. II. p. 182.

व्रतरत्नाकर by सामराज pr. at Sholapur in 1871.

व्रतराज by कोण्डभट्ट.

व्रतराज or व्रतप्रकाश by विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल. Compiled at Benares in śake 1658 ( 1736 A. D. ); was a Cittapāvana Brāhmaṇa of Śaṇḍilya gotra and came from Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnāgiri District. Pr. several times at

Bombay, Ven. Press ed. being the latest.

व्रतवह्नी.

व्रतविवेकभास्कर by कृष्णचन्द्र.

व्रतसंग्रह composed by order of हरिसिंह, king of कर्णाटवंश. First quarter of 14th century.

व्रतसमुच्चय m. by निर्णयदीपक.

व्रतसंपात.

व्रतसागर m. by चण्डेश्वर.

व्रतसार by गदाधर.

व्रतसार by दलपति ( part of वृत्तिसिंह-प्रसाद ).

व्रतसार by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89.

व्रताचार by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गङ्गोलीसञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा at the order of महेश्वरसिंह, king of मिथिला, son of रुद्रसिंह, son of छत्रसिंह of खण्डबल family; mentions श्रीदत्त as one of his authorities and also ज्योतिर्निबन्ध.

व्रतार्क by गदाधरदीक्षित.

व्रतार्क by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a huge work ; flourished between 1620-1675; wrote his कृष्णभास्कर in 1671 A. D.; pr. at Lucknow in 1877, 1881.

व्रतोद्घोत ( part of दिनकरोद्घोत ).

व्रतोद्यापन.

व्रतोद्यापनकौस्तुभ by रामकृष्ण based on हेमाद्रि, as he expressly says ; dilates upon those व्रतs that are observed among गौडs.

व्रतोद्यापनकौस्तुभ by शङ्कर, son of बल्लालसुरि, surnamed घारे of the चित्तपावन subcaste. He wrote तीर्थोद्यापनकौस्तुभ and refers to his रुद्रा-



- नुष्ठानकौस्तुभ. Composed in śake 1625 (शके शतद्वयचक्रचन्द्रे i. e. 1703-4 A. D.) ; pr. in Bombay at ज्ञान-दर्पण press ( 1863 A. D. ). Peirson ( in Ulwar cat. extract 352 ) wrongly reads वितथाचनसंज्ञिता for चित्तपावन०.
- व्रतोपवाससंग्रह by निर्भयरामभट्ट.
- ब्राह्म्यताप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय ( extracted from the प्रायश्चित्तेन्द्रशेखर of नागोजिभट्ट ); decides that modern princes are not entitled to have उपनयन performed ( pr. in Ch. S. series, two recensions, बृहत् and लघु ).
- ब्राह्म्यताशुद्धि Stein's cat. p. 105.
- ब्राह्म्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह ( pr. in Ch. S. series ).
- ब्राह्म्यस्तोमपद्धति by माधवाचार्य. N. ( new series ) vol. III p. 194 ( ब्राह्म्य means पतितसावित्रीक ).
- शकुनार्णव or शकुनशास्त्र or शकुन by वसन्तराज. Vide under वसन्तराजीय.
- C. by भातुचन्द्रगाणि.
- शङ्खगीता m. by कालधिवेक of जीमूत०, हेमाद्रि. Earlier than 1000 A. D.
- शङ्खप्रतिष्ठा ( on ceremonies at the time of laying the foundation of a house ).
- शङ्खभट्टी.
- शङ्खचक्रधारणवाद by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर ( Baroda O. I. 736 ).
- शङ्खधरसमुच्चय m. by कालधिवेक of जीमूत०.
- शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 12.
- C. m. by क. त्पतरु and वि. र. B. D. 80.
- शङ्खलिखितरसृति- Vide sec. 12 ; pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 372-373.
- शङ्खरसृति- Vide sec. 12 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 343-374 and Anan. Sm. pp. 374-395.
- शतक्रतुसृति m. in मद. पा.
- शतचण्डीपद्धति by गोविन्द.
- शतचण्डीप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.
- शतचण्डीविधानपद्धति by जयरामभट्ट.
- शतचण्डीविधानपूजापद्धति vide Stein's cat. p. 237.
- शतचण्डीसहस्रचण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर ( from his शान्तिरत्न ).
- शतद्वयी on प्रायश्चित्त. Vide प्रायश्चित्त-शतद्वयी.
- C. प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.
- शतश्लोकी by यदुभट्ट.
- शतश्लोकी by वेङ्कटेश.
- शतानन्दसंग्रह m. by कालसार of गदाधर.
- शत्रुघ्नी.
- शत्रुमित्रोपशान्ति.
- शय्यादान.
- शरदक्षसृति m. in व्रतप्रकाश or व्रतराज.
- शाकटायनसृति m. in अपरार्क, आश्व-मयूख.
- शाकलसृति m. in त्र्यम्बहारमयूख, दत्तक-मीमांसा.
- शाङ्खायनगृह्यकारिका.
- शाङ्खायनगृह्यनिर्णय.
- शाङ्खायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. in नि. सि. and संस्कारकौस्तुभ.
- शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंस्कारपद्धति of विश्वनाथ.
- शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंग्रह by बाह्यदेव, son of ईजट ( pr. in Ben. S. series );



Stein's cat. p 19 gives संवत् 1428 as the date.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र (edited by Oldenberg in Indische Studien, vol. 15 pp. 1-166 and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29 ).

C. ( भाष्य ) by ब्रह्मदत्त quoted in कल्पतरु according to शुद्धितत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 312 ). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

C. ( on four अध्याय only ). N. vol. I pp. 2-4.

C. प्रयोगदीप by दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर.

C. अर्धदर्पण by रघुनाथ.

C. गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति or आधानपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास, son of शिवदास, son of श्रीधरमालव.

C. गृह्यप्रदीपक by नारायण, son of कृष्णजी द्विवेदी, son of श्रीपति; gives pedigree of family which was नागर from श्रीपादलाडुगी in Gujerat. श्रीपति was 8th from चण्डांशु of that family. Work composed in 1629 ( वर्षे नन्दकर्तुंचन्द्रसंमते माघे &c.) probably of विक्रम era ( i. e. in 1573 A. D. ); ms. in Bombay University Library. He wrote गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति also. Vide Ulwar cat. for a long extract and D. C. No. 6 of 1879-80.

C. बालावबोधपद्धति.

शाङ्खायनाह्निक or ह्निकदीपिका by अचल, son of बत्सरज. About 1518 A. D.

आट्टचापन or-निस्सृति m. in कालविवेक of जीयन्, अपरार्क.

शाण्डिल्यगृह्य m. by रुद्रदत्त on आप-स्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र 9. 11. 21.

शाण्डिल्यधर्मशास्त्र ( in verse ) on गर्भाधानादिसंस्कार, ब्रह्मचारिधर्म, गृहस्थ-विहितधर्म, गृहस्थनिषिद्धधर्म, वर्णधर्म, देहशोधन, सावित्रीजपादि, चतुर्वर्णदीप. ( Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV. p. 5153 ).

शाण्डिल्यस्मृति m. in भिता<sup>०</sup> ( या. III. 280 ), स्मृतिच<sup>०</sup>, मस्करिभाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र; in five अध्याय on भागवताचार ( cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol V. p. 1991; Baroda O. I. No. 7966 ).

शातातपस्मृति- Vide sec. 28 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 435-455 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 396-410.

शातातपस्मृति in mixed prose and verse on expiation and आचार ( I. O. cat. p. 398 ).

शातातपस्मृति in 12 अध्याय ( I. O. cat. p. 399 ).

शातातपस्मृति in 87 अध्याय and 2376 verses ( N. vol. II p. 4 ).

शान्तिकमलाकर or शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकरभट्ट on the propitiatory rites in case of portents. Vide sec. 106; pr. at Bombay.

शान्तिकल्पदीपिका on propitiatory rites for several happenings such as the following, viz. of a frog in domestic fire, पल्लीपतन, birth of a child on सूर or आश्लेषा नक्षत्र etc.



शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप or कृत्यापह्नवदीपिका by श्रीकृष्णविद्यावागीश. On incantations for killing, subjugating or bewitching rivals. N. vol. II. p. 107 and vol. V. p. 275 (ms. dated संवत् 1851).

शान्तिकल्पलता Anon.

शान्तिकल्याणी.

शान्तिकविधि of वसिष्ठ in 213 verses. See वासिष्ठीभाष्य above. वसिष्ठ tells राम why the latter and others like रावण, पाण्डवः, कंस suffered from unfavourable stars and dilates upon अयुतहोम, लक्ष-होम, कोटिहोम, नवग्रहहोम. Employs मन्त्रः from माध्यन्दिनीयशाखा (vide D. C. ms. No. 104 of 1871-72).

शान्तिकौमुदी of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Probably the same as शान्तिकमलाकर.

शान्तिकौस्तुभ (C. P. cat. No. 5585).

शान्तिगणपति by गणपति रावल. About 1685 A. D.

शान्तिचन्द्रिका by कवीन्द्र; m. in his काव्यचन्द्रिका (vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 211 b).

शान्तिचरित्र.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by कुलहनि m. in his नीतिप्रकाश.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of विश्राम of मोह caste.

शान्तिस्त्वाष्टत or शान्तिकतस्त्वाष्टत by नारायणचक्रवर्ती. Names अद्भुत-सागर. Defines शान्ति as 'यथा शस्त्रो-पधातानां कवचं विनिवारणम् । तथ-

दैवोपधातानां शान्तिर्भवति धारणम् ॥ एतेन अद्भुतद्वारा ऐहिकमात्रानिष्टनिवारणं शान्तिः ॥'.

शान्तिदीपिका m. by रघु० in ह्युद्धि-तस्त्व, संस्कारतस्त्व, एकादशीतस्त्व, आश्व-तस्त्व (p. 195).

शान्तिनिर्णय.

शान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम. It deals with rites propitiating the nine *grahas* (planets) according to Sāmaveda. The author wrote also छन्दोगानी-याह्निक. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 570 No. 1762) dated संवत् 1806 (1749-50 A. D.).

शान्तिपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट.

शान्तिपुस्तक.

शान्तिपौष्टिक of वर्धमान.

शान्तिप्रकरण (चौधायनीय).

शान्तिप्रकार by गोभिल (same as the first 7 chapters of the कर्मप्रदीप).

शान्तिप्रकाश (from the वीरमित्रोदय).

शान्तिभाष्य by वेदमिश्र. Same as वासिष्ठीभाष्य.

शान्तिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107; pr. in Bombay by J. R. Gharpure.

शान्तिरत्न or शान्तिरत्नाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106 (BBRAS cat. p. 234 No. 729). Vide शान्ति-कमलाकर above.

शान्तिविवेक by विश्वनाथ on rites for propitiating planets etc. (part of मदनरत्न). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 353 for table of contents.



शान्तिसर्वस्व m. in नि. सि., संस्कार-  
कौस्तुभ.

शान्तिसार by दलपतिराज (part of  
वृत्तिद्वयसाद ).

शान्तिसार by दिनकरभट्ट, son of राम-  
कृष्ण. A very big work on pro-  
pitatory rites like अयुतहोम, लक्ष-  
होम, कोटिहोम, ग्रहशान्ति, वैनायकी-  
शान्ति, विवाहादौ गुरुशान्ति ; pr. in  
Bombay several times, the most  
recent edition being that of  
Venk. Press.

शान्तिहोम by माधव.

शान्त्युद्घोत part of मदनग्ल. Vide  
sec. 94.

शापविमोचन.

शाम्बल्यष्टासूत्र.

शारदाकर्मदीपिका m. in दुर्गास्तयविशेक  
and by रघु०.

शारदातिलक by लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son  
of श्रीकृष्ण, son of विजयाचार्य of  
वारेन्द्रकुल. Rather a Tantric work  
very frequently quoted in धर्म-  
शास्त्र works ; m. by सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह,  
by रघु० in दिव्यतत्त्व. Earlier than  
1300 A. D.

C. m. in कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण by  
रामबाजपेयी in 1449-50 A. D.

C. गृहार्थदीपिका by विधिकर्मज्ञ pu-  
pil of श्रीरामभारती.

C. गृहार्थप्रकाशिका by कामरूपपति.

C. गृहार्थसार by विक्रमभट्ट.

C. by काशीनाथ.

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by लक्ष्मणदेशिक (Is  
there some confusion of the  
author with the com ?).

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by गदाधर, son of  
राघवेन्द्र ; composed when रामभट्ट,

son of भैरवेन्द्र, ruled over मिथिला.  
About 1450 A. D. Vide N. vol,  
VI p. 233.

C. by नागयण..

C. प्रकाश by मथुरानाथशुक्ल.

C. by माधव.

C. पदार्थादर्श by राघवभट्ट, son of  
पृथ्वीधर, son of रामेश्वर ; m. in  
व्रतराज. Author's family migrat-  
ed from जनस्थान (Nasik) on  
गोदावरी to Benares. Composed  
in 1550 शैत्रपौषसित 12 (probably  
of the विक्रम era). Vide Ulwar  
cat. extract 669.

C. by रामदीक्षित.

C. शब्दार्थचिन्तामणि by प्रेमनिधिपन्थ.

C. हर्षकौमुदी by श्रीहर्षदीक्षित.

शारदार्चाप्रयोग by रामचन्द्र.

शालग्रामदानकल्प.

शालग्रामदानपद्धति by याज्ञादेव. Vide  
I. O. cat. p. 593 No. 1805 (ms.  
dated संवत् 1858 i. e. 1801-2).

शालग्रामनिर्णय.

शालग्रामपरीक्षा by शङ्करदैवज्ञ. (I. O.  
cat. p. 592).

शालग्रामपरीक्षा (Bik. cat. p. 450).  
A different work.

शालग्रामलक्षण ano. N. (new series)  
II. p. 187.

शालग्रामलक्षण by तुरगवदनपण्डित.

शालग्रामलक्षण by सदाशिवद्विवेदी.

शालङ्कारनसृष्टि m. by सृष्टिच०, हेमाद्रि,  
मद. पा., नि. सि.

शालाकर्मपद्धति (a part of दशकर्म-  
दीपिका of पशुपति).



शास्त्रदीप by अग्निहोत्रि नृहरि ; ms. (Baroda O. I. 8132) dated संवत् 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) deals with प्रायश्चित्त and refers to portion of the work on व्यवहार.

शास्त्रदीपार्थमार्ग.

शास्त्रसारावलि by हरिभातुशुक्ल.

शास्त्रसारेन्दार by कृष्ण of the होसितङ्ग family by order of दानन्त राव (?) (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a). Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधव, मदनगन्त. Later than 1450 A. D.

शास्त्रोपदेशक्रम.

शिक्षाभट्टीय or शिक्षाभट्टीय m. in नि. सि. Vide C. P. cat. 5670-71.

शिविकादान.

शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका by भोजदेव.

शिवतत्त्वरत्नाकर by king वसुधनायक I of the Keladi dynasty ; contains a chapter on polity. Divided into कल्लोल, each कल्लोल being divided into तरङ्ग. Published by B. M. Nath and Co. at Madras.

शिवदमनार्चनपद्धति composed for विनयसिंह a former Maharaja of Ulwar. (Ulwar cat. No. 1485).

शिवयुगमणिदीपिका- the same as दिन-करोदयोत.

शिवपूजनपद्धति by हरिराय.

शिवपूजा (अधोपपद्धति) Vide Bik. cat. p. 611.

शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी by काशीनाथ, son of जयराम, surnamed जट्टे.

शिवपूजापद्धति Ano. (N. vol. II p. 225).

शिवपूजापद्धति by राघवानन्दनाथ.

शिवपूजाप्रकार.

शिवपूजासंग्रह by बहुभेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिवपूजासूत्रव्याख्यान by रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the अत्रिगोत्र. Explains वौद्यायन (युह्य) सूत्र on शिवपूजा beginning with अथातो महादेवस्पादरुहः परिचर्याविधि व्याख्यास्यामः. N. vol. X p. 347.

शिवप्रतिष्ठा by कमलाकर.

शिवरात्रिकल्प.

शिवरात्रिनिर्णय by शिवोपाध्याय. Vide महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

शिवलिलङ्गपरीक्षा.

शिवलिलङ्गप्रतिष्ठाक्रम.

शिवलिलङ्गप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शिवलिलङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by अनन्त.

शिवलिलङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

शिवपादपावली by चण्डेश्वर, son of वीरेश्वर. Sec. 90.

शिवसर्वस्व m. in नि. सि. and by रघु०.

शिवाराधनदीपिका by हरि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in नि. सि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by अप्पय्यदीक्षित.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासभट्ट, son of श्रीनिकेतन in 16 प्रकाश.

शिवार्चनपद्धति by अमरेश्वर.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by नारायणानन्दनाथ.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by ब्रह्मानन्दनाथ, pupil of लोकानन्दनाथ, in 20 उल्लास.

शिवालयप्रतिष्ठा by राधाकृष्ण.



शिवाष्टमूर्तितत्त्वप्रकाश by रामेश्वर, pupil of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिष्टिभाष्य- vide औपायनगृह्यभाष्य.

शुक्रनीतिसार (pr. by Oppert at Madras in 1892 and by Jivananda in 1892 and tr. by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. series) in four chapters in about 2500 verses. Speaks of राजधर्म, missiles, gunpowder &c.

शुक्राष्टमी.

शुद्धदीपिका of दुर्गदत्त (Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255). Compiled from प्रयोगसार.

शुद्धसौख्य.

शुद्धिकारिका.

(1) based on रघुनन्दन's शुद्धितत्त्व by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार.

(2) by नारायणबन्धोपाध्याय. N. (new series) II. p. 196.

शुद्धिकारिकाली by मोहनचन्द्रवाचस्पति. N. (new series) I. pp. 367-369; mentions शुद्धिरत्नाकर.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द; pr. in B. I. series. Vide sec. 101.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by महेश्वर on सहगमन, आशौच, सपिण्डतानिरूपण, गर्भस्त्राया-शौच, सवःशौच, शवानुगमनाशौच, अन्येष्टिविधि, समुपसृक्त्य, अस्त्रिसंचयन, उदकादिदान, पिण्डोदकदान, लपोत्सर्ग, प्रेतक्रियाधिकारि, द्रव्यशुद्धि.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 10183).

शुद्धिशुद्ध m. in कालमार of गदाधर.

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by कालिदाम (Hultsch R. I. No. 93).

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका com. on षडशीति or आशौचनिर्णय of कौशिकद्विज by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

शुद्धिचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ, residing at विष्णुपुर in Bankura; pr. at Calcutta 1884, 1907.

C. by गुरुप्रसादन्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 371.

C. by राधामोहनशर्मा, pr. at Calcutta, 1884, 1907.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार. Same as शुद्धिकारिका above.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका of हरिनारायण. Based on शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव of श्रीनाथ m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 257) of रघु०. About 1475-1525.

शुद्धिदर्पण of अनन्तदेव याज्ञिक. Defines शुद्धि as विहितकर्माह्वयप्रयोजको धर्मविशेषः शुद्धिः. Contains almost same topics as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप or-प्रदीप by केशवभट्ट. Same subjects treated as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप m. in नि. सि. and विधान-पारिजात and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

शुद्धिदीपिका.

(1) of श्रीनिवास महीन्तापनीय in eight अध्याय on ज्योतिःशास्त्रप्रशंसा and राशिनिर्णय, ग्रहनिर्णय, ताराशुद्धिनिर्णय, वारादिनिर्णय, वि-



- वाहननिर्णय, जातकनिर्णय, नामादि-  
निर्णय, यात्रानिर्णय. Composed  
about 1159-60 A. D. (vide  
Ind. Ant., vol. 51 for 1922  
pp. 146-147); m. in ब्राह्मण-  
सर्वस्व of हलायुध. Mentions  
वराहमिहिर by name and quotes  
largely from his works.
- C. प्रभा by कृष्णाचार्य.
- C. प्रकाश by राघवाचार्य (pr. at  
Calcutta in 1901).
- C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द  
कविकङ्कणाचार्य, son of गणपति-  
भट्ट. Vide sec. 101 p. 415; pr.  
at Calcutta in 1901.
- by दुर्गदत्त. Based on प्रपञ्चसार.  
(Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255).
- by नारायणसर्वज्ञ.
- by केशवभट्ट. Same as शुद्धि-  
प्रदीप.
- शुद्धिदीपिकावृत्ति by मथुरानाथशर्मन्.
- शुद्धिनिबन्ध of मुरारि, son of रुद्रशर्मन्.  
His grandfather हरिहर was chief  
judge of देवसिंह, eldest son of  
भवेश of मिथिला and his great-  
grand-father जयधर लाह was  
chief judge of भवेश. About 1450  
A. D.
- शुद्धिनिर्णय by उमापति.
- शुद्धिनिर्णय by गोपाल.
- शुद्धिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति महामहोपाध्याय  
सन्निभ. Vide sec. 98 p. 105.
- शुद्धिपञ्ची m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु.
- शुद्धिप्रकाश by (हरि) भास्कर of Bena-  
res, son of आपाजिभट्ट, son of  
हरिभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम who was  
a resident of ज्यम्बकेश्वरपुरी. Com-  
posed in संवत् 1752 (द्वीपुसत्तेन्दु-  
चन्द्रे) i. e. 1695-96 A. D. Vide  
N. vol. II. p. 126 for the same  
author's com. (मेतु) on वृत्तर-  
त्नाकर (composed in 1732 संवत्).
- शुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघु. in शुद्धितत्त्व.
- शुद्धिप्रकाश by कृष्णशर्मन्, son of नर-  
सिंह at the bidding of छोटाराय.
- शुद्धिप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट. Vide शुद्धिदीप  
above.
- शुद्धिप्रदीपिका by कृष्णदेवस्मार्तवागीश.
- शुद्धिप्रभा by वाचस्पति.
- शुद्धिविम्ब m. in शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.  
Earlier than 1425 A. D.
- शुद्धिमकरन्द by सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति.
- शुद्धिमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec.  
107 (pr. by J. R. Chhapure  
in Bombay).
- शुद्धिसुक्तावली by महामहोपाध्याय भीम  
of कृष्णविहीयकुल (in Bengal).  
On आशौच. N. (new series)  
II p. 201.
- शुद्धिग्न from the अनुपाविलास.
- शुद्धिरत्न by दयाशङ्कर.
- शुद्धिरत्न by मणिमाम, son of गङ्गाराम.
- शुद्धिरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec.  
90 p. 367.
- शुद्धिरत्नाङ्कुर by मथुरानाथचक्रवर्ती.
- शुद्धिलोचन.
- शुद्धियत्तोमुक्तामुच्छ्रक by माणिक्यदेव  
(styled अग्निचित्त and पण्डिताचार्य)  
on आशौच, आपद्धर्म, प्रायश्चित्त &c.  
(Tri. cat. of Madras Govt.  
mss. for 1919-22 p. 5474).



**शुद्धिविवेक.**

(1) by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मधर and youngest brother of हृलधर. Vide sec. 96 p. 396.

(2) by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य. Mentions शूलपाणि at end. 1475-1525 A. D.

(3) a portion of the हारलता by अनिरुद्ध.

(4) by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

**शुद्धिविवेकोद्घोत- part of मदनरत्न.**

शुद्धिव्यवस्थासङ्क्षेप of चिन्तामणिन्याय-बागीश, a native of गौड़. A part of स्मृतिव्यवस्थासङ्क्षेप; ms. copied in śake 1610 (1688-89 A. D.). Vide N. vol. IV p. 130. He wrote similar works on तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, आश्रम and दाय.

**शुद्धिव्यवस्थासंग्रह.****शुद्धिसार.**

(1) by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तशामीश, a वन्द्य-घटीयब्राह्मण.

(2) by गदाधर.

(3) by श्रीकण्ठशर्मन्. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 372.

**शुद्धिसेतु by उमाशङ्कर.**

शुद्धिःपुरुषस्मृति m. in मिता<sup>८</sup> (या. III. 16), अपरार्क.

शुभकर्मनिर्णय by मुरारिमिश्र. Treats of domestic rites according to गो-भिल. Gives pedigree of patron as king लक्ष्मीनारायण of बङ्गदेश- his son रूपनारायण-वीरनारायण-नर-नारायण-जगन्नारायण-त्रिविक्रमनारायण, who is said to have written the

work with the help of मुरारि, whose *gurus* were रामभद्र and केशवमिश्र. About end of 15th century. (N. vol. VI p. 7).

शुद्धकर्मदाकर or शुद्धधर्मतत्त्व of कमलाकरभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

शुद्धकर्मवृत्ति m. in शुद्धाचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण.

शुद्धकुलदीपिका by रामानन्दशर्मा. Deals with genealogy and history of the कायस्थs of Bengal (N. vol. II p. 55).

शुद्धकृत्य by लालबहादुर.

शुद्धकृत्यविचारतत्त्व of रघु<sup>८</sup>. Vide sec. 102.

शुद्धजनविधान.

शुद्धधर्मतत्त्व of कमलाकरभट्ट. The same as शुद्धकमलाकर.

शुद्धधर्मबोधिनी by मदनपाल; the same as the स्मृतिकौमुदी of मदनपाल. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384.

शुद्धधर्मोद्घोत- part of दिनकरोद्घोत, completed by गागाभट्ट.

शुद्धपञ्चसंस्कारविधि by कश्यप.

शुद्धपद्धति by अपिपाल, son of देहणपाल, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्व-पाल. One ms. copied in शके 1442 i. e. 1520 A. D. (N. vol. V. p. 302) in गौड़देश; m. in आश्रमक्रियाकौमुदी and in आश्रमतत्त्व. Expressly says that it was based on सोममिश्र's work. The English note in N. is wrong. The verse at the end says distinctly that it was copied in शके शुभमसरोज-सम्भवसुखाम्भोराशिचन्द्रान्विते i. e. śake 1442 (1520 A. D.).



शूद्रपद्धति by गोपाल, son of कृष्ण, son of गोपाल surnamed उदास. A very large work on 10 संस्कारs of शूद्रs viz. गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, अनावलोभन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म, विवाह and also on पञ्चमहायज्ञs. Refers to मयूख and शुद्धितत्त्व. Later than 1640 A. D. Portion on संस्कार is styled also संस्कारदीपिका.

शूद्रपद्धति published by कृष्णराज as a part of स्मृतिमहाराज. Mentions मदनरत्न. Begins with गोदान. Baroda O. I. No. 8023.

शूद्रविवेक by रामशङ्कर.

शूद्रश्राद्धपद्धति by रामदत्तठक्कर.

शूद्रपदकर्मचन्द्रिका.

शूद्रसंस्कारदीपिका by गोपालभट्ट, son of कृष्णभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. 8975 ).

शूद्रसंकर ( Ulwar cat. No. 1492 ).

शूद्रस्मृति.

शूद्राचार. Appears to contain only extracts from पुराणs.

शूद्राचारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र, written at the court of हरिनारायण of मिथिला. Vide sec. 98.

शूद्राचारपद्धति of रामदत्तठक्कर. It is doubtful whether he is the same as रामदत्त, cousin of चण्डेश्वर.

शूद्राचारविवेकपद्धति by गोण्डिमिश्र.

शूद्राचारशिरोमणि by कृष्णशेष, son of वृत्तिहृदय, who wrote गोविन्दार्णव. Work composed at request of

H. D. 81.

पिलाजीचूष, son of केशवदास, who showed his prowess in the south and is styled परमवैष्णव. D. C. ms. No. 55 of 1872-73 was copied at सत्सतीर्थ ( modern Cambay ) in संवत् 1647 फाल्गुन वदि ४ गुरौ ( 4th March 1591 ). Names गोविन्दार्णव, मिताक्षरा, शङ्खधर, शूद्रकर्मवृत्ति, शूद्रोत्पत्ति, स्मृति-कौमुदी and is mentioned in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण ( on श्रुतयज्ञ ). Between 1520-1590 A. D. For the शेष family, vide Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 245 ff.

शूद्राचारसंग्रह or सच्छूद्राचार by मधर-सौन्दर्यभट्ट.

शूद्राहःकृत्यतत्त्व or प्रयोग of रघु०. N. ( new series ) vol. II p. 200.

शूद्राहिक.

शूद्राहिकाचार of श्रीगर्भ. Palm-leaf ms. dated šake 1462 i. e. 1540-41 A. D.

शूद्राहिकाचारसार by यादवेन्द्रशर्मा, under order of रघुदेव, prince of गौड, son of ब्राह्मदेव. N. ( new series ) I. p. 373.

शूद्रोपपत्ति.

शूद्रोत्पत्ति m. in शूद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण.

शूद्रोदयोत्त- vide शूद्रधर्मोदयोत्त above.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by अप्यथ्यदीक्षित.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिश्र.

शैवतत्त्वप्रकाश.

शैवतस्वाध्यास.

शैवतात्पर्यसंग्रह.



शैवधर्मखण्डन.

शैवरत्नाकर by ज्योतिर्नाथ. Hultzsch  
R. I. No. 76.

शैववैष्णवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शैववैष्णवमतखण्डन.

शैवसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in his ब्राह्मण-  
सर्वस्व.

शैवसर्वस्वसार by विद्यापति, composed  
at the bidding of queen विश्वास-  
देवी, wife of पद्मसिंह of मिथिला,  
son of शिवसिंह, son of देवसिंह,  
son of भवेश. Between 1400-  
1450 A. D. (N. vol. VI.  
pp. 1-5).

शैवसिद्धान्तदीपिका.

शैवसिद्धान्तशेखर or सिद्धान्तशेखर m.  
in नि. सि.

शैवसिद्धान्तसंग्रह.

शैवसिद्धान्तसार.

शैवसिद्धान्तमारावलि or सिद्धान्तमारा-  
वलि.

शैवाह्निक

शौचलक्षण.

शौचसंग्रहविवृति by भट्टाचार्य.

शौचाचममविधि.

शौचाचारपद्धति m. by हेमाद्रि in व्रत-  
खण्ड I. 59.

शौनकाकारिका or शौनकोक्तशुद्धकारिका  
(D. C. ms. 97 of 1869-70).  
An extensive work in 20 अध्याय  
in verse on domestic rites.  
Mentions आश्वलायनाचार्य, five  
शाखाs of the ऋग्वेद, सर्वानुक्रमणी;  
ms. written in संवत् 1653 (1566-  
67 A. D.). Vide Bik. cat. p. 152

for शौनकाकारिकाs and Baroda O  
I. No. 8637.

शौनकाकारिकावली (C. P. cat. 5898).

शौनकगृह्य m. by विश्वरूप, अपरार्क,  
हेमाद्रि.

शौनकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by अपरार्क  
(two verses) on p. 525.

शौनकपञ्चसूत्र.

शौनकस्मृति. Vide BBRAS cat.  
p. 208 for a large work in verse  
on पुण्याहवाचन, नान्दीश्राद्ध, स्थाली-  
पाक, ग्रहशान्ति, गर्भाधान and other  
संस्कारs, उत्सर्जनोपाकर्म, बृहस्पतिशान्ति,  
मधुपर्क, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, पार्वणश्राद्ध,  
आग्रयण, प्रायश्चित्त &c. Mentions  
आचारस्मृति, प्रयोगपारिजात, बृहस्पति,  
मनु.

शौनकी- on the worship of the 9  
ग्रहs.

श्रवणद्वादशीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक.

श्राद्धकमल m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of  
नन्दपाण्डित.

श्राद्धकला the 5th part of the स्मृति-  
चन्द्र of भवदेवशर्मन्. Mentions  
कल्परत्न's definition of श्राद्ध 'पितृ-  
नुदिश्य ब्रह्मत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकारपर्य-  
न्तम्'. N. vol. I. p. 299.

श्राद्धकलिका alias श्राद्धपद्धति of रघुनाथ.  
He bows to भट्टनारायण. Quotes  
कालादर्श, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, निर्णयामृत, नारा-  
यणविरचित, जयन्तस्वामी, हेमाद्रि,  
हरदत्त, स्मृतिरत्नावलि. (D. C. ms.  
No. 421 of 1891-95).

श्राद्धकलिकाविवरण of विश्वरूपाचार्य  
m. in वृणवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय of शिव-  
भट्ट.



आद्धकल्प (मानव) BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 177.

- (1) (कात्यायनीय) also called आद्ध-  
कल्पसूत्र or नवफण्डिकाआद्धसूत्र  
in 9 chapters followed by 9  
श्लोकाः on आद्ध ceremonies ;  
pr. at Gujarati P. with several  
com.

C. प्रयोगपद्धति (N. vol. II p. 174).

C. (आद्धविधिभाष्य) by कर्क (pr.  
Gujarati P.).

C. आद्धकाशिका of कृष्णमिश्र, son  
of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son  
of नित्यानन्द ; m. in नि. सि. Refers  
to कर्क's and हलायुध's com. (pr.  
by Gujarati P.).

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन (Ul-  
war cat. 1509 and extract 358) ;  
pr. Gujarati P.

C. आद्धसूत्रार्थमञ्जरी by गदाधर.

C. by नीलासुर, son of सङ्कर्षण  
(Ulwar cat. extract 44).

C. by समुद्रकर (m. in तिथितत्त्व  
p. 174).

C. by हलायुध, son of सङ्कर्षण.  
Mentions गोविन्दराज and शङ्खधर  
and is m. by आद्धकाशिका. Vide p.  
301 above. It appears from the  
introductory and final verses  
that the ms. (BBRAS. cat. vol.  
II. p. 170) is the same as the  
Ulwar ms. and that नीलासुर  
is a wrong reading of the ori-  
ginal नीलाम्बर which means हला-  
युध. यजुर्वेदिआद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda  
vol. II p. 496) expressly men-  
tions the भाष्य of नीलाम्बर on  
कात्यायन.

- (2) a परिशिष्ट of the मानवसूत्र.

- (3) गोभिलीय.

C. by महायज्ञस् (Baroda O. I.  
12895).

- (4) मैत्रायणीय.

- (5) 41th परिशिष्ट of अश्ववेद.

- (6) वामिष्ठ.

आद्धकल्प.

by काशीनाथ.

by भर्तृहर.

by वाचस्पति. Also styled पितृ-  
भक्तितरङ्गिणी. Vide sec. 98.

by श्रीदत्त. Also styled छन्दोग-  
आद्ध. Vide sec. 89 p. 364.  
Based on स्मृति, गृह्य, पुराण  
and गोपाल and भूप (N. vol.  
III. p. 34 and II. p. 364).

by हेमाद्रि (Peterson's 6th Report  
p. 11). Refers to चतुर्वर्ग-  
चिन्तामणि as his work.

आद्धकल्पदीप of होरिलविपाठी.

आद्धकल्पद्रुम.

आद्धकल्पना (vide I. O. cat. p. 558).

आद्धकल्पभाष्य—vide under गोभिलीय-  
आद्धकल्प.

आद्धकल्पलता of गोविन्दपण्डित ; m. by  
नन्दपण्डित in his आद्धकल्पलता.

आद्धकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec.  
105.

आद्धकल्पभार by शङ्करभट्ट, son of  
नारायणभट्ट.

C. by author. Vide Stein's cat.  
pp. 105, 316.

आद्धकल्पसूत्र—vide आद्धकल्प (कात्या-  
यनीय) above.



आश्वकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्ठिकासूत्र 6th परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन; vide नवकण्ठिकासूत्र.

आश्वकाण्ड from the प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

आश्वकाण्ड by भट्टोजि.

आश्वकाण्ड by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित, part of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

आश्वकाण्डसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ. Probably same as आश्वकाण्ड above.

आश्वकारिका Ulwar cat. No. 1496 and extract 354.

आश्वकारिका by केशवजीवानन्दशर्मा.

आश्वकार्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप.

आश्वकालनिरूपण by मधुसूदन वाचस्पति.

आश्वकालनिर्णय.

आश्वकाशिका by कृष्ण, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिशुख, son of नित्यानन्द (pr. in Gujarati Press ed. of पारस्करग्रह). Mentions कर्क, धर्मप्रदीप, हलायुध and is m. by नन्दपण्डित in आश्वकल्पलता and आश्वमयूख. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

आश्वकल्पप्रदीप by होलिल. Ulwar cat. extract 355 gives summary of contents.

आश्वकौमुदी or आश्वक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Vide sec. 101; pr. in B. I. Series.

आश्वक्रम by याज्ञिकदेव, son of महादेव.

आश्वसण्ड- from प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

आश्वगणपति or आश्वसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट (C. P. cat.

No. 5921). Vide आश्वसंग्रह below.

आश्वचन्द्रिका.

(1) by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण, of the भारद्वाज-गोत्र. Part of his धर्मशास्त्रमुधानिधि. An अनुक्रमणी to it was prepared by his son वैद्यनाथ. Vide under आचारार्क. About 1680 A. D.

(2) by नन्दन.

(3) by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

(4) by रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. Quotes वर्धमान's definition of आश्व 'संबन्धपदोपनीतान् पितृनुद्विष्य द्रव्यव्यागः आश्वम्.' N. vol. VIII p. 270.

(5) by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in यज्ञ-वैदिआश्वतत्त्व p. 493 as his teacher's work, which criticizes श्रीदत्त. 1475-1525 A. D.

आश्वचन्द्रिकाप्रकाश- same as आश्वचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर.

आश्वचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र; pr. at Benares in śāke 1814. Vide sec. 98.

C. भावदीपिका by महामहोपाध्याय वामदेव (N. vol. V. 165).

आश्वचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of श्रीविश्राम गुरु. Styled प्रयोगपञ्चति or सुबोधिनी; summarises section on आश्व in his कृत्यचिन्तामणि (vide I. O. cat. p. 538).

आश्वतत्त्व by रघु०. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivaranda.



- C. विहृति by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ (pr. in Bengali characters at Calcutta ).
- C. भावार्थदीपिका by गङ्गाधरचक्रवर्ती.
- C. आहृतत्वादर्श by विष्णुरामसिद्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेवविद्यावागीश. He commented on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व also.
- आहृतिलक m. in विधानपारिजात.
- आहृदर्पण of जयकृष्णतर्कवागीश; criticizes कल्पतरु. Also styled आहृदीप or -प्रदीप.
- आहृदर्पण of मधुसूदन.
- आहृदीधिति of कृष्णभट्ट.
- आहृदीप m. by विधानपारिजात.
- आहृदीप by जयकृष्णभट्टाचार्य (also called ०प्रदीप). N. vol. X 107. Refutes कल्पतरु.
- आहृदीप by दिव्यसिंह महापात्र.
- आहृदीपकलिका of शूलपाणि; m. in नि. सि., विधानपारिजात.
- आहृदीपिका by काशीदीक्षित पात्रिक, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित; based on कात्यायनसूत्र and कर्कभाष्य.
- आहृदीपिका of गोविन्दपण्डित; m. in आहृकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.
- आहृदीपिका by वेदाङ्गराय, formerly मालजित, son of तिगुलामह, son of रत्नभट्ट of श्रीस्थल in Gujerat. He wrote पारसीप्रकाश in 1643 A. D. for Emperor Shah Jehan.
- आहृदीपिका by श्रीनाथआचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य. For सामवेद followers; m. by रघु० in यजुर्वेदि-आहृतत्त्व. 1475-1525 A. D.
- आहृदीपिका by श्रीभीम who is described as काश्चिविहृतीय (a राक्षीय ब्राह्मण) for सामवेद followers. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 379.
- आहृदीपिकानिर्णय.
- आहृदेयतानिर्णय.
- आहृद्वास्तवतिलकाः.
- आहृनवकण्डिकासूत्र- vide आहृकल्प (कात्यायनीय) above.
- आहृनिरूपण (Ulwarcat. 1501).
- आहृनिर्णय of उमापति m. in आहृकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.
- आहृनिर्णय of चन्द्रचूड.
- आहृनिर्णय of शिवभट्ट.
- आहृनिर्णय of सुदर्शन.
- आहृनिर्णयदीपिका by तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र. Mentions कालादर्श.
- आहृनृसिंह of नृसिंह (Cal. S. col. Mss. cat. vol. II p. 392 ).
- आहृपङ्क्ति m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र's द्वैत-निर्णय (Oxf. cat. p. 273 b).
- आहृपल्ली m. in आहृविषेक of रुद्रधर. Earlier than 1400 A. D.
- आहृपद्धति आश्वलायनीय.
- आहृपद्धति- पञ्चविंशच्छ्लोकी.
- आहृपद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिराम (Ulwar cat. No. 1503 ).
- आहृपद्धति by क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोकमणि, son of बाहूलक्ष्मीकान्त of Kanoj; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 559 ) copied in संवत् 1805 ( 1748-9 A. D. ).
- आहृपद्धति by गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित.
- आहृपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.



आद्यपद्धति by दामोदर.

आद्यपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट आरडे (Baroda O. I. 338).

आद्यपद्धति by नीलकण्ठ mentioned in आद्यमण्ड.

आद्यपद्धति by यशुपति, elder brother of हलायुध, who mentions it in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

C. by हलायुध.

आद्यपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव. Also called दर्शनाद्यपद्धति. Based on हेमाद्रि's work. He was a nephew of नारायणभट्ट.

आद्यपद्धति by विश्वनाथभट्ट.

आद्यपद्धति of शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र.

आद्यपद्धति by हेमाद्रि. Refers to his चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि. Stein's cat. pp. 316-17.

आद्यपद्धति m. in आद्यविवेक of रुद्रधर and टोडरानन्द (आद्यसौर्य).

आद्यपारिजात m. by केशव in द्वैतपरिशिष्ट (द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट).

आद्यप्रकरण by नरोत्तमदेव.

आद्यप्रकरण by लोहट (ms. in Anandāsrama collection at Poona).

Quotes मेधातिथि. Between 900-1100 A. D. as लोहट is mentioned in स्तूपार्थसार.

आद्यप्रकाश m. in नि. सि.

आद्यप्रकीर्णकारिका.

आद्यप्रदीप.

आद्यप्रदीप by कृष्णमिश्राचार्य.

आद्यप्रदीप by धनराम, son of गोवर्धन (Baroda O. I. 9971); not later than 1750 A. D.

आद्यप्रदीप by प्रद्युम्नशर्मा, son of श्रीधरशर्मा; ms. dated शके 1448 (1526 A. D.). The author is described as having jurisdiction over श्रीहट्टदेशीयहाकादिहटी (probably as धर्माधिकारि). Vide N. (new series) vol. I. pp. 380-81.

आद्यप्रदीप by मदनमनोहर महामहोपाध्याय, son of मधुसूदन. For students of यजुर्वेद (N. vol. VI. p. 299).

आद्यप्रदीप by रुद्रधर (C. P. cat. 5939). Probably the same as आद्यचन्द्रिका or आद्यविवेक.

आद्यप्रदीप by वर्धमान m. in आद्यतत्त्व of रघु.

आद्यप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथसन्मिश्र; m. in आद्यविवेक of रुद्रधर, आद्यक्रियाकौमुदी, आद्यतत्त्व of रघु. (N. vol. VII. p. 191). He was guru of वर्धमान.

आद्यप्रभा by रामकृष्ण.

C.

आद्यप्रयोग.

„ आपस्तम्बीय.

„ बौधायनीय.

„ भारद्वाजीय.

„ मैत्रायणीय.

„ सत्यावाह.

„ आश्वलायनीय by कमलाकर.

आद्यप्रयोग „ by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ.

आद्यप्रयोग by गोपालसूरि. Mentions प्रयोगदर्पण, वैद्यनाथीयनिबन्ध, सुधी-दिलोचन.



श्राद्धप्रयोग by दयाशङ्कर.

श्राद्धप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट. A part of his प्रयोगरत्न.

श्राद्धप्रयोगचिन्तामणि of अनुपमिह.

श्राद्धप्रयोगपद्धति (कात्यायनीया) by काशीदीक्षित.

श्राद्धप्रशंसा.

श्राद्धब्राह्मण.

श्राद्धभास्करप्रयोगपद्धति.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी m. in नि. सि. and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी by बापूभट्ट केळकर, residing at फणशी in Rajapur Taluka of Ratnagiri District in šake 1732 (1810 A. D.); pr. in Anan. P.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी by मुकुन्दलाल.

श्राद्धमन्त्रव्याख्या- from the ब्राह्मण-सर्वस्व of हलायुध. Ulwar cat. extract 356.

श्राद्धमयूख of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. Pr. by J. R. Gharpure.

श्राद्धमीमांसा by नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धरत्न by लक्ष्मीपति, pupil of इन्द्र-पति, for followers of सामवेद and गुरुयजुर्वेद. Relies upon श्रीदत्त.

श्राद्धरत्नमहोदधि by विष्णुशर्मन, son of यज्ञदत्त. Mentioned in his श्राद्धाङ्ग-भास्कर.

श्राद्धरहस्य m. by रामनाथ in स्मृति-रत्नावलि.

श्राद्धवचनमंग्रह.

श्राद्धवसनप्रायश्चित्त.

श्राद्धवर्णन by हरिराम.

श्राद्धवसिष्ठ m. in सं. कौ. Same as वसिष्ठश्राद्धकल्प.

श्राद्धविधि

कोकिलोक्त; vide D.C. ms. No. 223 1879--80; mentions स्कन्दपुराण, कात्यायन, आपस्तम्ब, सुमन्तु, शातातप, याज्ञवल्क्य; on शुद्धिश्राद्ध, गणाधिप-पूजा, मातृपूजा, other श्राद्धs. उन्दीग.

(माध्यन्दिनीय) by होण्डू. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 236; refers to फर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठउपा-ध्याय, हलायुधीय, श्राद्धभाष्य. Between 1200-1500 A. D.

श्राद्धविधिसंक्षेप.

श्राद्धविभक्ति- on the point when the genitive, objective, dative and vocative are to be used in श्राद्ध. N. vol. X. p. 347.

श्राद्धविवेक by होट्टमिश्र, son of प्राण-कृष्ण. Peterson's 2nd report p. 188.

श्राद्धविवेक by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide sec 96; pr. at Benares.

श्राद्धविवेक by शूलपाणि sec. 95; pr. in Calcutta by M. M. Madhusudan Smrtiratna.

C. टिप्पणी by अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन; m. in his द्वायभागटीका.

C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द; sec. 101.

C. भावार्थदीप by जगदीश.

C. by श्रीकृष्ण; pr. at Calcutta in Bengali characters, 1880 A. D.

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. N. (New series) vol. I pp. 381-382; shows that श्रीनाथ



only elaborated what his father said.

C आद्धादिविवेककौस्तुभ by महामहो-  
ध्याय रामकृष्णन्यायालङ्कार N. vol.  
X. p. 119.

आद्धादिविवेकसंग्रह.

आद्धाद्विप्रकरण.

आद्धाव्यवस्था.

आद्धाव्यवस्थासंक्षेप of चिन्तामणि. Vide  
हृद्धिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

आद्धाषोडशविधि - Ulwar cat. No.  
1508 and extract 357.

आद्धासंकलन.

आद्धासंकल्प - from प्रयोगपारिजात, of  
रघुनाथ.

आद्धासंकल्पविधि.

आद्धासंग्रह.

(1) m. in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Ear-  
lier than 1200 A. D.

(2) of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट,  
son of प्रयागभट्ट. Based upon  
कात्यायन's आद्धाकल्पसूत्र. He  
wrote संस्कारगणपति on कातीय-  
हसूत्र. Composed at Benares  
in śake 1673 ( चिन्तामणिसूत्रे )  
i. e. 1751 A. D. Vide I. O.  
cat. pp. 560-61, No. 1738. I.  
O. cat. p. 562 gives the date  
as शके गगनाङ्क (ङ्का?) कृष्णमिते  
(1670-1690) and 1826 of विक्रम  
(i. e. 1770 A. D.) which is  
probably the date of  
copying. Mentions कर्क, हला-  
युध, गदाधर's भाष्य on कातीय-  
हसूत्र, काशिका and दीपिका.

आद्धासङ्ख्य.

आद्धासागर.

(1) by कुम्भकभट्ट (?). Is it a mis-  
reading for कुलक or कुलूक-  
भट्ट ?

(2) by कुलूकभट्ट. Vide sec. 88  
pp. 361-62.

(3) नारायण आरड m. in his गृह्या-  
शिसागर q.v. Later than 1650  
A. D.

आद्धासार.

(1) part of वृत्तिहप्रसाद ; m. in वि-  
धानपारिजात.

(2) by कमलाकर.

आद्धासौख्य - part of टोडरानन्द. Vide  
sec. 104.

आद्धाहेमाद्रि - the आद्ध section of the  
चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

आद्धाङ्कतर्पणनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण (Baroda  
O. I. 303).

आद्धाङ्कभास्कर by विष्णुशर्मन, son of  
पद्मदत्त, who became a संन्यासिन  
and was styled अनुभूतिस्वरूप ;  
based on कर्क ; for माध्यन्दिनशाखा  
( Ulwar-cat. extract 359 ).

आद्धादर्श by महेश्वरमिश्र.

आद्धादिविधि.

आद्धादिविवेककौस्तुभ by रामकृष्ण.

आद्धाधिकार by विष्णुदत्त.

आद्धाधिकारिनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चा-  
नन ( N. vol. III p. 60 ).

आद्धादुक्रमणिका.

आद्धापरार्क.

आद्धालोक m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण.  
Earlier than 1600 A. D.

आद्धाशौचीयदर्पण by देवराज.



- आद्येन्द्र. Ano. ( N. vol. V. p. 96. )  
 आद्येन्द्रशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट surnamed  
 Kāla. Sec. 110.  
 आद्योदयोत m. in वर्धमान's गङ्गाकृत्य-  
 विवेक. It is probably a portion  
 of मदनरत्न.  
 आद्योपयोगिवचन by अनन्तभट्ट.  
 आवणकर्मसर्पबलिप्रयोग- a गृह्य rite.  
 आवणद्वादशी.  
 आवणी ( आश्वलायनीय ).  
 ,, ( काण्वशास्त्रीय ).  
 आवणीकर्म ( बाजसनेय ).  
 ,, ( हिरण्यकेशि ) by गोपीनाथ  
 दीक्षित.  
 आवणीप्रयोग by कमलाकर.  
 आवणीहोमपद्धति ( आश्वलायनीय ).  
 आवणोत्सर्गकर्म.  
 श्रीआह्निक.  
 श्रीकरनिबन्ध m. in स्तुतिसार of हरि-  
 नाथ.  
 श्रीपरसमुच्चय m. in मलमासतत्त्व by  
 रघु०.  
 श्रीधरीय m. in नि. सि., प्रयोगधारिजात.  
 Vide sec. 81 p. 337.  
 श्रीनिवासदीक्षितीय by श्रीनिदान, son  
 of गोविन्दार्य of कौशिकगोत्र. On  
 वैखानससूत्र ( Tri. cat. of Madras  
 Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5179 ).  
 श्रीपतिरत्नमाला m. in समयमयूख.  
 श्रीपतिव्यवहारनिर्णय m. in तिथितत्त्व of  
 रघु० ( Jivananda vol. I. p. 21 ).  
 श्रीपतिव्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in संस्कार-  
 तत्त्व of रघु०. Probably the same  
 as above.  
 H. D. 82.  
 श्रीपतिसमुच्चय m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व of  
 रघु० ( vol. I. p. 582 ).  
 श्रीस्थलप्रकाश by तिगलाभट्ट. Peterson's  
 5th Report No. 154.  
 श्रुतिचन्द्रिका.  
 श्रुतिमीमांसा by नृसिंहवाजपेयी.  
 श्रुतिमुक्ताफल.  
 श्रौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग by नृसिंह.  
 श्रौतस्मार्तविधिपापद्धति.  
 श्रौतस्मार्तविधि by बालकृष्ण.  
 श्लोककालव्यायन m. in अपरार्क.  
 श्लोककालनिर्णय.  
 श्लोकगौतम m. in कालविवेक of जीवत०,  
 अपरार्क, कालमाधव.  
 श्लोकचतुर्दशी ( धर्मानुबन्धि ) by कृष्ण-  
 शेष.  
 C. by रामपाण्डित शेष; pr. in सरस्वती-  
 भवन series ( No. 22 ).  
 श्लोकर्पण by लौगाक्षि.  
 श्लोकसंग्रह- on 96 आद्यः.  
 श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in आचारमयूख.  
 श्वश्रुस्तुपाधनसंवाद ( Burnell's Tanj.  
 cat. p. 143a ) decides that if a  
 man dies childless, leaving a  
 widow and mother, each takes  
 half of his estate.  
 श्वासकर्मप्रकाश.  
 श्वेताश्वदानविधि by कमलाकर.  
 षड्कर्मचन्द्रिका by चक्रकुरितिमयज्वर,  
 son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट. He was called  
 रामचन्द्राश्रम on becoming a  
 संन्यासिन्.  
 षड्कर्मचन्द्रिका m. in सन्ध्याभाष्य of  
 कृष्णपाण्डित.



पदकर्मदीपिका Anon. Collection of rituals for the worship of अग्रमन्त्र, पार्थिवशिवलिङ्ग, and connected matters ( N. vol. IX p. 273 ).

पदकर्मदीपिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

पदकर्मविचार ( part of स्मृतिस्न-महोदधि ).

पदकर्मविवेक by हरिराम.

पदकर्मव्याख्यानचिन्तामणि by नित्यानन्द.

Discourse on the sentences used at wedding and five other sacraments, for students of यजुर्वेद. Based upon गुणविष्णु. N. vol. III. p. 27.

पदविशन्मत. Vide sec. 53.

पदपदी of विद्वलदीक्षित ( C. P. cat. No. 6029 ).

पदपारायणविधि.

पदशीति or आशौचनिर्णय by कौशिकादित्य ( i. e. आदित्य of the कौशिकगोत्र ). The first verse is ' अथानेकार्षिवाक्यानि संगत्यादाय केवलम् । संग्रह्य कौशिकादित्यो लिखत्याशौचनिर्णयम् ॥ ' It is in 86 verses on impurities on birth and death and in five प्रकरणसु on स्तुतक, सगोत्राशौच, असगोत्राशौच, संस्काराशौच and आशौचापवाद. Aufrecht ( II. p. 82 ) is wrong in identifying it with अभिनवपदशीति.

C. अपशोधिनी by लक्ष्मीनृसिंह.

C. शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by नन्दपण्डित ( pr. in Ch. S. series with text ).

पदशीति by यल्लभट्ट.

पदविशन्मत m. by स्मृतिच० and परा. मा.

पण्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय by शिवभट्ट, son of गोविन्दसूरि. The 96 श्राद्धs are briefly set out in one verse ' अमायुगमनुक्रान्तिभूतिपातमहालयाः । आन्यपुत्र्यं च पूर्वैर्युः पण्णवत्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ '. Mentions कमलाकरभट्ट, नीलकण्ठभट्ट, दीपिकाविवरण, प्रयोगरत्न, श्राद्धकलिका, कलिकाविवरण of विश्वरूपाचार्य ; ( ms. in Bhadkamkar collection ). Later than 1650 A. D.

पण्णवतिश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर. Refers to नारायणभट्ट as his uncle. About 1550-1625 A. D.

पण्णवतिश्राद्धप्रयोग.

पट्टिपुर्तिशान्ति ( ceremonies on attaining 60 years ). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 138b, 151b.

षोडशकर्मकलापनिर्णय.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by ऋषिभट्ट.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by गङ्गाधर.

षोडशकर्मप्रयोग on the sixteen संस्कारs, स्थालीपाक, पुंसवन, अनवलोभन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, वष्टीपूजा, पञ्चगव्य, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, कर्णवेध, अक्षप्राशन, चौलकर्म, उपनयन, गोदान, समावर्तन, विवाह. Mentions प्रयोगसार, प्रयोगपारिजात, दीपिका ; ms. ( in Bhadkamkar collection ) dated śake 1695. After 1500 A. D.

षोडशपिण्डदानप्रयोग Anon. ; mentions संवत्सरप्रदीप. ( N. vol. II. pp. 310-311 ).

षोडशमहादानपद्धति or दानपद्धति by रामदत्त of the खौपालवंश minister of king नृसिंह of मिथिला of the



कार्णाटवंश, with the help of भव-  
शर्मन, his family priest. He was  
a paternal first cousin of चण्डेश्वर  
and so flourished in first half  
of 14th century.

षोडशमहादानविधि by कमलाकर, son of  
रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

षोडशपात्रा.

षोडशसंस्काराः (according to आश्व-  
लायनगृह्य).

षोडशसंस्काराः by कमलाकर.

षोडशसंस्काराः by चन्द्रचूड. An abri-  
dgment of his संस्कारनिर्णय.

षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारपद्धति (Bik.  
cat. p. 463) by आनन्दरामदीक्षित.

षोडशसंस्कारप्रयोग.

षोडशसंस्कारसेतु by रामेश्वर.

षोडशोपचारपुजापद्धति (for worship  
of विष्णु).

संवत्सरकल्पलता of ब्रजराज, a devotee  
of विठ्ठलेश, son of बह्मभाचार्य; in  
12 दलs in verse. Begins with  
कृष्णजन्माष्टमी festival in भाद्रपद  
and then describes festivals in  
other months. D. C. ms. No.  
201 of A 1882-83.

संवत्सरकृत्य or संवत्सरकौस्तुभ or संवत्सर-  
दीधिति-part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of  
अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश-a part of the यश-  
वन्तभास्कर by भास्करशर्मा.

संवत्सरकौस्तुभ by गोविन्दानन्द. Sec. 101.

संवत्सरदीधिति-part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ  
of अनन्तदेव.

संवत्सरनिर्णयप्रतान by पुरुषोत्तम.

संवत्सरप्रकाश.

संवत्सरप्रदीप m. by शूलपाणि in दुर्गो-  
त्सवविवेक, आनन्दक्रियाकौमुदी, निर्णया-  
सूत and in एकादशीतत्त्व (II. p. 51)  
and शुद्धितत्त्व (II. 327) as हला-  
युध's. Aufrecht (cat. I. p. 681)  
wrongly ascribes it to शूलपाणि.  
Vide p. 394 above. Vide N.  
(new series (I. p. 390 for a  
संवत्सरप्रदीप.

संवत्सरप्रयोगसार of श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य,  
son of नारायण of the वन्धवटीय  
clan.

संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय by निर्मयराम.

संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय of पुरुषोत्तम on  
the same subject as preceding.  
Expressly says that it was com-  
posed to clear up the पद्धति of  
ब्रजराज. In prose. D. C. Ms. No.  
177 of 1881-86. Earlier than  
1750 A. D.

संवर्तस्मृति Vide sec. 55; pr. Jiva-  
nanda Sm. part I pp. 584-603  
and Ānan. Sm. pp. 411-424.

संस्कर्तृक्रम by वैद्यनाथ. Probably a  
portion of the स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

संस्कारकमलाकर or संस्कारपद्धति by  
कमलाकर. Vide sec. 106 (vide  
BBRAS cat. p. 236 and I. O.  
cat. p. 514).

संस्कारकल्पद्रुम by जगन्नाथयाज्ञिक, son  
of सप्तशङ्करशुक्ल. In three काण्डs  
on गणेशपूजन, संस्कार and स्मार्ता-  
धान; names वासुदेव's भाष्य on (वार-  
स्कर) गृह्य. Speaks of 25 संस्कारs.  
Ulwar cat. extract 364.



संस्कारकौस्तुभ by गिरिभट्ट, son of पल्लभट्ट.

संस्कारकौस्तुभ or संस्कारदीधिति- part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109 (pr. by Nir. P. and at Baroda with Marathi translation ).

संस्कारगङ्गाधर or- धरी by गङ्गाधरदीक्षित. On संस्कार of गर्भाधान, चौल, व्रतबन्ध, वेदव्रतचतुष्टय, केशान्त, व्रतविसर्ग, विवाह. (D. C. ms. No. 610 of 1882-83 ).

संस्कारगणपति- com. on पारस्करगृह्य-सूत्र by रामकृष्ण. Vide under पारस्करगृह्य above.

संस्कारचन्द्रचूडी of चन्द्रचूड. Vide संस्कारनिर्णय below.

संस्कारचिन्तामणि by रामकृष्ण of Benares (C. P. cat. No. 6073 ). Probably the same as संस्कार-गणपति.

संस्कारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

संस्कारदीधिति- vide संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

संस्कारदीधिति ( pr. at Benares ).

संस्कारनिर्णय.

(1) by चन्द्रचूडभट्ट, son of उमण्णभट्ट, son of धर्मभट्ट. Based on आपस्तम्बगृह्य. Treats of संस्कार from गर्भाधान. Names ज्योतिर्निबन्ध, माधवीय, हरदत्त and सुदर्शन on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगरत्न. One ms. (I. O. cat. p. 98 No. 467 ) is dated śake 1607 ( 1685 ). Between 1575-1650 A. D.

(2) by तिष्याभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, surnamed गह्वर; for आश्वलायन.

In 1776 A. D. he composed his संग्रहदीपिका on आश्वलायन-श्रौतसूत्र.

(3) by लक्ष्मणसिंह- a part of स्मृति-सिन्धु. Vide sec. 105.

संस्कारचूडि by नरहरि ( C. P. cat. No 6076 ). Pr. at Benares in 1894.

संस्कारपद्धति by अशुतपाठक, son of सखाराम (for माधवविनीयस). Mentions हेमाद्रि, धर्माधिकार, प्रयोगदर्पण, प्रयोगरत्न, कौस्तुभ, कृष्णभट्टी, गङ्गाधर.

संस्कारपद्धति by आनन्दराम याज्ञिक.

संस्कारपद्धति by कमलाकर. Vide संस्कार-कमलाकर above.

संस्कारपद्धति by गङ्गाधरभट्ट, son of राम. Vide संस्कारगङ्गाधरी.

संस्कारपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

संस्कारपद्धति by भवदेव. The same as छन्दोगदर्मासुष्ठानपद्धति. Vide sec. 73.

C. रहस्य by रामनाथ. Composed in śake 1544 ( 1622-23 A. D. ). N. VI. pp. 237-238.

संस्कारपद्धति by शिङ्गय.

संस्कारप्रकाश.

(1) a part of प्रतापनारसिंह.

(2) a part of वीरमित्रोदय by मित्र-मिश्र.

संस्कारप्रदीप.

संस्कारप्रदीपिका by विष्णुशर्मदीक्षित.

संस्कारप्रयोग.

संस्कारभास्कर.

(1) by खण्डभट्ट, son of मधुरेश्वर अयाचित. Based on कर्क and



गङ्गाधर. Divides संस्कारs into माह ( गर्भाधान and others ) and दैन ( पाकपञ्च and others ). D.C. No. 611 of 1882-83.

- (2) by ऋषिबुध or- भट्ट, son of गङ्गाधर, son of विश्वनाथ, sur-named शौच ( शौचे ). Pr. by Venk. P. ; follows कर्क, वासुदेव and हरिहर on पारस्करग्रन्थ and mentions प्रयोगदर्पण. Vide BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 236 No. 739.

संस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायण. Same as भृगुसंस्कारमञ्जरी.

संस्कारमयूख.

- (1) by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. In many mss. ascribed to his son शङ्कर. Pr. at Gujrati P. and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

- (2) „, or संस्कारभास्कर by सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्कर. He was a nephew of नीलकण्ठ. Flourished between 1630-1670 A. D. Treats of 25 संस्कारs and gives at the end of the work a complete list of गोत्रs and प्रवरs.

संस्कारमार्तण्ड by मार्तण्डसोमयाजी ; contains two chapters on स्थालीपाक and नयग्रह. Pr. at Madras.

संस्कारसूक्तावली of तानपाठक.

संस्काररत्न by खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायण ; m. in his कृत्यरत्न. Later than 1400 A. D. His family was patronised by विदर्भ king.

संस्काररत्न from the अनुपविलास or धर्मोन्वेष्टि of मणिराम.

संस्काररत्नमाला.

- (1) by गोपीनाथभट्ट ( pr. at Anan. P. and in Ch. S. series ).

- (2) by नागेशभट्ट.

संस्काररत्नाकर ( पारस्कीय ).

संस्काररत्नावलि of नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट, of कण्वशाखा and resident of प्रतिष्ठान.

संस्कारवादार्थ ( deals with the proper times for such संस्कारs as जातकर्म &c. ). N. vol. I. p. 150

संस्कारविधि or ग्रहकारिका by रेखक.

संस्कारवीचि- a portion of the गोविन्दार्णव compiled by शेषनृसिंह.

संस्कारसागर by नारायणभट्ट (on स्थालीपाक).

संस्कारसार- part of the नृसिंहप्रसाद Vide sec. 99.

संस्कारसौख्य.

संस्काराश्रुत of सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर ; vide संस्कारमयूख above. Refers to द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट of his father.

संस्कारोद्घोत- a portion of the दिनकरोद्घोत.

संस्थापद्धति or संस्थावैद्यनाथ by वैद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव ; in 4 मानs. Ulwar cat. extract 63. On the rites performed in आहवस्य fire according to कात्यायन-ग्रन्थ.

संहितादीप m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.



संहिताप्रदीप n. in नि. मि. An astro-logical work.

संहितासारावलि m. in संस्कारमण्डल.

संहिताहोमपद्धति by भैरवभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 335).

सकलकर्मचिन्तामणि.

सकलदानफलाधिकार.

सकलदेवताप्रतिष्ठा.

सकलपुराणसमुच्चय m. by अल्लाडनाथ.

सकलप्रमाणसंग्रह.

सकलशान्तिसंग्रह.

सङ्कनमृततिथिनिर्णय.

संकल्पकौमुदी of रामरुण (N. IV. p. 222-23).

संकल्पचन्द्रिका by रघुनन्दन (N. I. p. 166).

संकल्पश्राद्धप्रयोग.

संकल्पसृष्टिदुर्गभजन by चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा of नवदीप (about the सङ्कल्पs to be made in the beginning of all काम्य rites). Divided into four parts on तिथि, मास, काम्य-कर्मणिसङ्कल्प, व्रत. N. vol. II. pp. 329-330.

संकष्टहरचतुर्थीव्रतकालनिर्णय.

संकेतकौमुदी (probably a purely astrological work) by शम्भुनाथाचार्य.

संकेतकौमुदी by शिव.

संकेतकौमुदी by हरिनाथाचार्य m. by रघु<sup>०</sup> in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

संक्रान्तिकौमुदी by मिद्वान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 198) dated śake 1540 (1618 A. D.).

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by गोपालशर्मन्यायपञ्चानन in 3 parts.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by बालरुण.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय- a portion of the सृष्टि-मुक्ताफल.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय Ano.; mentions भीम-पराक्रम, दीपिका, कृत्यचिन्तामणि.

संक्रान्तिविवेक by मूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 at p. 194. N. VI. p. 205.

संक्रान्तित्ववस्थानिर्णय. Ano. (N. II. p. 313).

संक्रान्तिशान्ति.

संक्रान्त्युदापन.

संक्षिप्तनिर्णयमिन्धु. Briefly describes religious rites from चैत्र to फाल्गुन. Expressly says that it is based on निर्णयसिन्धु; ms in Bik. cat. p. 454 is dated śake 1514 (1592 A. D.), which is a misreading, if निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकर is meant.

संक्षिप्तशास्त्रार्थपद्धति.

संक्षिप्तसार- m. in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघु<sup>०</sup>

संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार by रामभट्ट.

संक्षिप्ताह्निकपद्धति by चण्डीदास, son of दुर्गादत्त, written at the desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर.

संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार by गोकुलजित्, son of हरिजित् in 1633 A. D.

संक्षेपपूजापद्धति (Ulwar cat. 2412) by रघुनन्दनठक्कर.

संक्षेपकुरुपद्धति (Ulwar cat. 1513).

संक्षेपसिद्धित्ववस्था.

संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका by दिवाकरभट्ट, Same as आह्निकचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर above.



संस्थापरिमाणसंग्रह of केशवकवीन्द्र, who wrote in Benares and was the principal Pandit in the pariśad of the king of तीरभुक्ति (modern Tirhut). Dilates upon the weights, numbers and measures required in स्मृति rules (such as size of tooth brush, number of sacred threads for ब्राह्मण's यज्ञोपवीत). N. vol. V pp. 161-162.

संग्रह or स्मृतिसंग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

संग्रहचिन्तामणि (C. P. cat. No. 6153).

संग्रहवैयनाथीय by वैयनाथ.

संयामसाहीय- vide विवेकदीपक above.

सच्चरितपरित्राण by वीरराघव of बाधूल-गोत्र on the duties of वैष्णवस. Mentions स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

सच्चरितरक्षा by वेङ्कटनाथ on शङ्खचक्र-धारण, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण and भगवत्सि-वेदितोपयोग (3 प्रकरणस).

सच्चरितरक्षा by रामावुजाचार्य.

C. सच्चरित्रसारदीपिका by himself.

सच्चरितसुधानिधि by वीरराघव (नैध्रय), who bows to several teachers of the विशिष्टाद्वैत system, viz. नाथ, राममिश्र, यामुनमुनि, रामानुज, रङ्गराज, वेदान्तदेशिक, पराङ्कुश, श्री-निवास &c.

सच्छ्रद्वाह्निक.

सज्जनवदुभा by जयराम- a com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र; m. in मुहूर्तदीपक of महादेव.

सत्कर्मकल्पद्रुम.

सत्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

सत्कर्मचिन्तामणि

सत्कर्मदर्पण.

सत्क्रियाफलमञ्जरी (Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V p. 2212, vol. VI. p. 2308).

सत्क्रियासारदीपिका by गोपालभट्ट for वैष्णवस. He wrote हरिभक्तिविलास also. Flourished about 1500-1565 A. D. Names भवदेव, अनिरुद्ध, भीम, गोविन्दानन्द and नारायण.

सत्यव्रतस्मृति m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत°, अपरार्क, स्मृतिच°, आनन्दतत्त्व.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका or संप्रदायप्रदीप- an account of the principal वैष्णव teachers.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका by गदाधर.

सत्स्मृतिसार by जानकीराम सार्वभौम on तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त &c. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 210.

सदाचार.

सदाचारक्रम by रामपति.

सदाचारक्रम attributed to वसिष्ठ.

सदाचारचन्द्रिका (D. C. ms. No. 108 of 1869-70 copied in संवत् 1787 माघ i. e. February 1731 A. D.). Inculcates कृष्णभक्ति. Mentions रूपगोस्वामी, सनातनगोस्वामी, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, हरिभक्तिविलासटीका, हरिभक्तिसुधोदय and its टीका.

सदाचारचन्द्रोदय- vide आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माधवप्रकाश.

सदाचारनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट.

सदाचारप्रकरण by शङ्कराचार्य (for योगिन्).



सदाचाररहस्य by अनन्तभट्ट, son of वार्हभट्ट, composed at Benares at the desire of संग्रामसिंह, son of अमरेश, son of जयसिंह. About 1715 A. D. (vide Stein's cat. p. 317-318).

सदाचारविवरण by शङ्कर.

सदाचारसंग्रह by गोपालन्यायप्रधानन.

सदाचारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटनाथ. Vide under स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

सदाचारसंग्रह by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट (I. O. cat. p. 590 No. 1800). Probably a spurious work. In N. vol. I p. 103 author's name is wanting, though the first verse is same as in I. O. cat. p. 590.

सदाचारसंग्रह by श्रीनिवासपण्डित in three काण्डs on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त.

सदाचारसंस्कृति.

सदाचारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ. In 40 verses.

C. by वृहरि, pupil of मध्व. Baroda O. I. No. 1884.

C. by रामाचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 2619.

सदाचारस्मृति by नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ. In Bik. cat. p. 449 the work is styled 'स्मृतिटीका'. So also in Stein's cat. p. 107.

सदाचारस्मृति by राघवेन्द्रयति on आह्निक (C. P. cat. 6193).

सदाचारस्मृति by श्रीनिवास (C. P. cat. 6192).

सदाचारस्मृतिय्याख्या क्षीरसिन्धु (Baroda Oriental Institute No. 1880). Mentions प्रयोगपारिजात.

सद्धर्मचन्द्रोदय m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

सद्धर्मचिन्तामणि m. in आचारमण्डल.

सद्धर्मतत्त्वाख्याह्निक by हरिप्रसाद, son of गङ्गेश of मधुरा. In 62 verses. He wrote आचारतत्त्व also.

सद्वृत्तरत्नमाला.

सनत्कुमारसंहिता m. in त्रिस्थलीसेतु and दि. सि.

संतानदीपिका- gives astrological reasons for a man's being issueless.

संतानदीपिका by केशव.

संतानदीपिका by महादेव.

संतानदीपिका by हरिनाथाचार्य.

संदर्भसूक्तिका com. on हारलता q. v.

संध्याकारिका by सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर.

संध्यात्रयभाष्य by परशुराम (Baroda O. I. 6463). Also called द्विज-कल्पलता.

संध्यादिब्रह्मकर्मव.

संध्यानिर्णय.

संध्यानिर्णयकल्पवल्ली by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित and लक्ष्मी in four गुच्छs. Hultzsch R. I. No. 442 extract p. 80.

संध्यापद्धति m. in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघु.

संध्याप्रयोग N. vol. X. p. 343.

संध्यावन्तप्रदीप by आशाधरभट्ट in 3 किरणs. Baroda O. I. No. 29.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य or संध्याभाष्य by आनन्दतीर्थ.



संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of राघवदैवज्ञ, in four chapters (BBRAS. cat. p. 237).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामभट्ट and लक्ष्मी, and pupil of मुकुन्दाश्रम and कृष्ण. Hultzsch's R. I. p. 58. This is also called संध्यावन्दनपद्धति. Pr. in Anant. P.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by चौण्डपार्य, son of चिक्षार्य and कामाख्या (for आश्वलायनीय); composed at request of चामुण्डि, son of भातु.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by तिमिलयज्वर or तिरुमल.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by नारायणपण्डित, who composed 60 works.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by रामाश्रमवति, pupil of महादेव; composed at Benares in शके 1574 (1652-53 A. D.).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by विद्यारण्य (on ऋग्वेदिसन्ध्या and तैत्तिरीयसंध्या).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by वेङ्कटाचार्य (on ऋग्वेदिसंध्या).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by व्यास, pupil of नृसिंह. Stein's cat. p. 256.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by शङ्कराचार्य?

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by शङ्कधन (Ulwar cat. No. 1514).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by श्रीनिवासतीर्थ.

संध्यावन्दनमन्त्र- there are several works with this title for the followers of the different Vedas.

संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका by वनमालिमिश्र, pupil of भट्टोजि. Stein's cat. p. 256. About 1650 A. D.

H. D. 83.

संध्यावन्दनप्रदीप by आशाधरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 29).

संध्यावन्दनविधरण- from the द्विज-कल्पलता.

संध्याविधिमन्त्रसमूहटीका by रामानन्दतीर्थ.

संध्यासूत्रप्रवचन by हलायुध.

संन्यासकर्मकारिका.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, son of जनार्दनभट्ट.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by शङ्कराचार्य.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति attributed to शौनक.

संन्यासग्रहणरत्नमाला by भीमाशङ्कर-शर्मन् (Baroda O. I. 12305).

संन्यासग्राह्यपद्धति alias संन्यासप्रयोग alias समसूची ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य (on rites when a person enters order of संन्यास).

संन्यामदीपिका by अग्निहोत्रिगोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. 10057).

संन्यामदीपिका by साध्विदानन्दाश्रम pupil of नृसिंहाश्रम (Ulwar cat. extract 363).

संन्यासधर्मसंग्रह by अण्णुताश्रम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by बलुभाचार्य in verse.

C. by same.

C. विवरण by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर. D. C. ms. No. 175 of 1884-86.

C. by रघुनाथ, pupil of विठ्ठलदीक्षित, BBRS. cat. vol. II p. 327.

C. by विठ्ठलेश.

संन्यासपदमञ्जरी by धरदराजभट्ट.



संन्यासपद्धति m. in नि. सि., श्राद्ध-  
मयस.

संन्यासपद्धति by अच्युताश्रम.

संन्यासपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, the  
founder of the माध्वमत ( 1119-  
1199 A. D. ). Stein's cat. p. 318  
for extract.

संन्यासपद्धति by निम्बार्कशिष्य.

संन्यासपद्धति by ब्रह्मानन्दिन. Baroda  
O. I. No. 1676 is a संन्यासपद्धति  
following ब्रह्मानन्दीयपद्धति.

संन्यासपद्धति by रुद्रदेव ( extracted  
from प्रतापनारसिंह ).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य  
( I. O. cat. p. 521 No. 1642 ).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to शौनक ( N.  
vol. II. p. 101 ).

संन्यासभेदनिर्णय.

संन्याससत्तावलि by पद्मनाभभट्टारक  
( according to माध्व tenets ).

संन्यासरीति.

संन्यासवरण by बहुभाचार्य. N. vol. X.  
p. 178.

संन्यासविधि by विष्णुतीर्थ ( Baroda O.  
I. 8512 ).

संन्यासाह्निक.

संन्यासपद्धति ( for वैष्णव ) I. O.  
cat. p. 523.

संन्यासिमरणोत्तरविधि Stein's cat.  
p. 107.

संन्यासिसन्ध्या.

संन्यासिसमारधन.

संन्यासिसापिण्डविधि by वेदान्तरामानुज  
तातदास, on the ascetic's son per-  
forming सपिण्डीकरण for his  
father.

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धार by कृष्णतात ( on the  
necessity of सपिण्डीकरण for प्रपन्न ).

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धारखण्डन ( Madras  
Govt. mss. cat. vol. VI p. 2314  
No. 3093 ).

सपिण्ढनिर्णय.

सपिण्डीकरण.

सपिण्डीकरणखण्डन.

सपिण्डीकरणविधि.

सपिण्डीकरणश्राद्ध.

सपिण्डीकरणान्तकर्म.

सपिण्डीकरणान्वष्टका.

सपिण्डीश्राद्ध by रघुवर ( C. P. cat.  
No. 6221 ).

सप्तपाकपञ्चमाख्य.

सप्तपाकपञ्चशेष. Divided into four  
प्रश्न, each प्रश्न being divided in-  
to अध्याय. N. vol. II. pp. 122-  
125.

सप्तपाकसंस्थाविधि by दिवाकर, son of  
महादेव, on श्रवणाकर्म, सर्पबलि, आ-  
श्वयुजी, आश्रयण, अष्टका and पार्वण-  
श्राद्ध. Names हेमाद्रि and कौस्तुभ.

सप्तमठान्नायिक- vide मठान्नायादिविचार.

सप्तर्षिमत or- स्मृति m. in नि. सि.

सप्तर्षिसंमतस्मृति in 36 verses ( I. O.  
cat. p. 402 ). The seven sages  
are नारद, वसिष्ठ, कौशिक, पैङ्गल,  
गर्ग, कदम्प, कण्व.

सप्तर्षिस्मृतिसंग्रह.

सप्तत्यसतकथासमूहचय by सोमकीर्ति  
आचार्य ( N. VIII. p. 144 ).

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित, son  
of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by बालकृष्ण, son of  
महादेव.



सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग from the राजधर्मकौस्तुभ  
of अनन्तदेव.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न of  
नारायणभट्ट.

सप्तसूत्रसंन्यासपद्धति. Rules for ordi-  
nation of samnyāsins and for  
the ten orders ( तीर्थ, आश्रम,  
अरण्य, गिरि, पर्वत, सागर, सरस्वती,  
भारती and पुरी ) and account of  
the ten great teachers from ब्रह्मा  
to शंकराचार्य and the latter's  
disciples. N. vol. VI. p. 295.

समापतिलक्षण.

समयकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

समयकल्पतरु by पन्तोनीभट्ट, son of  
लक्ष्मणभट्ट. Vide Bik. cat. p. 451.  
( which gives only एकादशीनिर्णय  
out of it ).

समयनय by विश्वेश्वर, son of दिनकर,  
for शम्भुराज ( the Maratha king  
Sambhaji ) in 1681.

समयनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट on times  
proper for religious rites; ms.  
( N. vol. VIII. p. 205 ) dated  
śake 1602 ( 1680-81 A. D. ).

समयनिर्णय- the 5th part of the प्रताप-  
मार्तण्ड by रामकृष्ण, son of माधव,  
son of नारायण of the पराशरगोत्र.  
Composed at the order of king  
प्रताप ( रुद्रदेव ). About 1500-  
1525 A. D.

समयप्रकाश by छकुन्दलाल.

समयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्रयज्वन्. Vide  
N. vol. VIII. p. 213.

समयप्रकाश by विष्णुशर्मा described as  
स्वराट्सम्प्राह्मिचित्स्थपतिमहायाज्ञिक.

It is a part of a digest called  
कीर्तिप्रकाश; composed by order  
of कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह, born  
in गौर family. His विरुद्द are  
'कोदण्डपरशुराममानोज्ञत' which are  
the same as those of मदनसिंहदेव  
under whom मदनरत्न was com-  
piled. It is probably this work  
that is mentioned by आनन्दक्रिया-  
कौमुदी, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु० as  
समयप्रकाश.

समयप्रदीप by विठ्ठलदीक्षित ( C. P.  
cat. 6284 ).

समयप्रदीप by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89.

C. जीर्णोद्धार by मधुसूदनठक्कर.

समयप्रदीप by हरिहरभट्टाचार्य, compos-  
ed in śake 1481 ( शाके महीमङ्गल-  
वेदचन्द्रसंख्यागते ) i. e. 1559-60 A.D.  
Doubtful whether he was father  
of रघु०. N. vol. III. pp. 55-56 and  
Baroda O. I. No. 10120. It  
deals with astrological मुद्दतs for  
religious rites.

समयमनोरमा ( C. P. cat. 6286 ).

समयमयूख or कालमयूख by नीलकण्ठ.  
Vide sec. 106. Pr. by Mr. Ghar-  
pure.

समयमयूख by लक्ष्मणभट्ट.

समयरत्न by मणिराम.

समयालोक by पद्मनाभभट्ट. Vide दुर्गा-  
वतीप्रकाश.

समयोद्द्योत- part of मदनरत्न.

समरसार by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास.  
Deals with astrological calcu-  
lations from names of bellige-  
rents &c.



C. by भरत younger brother of author. Stein's cat. p. 174.

C. by शिवदास, son of सूर्यदाम and विशालाक्षा. He calls the author his गुरु. N. II. pp. 204-206.

समस्तकालनिर्णयाधिकार.

समानप्रवरग्रन्थ- Stein's cat. p. 107.

समावर्तनकालप्रायश्चित्त.

समावर्तनप्रयोग by इयामसुन्दर.

समुदायप्रकरण by जगन्नाथसूरि.

समुद्रकरमाष्य on आश्विन m. in आह्निकतत्त्व, आश्विनतत्त्व of रघु०.

समुद्रप्रयानमीमांसा.

संप्रदायप्रदीप by गङ्गादेवेदिन; composed at वृन्दावन in संवत् 1610 (1553-4 A. D.); in five प्रकरण; gives परम्परा of विष्णुभक्तिमार्ग from पुरुषोत्तम, ब्रह्मा, नारद, कृष्णद्वैपायन, शुक; speaks of the तिरोधान of the path and then of बल्लभ, his son विह्वल, his sons गिरिधर and others who were living when work was composed; mentions the five things (वस्तुपञ्चक) on which बल्लभ dwelt (viz. गुरु-सेवा, भागवतार्थ, भगवत्स्वरूपनिर्णय, भगवत्सेवा, नैरपेक्ष); narrates stories of कुमारपाल and हेमचन्द्र, राज्ञाचार्य and सुरेश्वर, मध्वाचार्य, रामानुज and निम्बादित्य and of birth of बल्लभ while his parents were running away from Kāśī. D. C. ms. No. 176 of 1884-86.

संबन्धगणपति by गणपति रावल, son of हरिशङ्करसूरि, on auspicious times for marriage, forms of marriage etc. About 1685 A. D.

संबन्धचूडामणि Anon.; on prohibited degrees of relationship in marriage

संबन्धतत्त्व m. in नि. सि.

संबन्धनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन-भट्टाचार्य on relationship that allowed or disallowed marriage between the parties (such as सपिण्ड, समानोदक, सगोत्र, समान-प्रवर, बान्धव).

संबन्धप्रदीपिका by विद्यानिधि (Baroda O. I. 10106).

संबन्धरहस्य m. in रघुतिरिनावली.

संबन्धविवेक by भवदेवभट्ट m. in उद्वाहतरव and संस्कारतत्त्व. Vide sec. 73.

संबन्धविवेक by झूलपाणि; m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व, who mentions a परिशिष्ट thereto in संस्कारतत्त्व. Vide sec. 95 and N. (new series) vol. I preface p. X.

संबन्धविवेकपरिशिष्ट of धनञ्जय m. in उद्वाहतरव and संस्कारतत्त्व (p. 891 of रघु०). This is probably a परिशिष्ट to भवदेव's work.

संबन्धव्यवस्थाविकाश or उद्वाहव्यवस्था (N. II. p. 334, different from उद्वाहव्यवस्था above).

सरटपतनशान्ति.

सरला (seems to be a भाष्य on गो-मिलण्ड) m. by रघु० in उद्वाहतरव. एकादशीतत्त्व and छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व.

सरस्वतीदशश्लोकी.

सरस्वतीविलास by प्रतापरुद्रदेव of the गजपति dynasty of Orissa. Vide sec. 100.



सरोजकलिका by मास्वत्कविरत्न. Contains dissertations on topics of धर्म such as ब्राह्म, आशौच, शुद्धि, गोत्र for purposes of marriage. Mitra regards it as ancient, as it names no work (N. vol. VI. p. 39).

सरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार by कृष्णभट्ट. Ulwar cat. extract No. 370. Peterson seems to be wrong in saying that सरोजसुन्दर is the author (Ulwar cat. No. 1537).

सर्पबलि.

सर्वतीर्थयात्राविधि by कमलाकर.

सर्वदेवताप्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाकर्म.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by माधवाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. III p. 219.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by a son of राम-चन्द्रदीक्षित.

सर्वदेवमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Vide धर्मप्रकाश.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका of बल्लभ in 426 verses on राममक्ति in various months and तिथिs and connected festivals and rites such as मदनोत्सव on चैत्रद्वादशी, क्षीराब्धिशयनोत्सव on आषाढशुक्लद्वादशी, हृद्याधारणविधि, चातुर्मास्यव्रतविधि (D. C. ms. 331 of 1887-91).

सर्वपुराणसार by शङ्करानन्द.

सर्वपुराणार्थसंग्रह by वेङ्कटराय.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by अनन्तदेव.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्रिन or बालसूत्रि, son of शेषभट्ट, son of

नारायणभट्ट कागलकर. Wrote under Tanjore king, Śarabha, son of Tulaja.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तलक्षण.

सर्वव्रतोद्यापन by अनन्तदेव.

सर्वव्रतोद्यापनप्रयोग.

सर्वशान्ति.

सर्वशान्तिप्रयोग- quotes हेमाद्रि (Bik. cat. p. 459).

सर्वशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by कमलाकर. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 744 (ms. dated śake 1637) and Bik. cat. p. 459.

सर्वसंस्कारसंग्रह m. in नि. सि.

सर्वसारसंग्रह by भट्टोजि. Between 1600-1650.

सर्वस्मृतिसंग्रह by सर्वक्रतुवाजपेययाजिन्.

सर्वाग्रयणकालनिर्णय.

सर्वाङ्गुतशान्ति.

सर्वारिष्टशान्ति.

सर्वोपयुक्कारिका- Ano. ; in 14 verses on ब्राह्म,

C. Ano. (by one familiar with Marathi as he translates कोश्व as पाकड, यावनाल as जोधळा, राजमाच as अलसंदा). Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection. The colophon at end says that कारिकाs follow भट्टोजि's work. The first verse on तिलतर्पण-निषिद्धदिन is भौमेकं 'भृगुजे मघासृहनि-शासतम्यनङ्गाहया नन्दाजन्मदिनेषु संधियुगे नो तर्पणं स्यात्तिलैः। नोद्वाहव्रत-चौलवृद्धिषु समार्घार्पकमासं क्रमान्नो हृष्येत्तु सुतौ महालयमयापुण्याहतीर्था-विदुः'.



सहगमनविधि or सतीविधान ascribed to गोविन्दराज ( I. O. cat. p. 578 No. 774 ). In 66 verses.

सहगमनश्राद्ध.

सहचारविधि on ceremonies performed when a wife burnt herself on her husband's pyre.

सहचारविधि or सहगमनविधि- D. C. Ms. No. 183 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1686.

सहस्रचण्डीविधान by कमलाकर.

सहस्रचण्डीविधि ( Ulwar cat. 1528, extract 365 ).

सहस्रचण्डीशतचण्डीविधान.

सहस्रचण्डीयाविधि by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Refers to निर्णयसिन्धु as his own work ( N. IX. pp. 203-204 ). About 1612 A. D.

सहस्रभोजनविधि. Stein's cat. p. 107.

सहस्रभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या by भास्करराय, son of गम्भीररायदीक्षित ( Ulwar cat. extract 28 ). The original sūtras are बौधायन's.

सहानुमरणविशेष by अनन्तराम विद्या-  
शास्त्री, son of रामचरण न्यायालङ्कार.  
Mentions शुद्धितत्त्व, शिवादभङ्गार्णव.  
About 1800 A. D. ( N. vol. VII. p. 223 ).

सहृदय by हरि on आचार. N. vol. VII. p. 281.

सांवत्सरिकश्राद्ध.

सांवत्सरिकैकोटिश्राद्धप्रयोग according to यजुर्वेद. N. II. p. 66.

सागर- several works are so called viz. अद्भुतसागर, दानसागर, स्मृति-  
सागर.

सागरधर्मसूत.

सागरसंहिता m. by हेमाद्रि II. p. 852.

साग्निकविधि rules for funeral ceremonies of agnihottrins.

सांख्यायनगृह्यसूत्र- vide शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र.

सांख्यायनगृह्यसंग्रह by वासुदेव. Vide शाङ्खायन<sup>०</sup>; (pr. in Ben. S. series).

साधनचन्द्रिका by केशवेन्द्रस्वामी on observances of वैष्णवस.

साधनीद्वावली ( Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 110 b ).

साधारणप्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग- according to यजुर्वेद ( N. II. p. 632 ).

सापिण्डीमञ्जरी by नागेश.

सापिण्डीचकल्पलता or- लतिका by सदा-  
शिवदेव alias आपदेव, son of श्रीपति,  
son of नीलकण्ठ, in 24 verses ( or  
25 in some mss. ), on सापिण्डीच  
for marriage. He was a resident  
of देवालयपुर ( D. C. ms. 613 of  
1882-83 copied in śake 1760 ).  
The author was pupil of चिन्मल.  
The work takes सपिण्डी to mean  
connected by particles of the  
same body. Vide N. ( new  
series ) vol. III preface pp. VIII-  
IX and p. 222 where the verses  
are said to be 36.

C. by नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण,  
son of सदाशिवदेव ( pr. in सरस्वती-  
भवन series, 1927, with text ). He  
was the author's grandson and  
pupil of नागेश. Mentions नरहरि-  
सप्तर्षि, वीरमित्रोदय, सापिण्डीचप्रदीप  
of his teacher नागेश, द्वैतनिर्णय.



सापिण्ड्यतत्त्वप्रकाश of धरणीधर, son of रेवाधर ( Baroda O. I. 12783 ).

सापिण्ड्यदीपिका by नागेश. Same as सापिण्ड्यमञ्जरी or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

सापिण्ड्यदीपिका or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट (Bhadkamkar collection). Mentions प्रधरनिर्णय. Probably it is this that is mentioned in नि. सि. He was the grand-uncle of कमलाकर and so flourished about 1520-1580 A. D. D. C. ms. 208 of A 1882-83 is called अनुकल्प सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय and discusses certain views of श्रीधर about तृतीय कन्यापरिणयन. D. C. Ms. 129 of 1895-98 is dated संवत् 1647 ( 1590 A. D. ).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by नागोजिभट्ट. Names नन्दपण्डित, अनन्तदेव, गोविन्दाणव, बाहुदेवभट्ट ( ms. in Bhadkamkar collection dated śake 1725 ).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय of भट्टोजि. D. C. Ms. No. 622 of 1883-84 begins 'अथ सप्तमीपञ्चमीनिर्णयः'.

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण ( C. P. cat. No. 6378-80 ).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by रामभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. 5032 ).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट : m. by व्य.म. The same as सापिण्ड्यदीपिका ( D. C. ms. 128 of 1895-98 ).

सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप of नागेश ; m. in com. on सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

सापिण्ड्यमीमांसा m. in नि. सि. Probably the same as सापिण्ड्यदीपिका of श्रीधर.

सापिण्ड्यविचार by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट ( Baroda O. I. 1947 ).

सापिण्ड्यविवय by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

सापिण्ड्यसार by धरणीधर, son of रेवाधर ( Baroda O. I. 12784 ).

सापिण्ड्यश्राद्धविधि.

सामग्र्यप्रतिष्ठा by रघुनन्दन.

सामग्र्यपोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघु०. Vide वृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व above.

सामनाहिक- vide छन्दोगाहिक.

सामग्र्यपरिशिष्ट- vide गोभिलग्रहपरिशिष्ट.

सामग्र्यवृत्ति by रुद्रस्कन्द.

सामवेदीयदशकर्म of भवदेव- vide कर्मावृत्तानपद्धति of भवदेव. Sec. 73.

सामवेदीयसंस्कारपद्धति by श्रीरेश्वर, son of देवादिन्य. N. ( new series ) vol. III. p. 221 ). About 1300 A. D.

सामान्यक्रमवृत्ति.

सामान्यप्रचट्टक ( part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु ).

सामान्यहोमपद्धति.

सायणीय- m. in नि. सि. This is probably the प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of सायण.

सायंप्रातरौषासन.

सारग्राहकर्मविपाक. Composed by the eldest son of कालहडदेव, son of पद्मनाभ, a नागरबाह्याण and compiled in संवत् 1440 ( 1384 A. D. ) at मन्वपट्टनगर under the patronage of कर्णसिंह, minister of king दुर्गसिंह, son of मङ्गलशृगाल. Author says he bases his work on कर्मवि-



पाक of मौलिनृप or मौलिगि<sup>०</sup>, from which he borrowed matter of the extent of 1200 श्लोकs, while his own work extends to 4900 श्लोक units, the author borrowed 276 श्लोक units from विज्ञानेश and 500 from बौधायन. There are 55 प्रकरणs and 45 अधिकारs. Vide I.O.cat. p. 573 No. 1767, Baroda O. I. No. 9459 and 9082 and Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83 p. 63. There are quotations from दानखण्ड and आचारदीपक. The Baroda Ms. 9082 was copied in संवत् 1496 (1439 A.D.).

सारमञ्जरी- com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट-प्रकाश by श्रीनाथ.

सारसंग्रह- vide under चाणक्यनीति.

सारसंग्रह m. in मन्व. पा., तिथितत्त्व, दीक्षातत्त्व, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु<sup>०</sup>, सं. कौ.

सारसंग्रह. Ano. on auspicious and inauspicious days for religious rites in 881 verses. Ms. ( I. O. cat. p. 535 No. 1679 ) dated संवत् 1774 ( 1717-18 A. D. ).

सारसंग्रह by हरारिभट्ट.

सारसंग्रह by राघवभट्ट m. in मलमास-तत्त्व of रघु<sup>०</sup>.

सारसंग्रहदीपिका by रामप्रसाददेवशर्मन्.

सारसंग्रह by शम्भुदास.

सारसमुच्चय m. in हेमाद्रिदानखण्ड and गूलपाणि's दृगोत्सवविवेक.

सारसागर.

सारार्थचतुष्टय by बरदाचार्य.

सारावलि m. by अपराक<sup>०</sup> p. 872 ( on विदुष्ययोग ). Probably an astro-

logical work, such as that of कल्याणवर्मन्, which is mentioned even by Alberuni and so was earlier than 1000 A. D.

सारावलि- vide सृष्टिसारावलि.

सारासारविवेक.

सारोद्धार ( com. on विश्वकोकीविवरण ) by शम्भुभट्ट.

सिंहस्थपद्धति- ( on merit by bathing in गोदावरी when Jupiter is in Leo ). N. vol. X. p. 348. Based on हेमाद्रि.

सिद्धान्तचिन्तामणि m. by पद्म<sup>०</sup> in मलमासतत्त्व.

सिद्धान्तज्योत्स्ना by धनिराम ( C. P. cat. 6521 ).

सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक by कमलाकर. Vide तत्त्वविवेक.

सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय by शिवनन्दन ( C. P. cat. 6522 ).

सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by रघुराम.

सिद्धान्तपीयूष by चित्रपति written for Colebrooke.

सिद्धान्तविन्दु on आद्द ( Burnell's Tanj. cat. 143 b ).

सिद्धान्तमञ्जरी- vide दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by मोहनमिश्र.

सिद्धान्तशेखर m. in the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट and मठप्रतिष्ठातृत्व of रघु<sup>०</sup>. Probably a तान्त्रिक work. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

सिद्धान्तशेखर by विश्वनाथ, son of भास्कर.

सिद्धान्तसन्दर्भ m. by रघुनन्दन in मल-मासतत्त्व.



सिद्धान्तसुधोद्धार m. in सृत्तिसारोद्धार  
of विश्वम्भर.

सीमन्तकर्मपद्धति.

सीमन्तनिर्णय.

सुकृत्यप्रकाश by ज्वालानाथमिश्र on  
आचार, आशौच, श्राद्ध and अस-  
त्वरिग्रह ( acceptance of gifts from  
improper persons ). N. vol. II.  
p. 136 ..

सुगतिसोपान by गणेश्वरमन्त्रिच, son of  
देवादित्य. He was uncle of चण्डे-  
श्वर. Vide pp. 370-371 above.  
Author styles himself महाराजा-  
धिराज and says he was assisted  
by देवादित्यसाधिविशिष्टहिक ( his  
father ); m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व  
and by रुद्रधर. About 1st half of  
14th century.

सुज्ञानदुर्गोदय by विश्वेश्वर alias गागा-  
भट्ट, son of दिनकरभट्ट, on 16  
संस्कारs. Composed about 1675  
A. D. ( Bik. cat. p. 475 ).

सुदर्शनकालप्रभा by रामेश्वरशास्त्री.

सुदर्शनभाष्य- com. of सुदर्शनाचार्य on  
आपस्तम्बग्रहसूत्र ; m. by भट्टोजि in  
चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान, नि. सि.. Ear-  
lier than 1550 A. D.

C. अण्डबिला by ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ ;  
m. in नि. सि.

सुदर्शनमीमांसाविवेक ( Baroda O. I.  
4085 ). Justifies तत्त्वक्रादिपञ्चा-  
गुपधरण by वैष्णवs ; ms. copied  
in संवत् 1834.

सुधीचन्द्रिका.

सुधीमयूख.

H. D. 84.

सुधीविलोचन m. in श्राद्धप्रयोग of गो-  
पालसूरि and in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, in  
वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.

सुधीविलोचन by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

सुधीविलोचनसार.

सुन्दरराजीय m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

सुप्रभा- com. by अनन्त, son of सिद्धे-  
श्वर, on the कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्द,  
composed in 1692 A. D.

सुबोधिनी प्रयोगपद्धति- pr. in Kāśī S.  
series ( कृष्णपञ्चवेदीया and साम-  
वेदीया ).

सुबोधिनी ( होमपद्धति ) by अनन्तभट्ट  
on the pacification of the नवग्रहs.

सुबोधिनी ( com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी ) by  
अनन्त, son of कमलाकर. 1610-  
1660 A. D.

सुबोधिनी by महादेव.

सुबोधिनी by रत्नपाणिशर्मन्, son of  
सञ्जीवेश्वर. Compiled under  
orders of रुद्रसिंह of मिथिला. A  
सृत्ति digest on ten संस्कारs, श्राद्ध,  
daily religious duties. ( N. VI.  
p. 47 ).

सुबोधिनी com. on the मिताक्षरा by  
विश्वेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 93. Text  
on व्यवहार and translation pr. by  
Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

सुबोधिनी ( प्रयोगपद्धति ) by शिवराम,  
son of विश्वाम, for students of  
सामवेद. Mentions his own कृत्य-  
चिन्तामणि. About 1640 A. D.

सुमन्तुधर्मसूत्र- Vide sec. 29 and Tri.  
cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for



- 1919-22 pp. 5160-62 for a prose *सुमन्तुधर्मसूत्र*.
- सुमन्तुस्मृति* m. by मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क.
- सूतकदीपिका*— vide under *त्रिशङ्कुकी*.
- सूतकनिर्णय* (also called *अष्टकाशौचभाष्य* on 'the margin'). The first verse is *नाम्नः प्राग्दन्तजतिरुपनयनविधेरापूर्वो हस्तिरात्रं &c.*; ms. in Stein's cat. (p. 319) is dated संवत् 1466 (1409-19 A. D.).
- सूतकनिर्णय* of भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर (in Bhadkamkar collection) Mentions माधव, हरदत्त, त्रिशङ्कुकी.
- सूतकसार*.
- सूतकसिद्धान्त* by देवयाज्ञिक.
- सूरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका* by जयनारायणतर्कपञ्चानन.
- सूरिसंतोष* m. by रघु° in *एकादशीतत्त्व* and *तिथितत्त्व*.
- सूर्यनमस्कारविधि*.
- सूर्यप्रकाश* by हरिसामन्तराज, son of कृष्ण. A comprehensive digest on धर्मशास्त्र. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only *व्रतखण्ड*.
- सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति* by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव, on the installation of सूर्य, शिव, गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु in a temple.
- सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति* by महादेवभट्ट.
- सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति* by माधव, son of रामेश्वर. About 1520-1580.
- सूर्यार्णवकर्मविपाक* (Uttar cat. extract No. 293) pr. in Bombay.
- सूर्योदयनिबन्ध* m. in *धर्मप्रवृत्ति* of नारायण.

- सेतुयात्राविधि*.
- सोदकुम्भआद्य*.
- सोमनाथीय* by सोमनाथभट्ट, son of सरभट्ट and younger brother of वेङ्कटाश्रियज्वल, of the निजल family.
- सोमवारव्रतोत्थापन*.
- सोमशारामावाप्त्यव्रतकालनिर्णय*.
- सोमशेखर* (निबन्ध) m. in *मलमास-तत्त्व* of रघु°. *सरस्वतीविलास* p. 422 (Mysore ed.) quotes *सोमशेखर* on *दायमाग*.
- सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम* by अच्युत (Baroda O. I. 1903.).
- स्त्रीधननिर्णय*.
- स्त्रीधनप्रकरण*.
- स्त्रीधर्मकमलाकर* of कमलाकरभट्ट, m. in *विवादाष्टाण्डव*.
- स्त्रीधर्मपद्धति* by अम्बक.
- स्त्रीधनरुद्धाहस्यण्डनमालिका* by राघवेन्द्र.
- स्त्रीशूद्रदिनचर्चा*.
- स्थालीपाक* (आपस्तम्बीय).
- „ (आश्वलायनीय).
- स्थालीपाकनिर्णय*.
- स्थालीपाकप्रयोग* (आश्वलायनीय).
- स्थालीपाकप्रयोग* by कमलाकर. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 236.
- स्थालीपाकप्रयोग* by नारायण.
- स्थावरप्राणप्रतिष्ठा*.
- स्थिरलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा*.
- स्नानविधिसूत्रपरिशिष्ट* or *स्नानसूत्र* or *त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र* by कात्यायन.
- C. *स्नानसूत्रपद्धति* by कर्क.



- C. स्नानसूत्रदीपिका by गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव.  
CC. by कृष्णनाथ.
- C. by छाग याज्ञिकचक्रवर्त्तुदाचिन्ता-मणि.
- C. by त्रिमल्लतनय ( केवाच ? ).
- C. by महादेवद्विवेदिन् ( N. vol. VII. p. 304 ).
- C. स्नानपद्धति or स्नानविधिपद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.
- C. स्नानसूत्रपद्धति by हरिजीवनमिश्र. Says that he follows in this work his माष्य.
- C. स्नानव्याख्या and पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिहरिहर.
- स्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानक्रमविवरण by चण्डक. ( Baroda O. I. 296 dated संवत् 1593 ).
- स्मार्तकुतुहल.
- स्मार्तगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर ( C. P. cat. No. 6710 ).
- स्मार्तदिनमणि ( Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75 ).
- स्मार्तदीपिका Ano.; follows आश्व-छायन. Burnell's Tanj. cat. 139a.
- स्मार्तपदार्थसंग्रह from प्रयोगपद्धति of गङ्गाधर.
- स्मार्तपदार्थातुक्रमणिका by द्वैपायनाचार्य ( Baroda O. I. 6986 ).
- स्मार्तपरिभाषा m. in सन्ध्याभाष्य of कृष्णपण्डित.
- स्मार्तप्रदीपिका ( Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75 ).
- स्मार्तप्रयोग by चोपणभट्ट.  
,, ( हिरण्यकेशीय ).  
C. वैजयन्ती.
- स्मार्तप्रयोगकारिका.
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त by तिष्ठाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बालभट्ट, surnamed गह्वर.
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग or प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल ( काळे in Marathi ). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्ण, father of कमला करभट्ट. About 1660-1680 A. D. ( BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 745 ).
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by वेङ्कटाचार्य.
- स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार- same as स्मार्त-प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग and प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार of दिवाकर.
- स्मार्तमार्तण्डप्रयोग by मार्तण्डसोमयाजिन.
- स्मार्तव्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथसार्वभौम, son of मधुरेश, composed at the order of king रत्नेश्वरराय, in śake 1583 ( i. e. 1661-62 A. D. ). Divided into sections on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, द्रव्यशुद्धि, अधि-कारि, प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, दाय. ( D. C. ms. No. 305 of 1886-92 on तिथि, N. II. p. 76 on उद्वाह, N. I. p. 284 on दाय ).
- स्मार्तसमुच्चय of नन्दपण्डित, son of देवशर्मन्. Vide sec. 105 p. 431. Refers to दत्तकमीमांसा as his.
- स्मार्तस्कृष्टपद्धति of नारायणदीक्षित. ( C. P. cat. No. 6717 ).
- मार्तण्डविला.



स्मार्तार्धानपद्धति by गोविन्द.

स्मार्तार्धानप्रयोग of वीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. (BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 747). Mentions मदनरत्न. Vide under धर्माणव. Between 1500 and 1675 A. D.

स्मार्तनिष्ठानपद्धति of अनन्तभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ. Also styled अनन्तभट्टी. A manual of initiatory rites with the prayers required therein. Vide under प्रयोगरत्न. According to आश्वलायन. (I. O. cat. p. 515 ).

स्मार्तार्धानपद्धति from the प्रयोगरत्न.

स्मार्तार्हस by शिवप्रसाद, son of श्री-निवास of पुष्करपुर (Baroda O. I. 11958). Ms. dated शके 1610. Mentions मदनरत्न, टोडरानन्द. Between 1580-1680 A. D. On आधानकाल, हृद्द्वैविचार, duties of अग्नि-होत्रि, on difficult points about रजस्वला &c.

स्मृतिकदम्ब by कश्चं येहुभट्ट. Hultzsch R. I. No. 657.

स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम by ह्यङ्ग ईश्वरनाथ.

C. by author. Stein's cat p. 108.

स्मृतिकोशदीपिका by तिस्मणभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 2008 on आह्निक only ).

स्मृतिकौमुदी by देवनाथठक्कर. A digest on चातुर्वर्ण्य, आचार, आह्निक, संस्कार, आशु, आशौच, दायभाग, व्रत, दान, उत्सर्ग. (N. vol. V. p. 237 ).

स्मृतिकौमुदी by मदनपाल. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384. Also styled शूद्र-धर्मोत्पलपोतिनी.

स्मृतिकौमुदी by रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य (N. VI. p. 140 ).

स्मृतिकौमुदीटीका by कृष्णनाथ.

स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Sec. 109. Divided into 12 दीधितिस.

स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by वेङ्कटाद्रि. Vide आशौच-निर्णय.

स्मृतिग्रन्थराज by सार्वभौम.

स्मृतिचन्द्र m. in संस्कारमण्डल of सिद्धेश्वर.

स्मृतिचन्द्र by भवदेवन्यायालङ्कार, son of हरिहर, composed in 1720-22 A. D. and divided into 16 कलास on तिथि, व्रत, संस्कार, आह्निक, आशु, आंचार, प्रतिष्ठा, वृषोत्सर्ग, परीक्षा, प्रायश्चित्त, न्यवहार, गृहयज्ञ, वेदमन्त्र, मलिम्लुच, दान, शुद्धि. Mentions श्रीदत्त and संवत्सरप्रदीप. Imitates रघु.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by आपदेवमीमांसक. On काल, मलमास, व्रत, आह्निक, विवाह and other संस्कारs, स्त्रीधर्म, आश्रमधर्म, अन्येष्टि, आशौच, आशु. (N. VI. 301 ).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by कुबेर (m. in दत्तक-चन्द्रिका ).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by केशवादित्यभट्ट (Bik. cat. 465 ). This entry is wrong, as the introductory verses and the verses at the end show that this is the same as देवणभट्ट's work.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by देवणभट्ट, son of केशवादित्यभट्ट. Sec. 85 (pr. 'by Mr. Gharpure and in Mysore G. O. L. series ).



स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वामदेवभट्टाचार्य (N. IX. p. 137).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by शुक्रदेवमिश्र, son of विठ्ठलमिश्र. On तिथिनिर्णय, शुद्धि, आशौच, व्यवहार. (I. O. cat. p. 471).

„ Ano. (N. vol. VIII. p. 153).

स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय by गणेशभट्ट (C. P. cat. No. 6723-24).

स्मृतिचरण by भवानीशङ्कर.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणि by गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथमिश्र. Mentions कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, and is mentioned in वृत्तिह-प्रसाद (I. O. cat. p. 444 on व्यवहार, which is 2nd परिच्छेद). About 1450-1500.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणिसंग्रह (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4978 on आह्निक).

स्मृतिचूडामणि or- मणिसंग्रह of वरदाचार्य, of the वात्स्यगोत्र.

स्मृतिरत्न of रघुनन्दन. It is the name of his digest containing 28 तत्त्वs. Sec. 102.

स्मृतिरत्नप्रकाश by श्रीदेव.

स्मृतिरत्नविनिर्णय or व्यवस्थानव by रामभद्र, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Mentions शूलपाणि. 1500-1550 A. D. N. (new series) I. p. 413.

स्मृतिरत्नविवेक by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश and गौरी and judge at the court of भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला. About 1450-1500 A. D. On आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. N. vol. V. p. 184..

स्मृतिरत्नसार (B. O. cat. vol. I No. 440).

स्मृतिरत्नसार of वर्धमान, son of भवेश and गौरी. N. vol. VI. p. 12 contains शान्तिकौस्तुभिकाञ्जलि. Dealing with rites for propitiating adverse deities and portents and for consecrating works of public utility. N. VI. p. 57 is styled रत्नसारोद्धार (व्यवहाराञ्जलि) and in the concluding verses वर्धमान says that he composed four कृतस on आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. So स्मृतिरत्नविवेक and रत्नसार are the same. It was completed under राम, son of भैरवेन्द्र.

स्मृतिदर्पण m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता, वृत्तिह-प्रसाद, शूद्रकमलाकर, विधानपारिजात. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिदर्पण (Baroda O. I. No. 10916 is an incomplete ms. in 598 verses). Names 36 स्मृतिकारs, कलिबर्ज्य (such as पुनर्विवाह).

स्मृतिदीपिका m. in सं. कौ., संस्कार-मयूख of सिद्धेश्वर. Earlier than 1650 A. D.

स्मृतिदीपिका of वामदेव उपाध्याय on times for श्राद्ध and other rites (N. vol. V. p. 157 and VII. 125).

स्मृतिदुर्गमञ्जन by चन्द्रशेखर- vide दुर्गम-ञ्जन.

स्मृतिनवनीत of वृषभाद्रिनाथ, son of नारसिंह, pupil of रामचन्द्र and श्रीनिवास.



स्मृतिनिबन्ध by वृत्सिंहभट्ट. An extensive digest on धर्मलक्षण, वर्णाश्रम-धर्म, विवाहादिसंस्कार, सापिण्ड्य, आत्मिक, आशौच, आशु, दापभाग, प्रायश्चित्त ( N. VIII p. 174 ).

स्मृतिपरिभाषा by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय; contains general rules regarding ceremonial observances and proper seasons for them and on स्थान, ग्रहण, तिथिद्वैप, दान &c. Names स्मृतिमहार्णव, हरिहरमिश्र ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघु०. About 1450-1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रकाश by भास्करभट्ट or हरिभास्कर-भट्ट, son of आपाजिमट्ट (or आपाजि-), son of हरिभट्ट ( Bik. cat. p. 467 deals with portion on आशु ).

स्मृतिप्रकाश by बाह्यदेव रथ (one fascicule pr. in B. I. series) on कालनिरूपण, संवत्सर, संक्रान्ति. Mentions माधवाचार्य and विद्याकर-वाजपेयी. Later than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रदीप m. by हेमाद्रि ( काल० p. 355 ).

स्मृतिप्रदीप by चन्द्रशेखरमहोपाध्याय on तिथि, आशौच, आशु.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका- vide धर्मदीपिका of चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका m. by भट्टोजि in his com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत.

स्मृतिप्रामाण्यवाद.

स्मृतिभास्कर m. by स्मृतिच०, प्रयोग-पारिजात of वृत्सिंह, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, वृत्सिंह-प्रसाद. Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2043 Nos. 2786-87 contains portions on यतिधर्म and श्राद्धधर्म from a स्मृतिभास्कर.

स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ ( N. vol. V. p. 108 ). From the introductory verses it appears to be the शान्तिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

स्मृतिभूषण by कोनेरिमट्ट, son of केशव. A digest of rituals for माध्व followers.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by गोविन्दराज. Sec. 76 pp. 311-313.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by रत्नधरमिश्र.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी Ano. ( D. C. ms. No. 184 of 1884-86 on आशु ).

स्मृतिमञ्जरी m. in कालादर्श, स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ, छन्दोगाह्निक of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

स्मृतिमहाराज by कृष्णराज ( Baroda O. I. No. 8023 ). It mentions मदनरत्न. Begins with गोदान and ends with श्रुतिप्रतिष्ठापन. It is styled श्रुतपञ्चति also.

स्मृतिमहार्णव or स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि. Vide महार्णव and p. 308 above.

स्मृतिमहोदधि by परमानन्दचन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती.

स्मृतिमीमांसा by जैमिनि, m. by अपरार्क p. 206. A स्मृतिमीमांसा is m. in कालविवेक of जीवतवाहन, in the स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, by हेमाद्रि in व्रतखण्ड and परिशेषखण्ड and by वृत्सिंहप्रसाद.

स्मृतिमुक्ताफल of वैद्यनाथदीक्षित. A very popular स्मृति digest in southern India. Printed several times in Southern India at Chidamba-



- ram, 1908, Kumbhakonam &c. On वर्णाश्रमधर्म, आह्निक, आशौच, श्राद्ध, व्रणशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, काल. About 1600 A. D.
- स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह by चिदम्बरेश्वर.
- स्मृतिमुक्तावली of कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारसिंहभट्ट, son of विजयीन्द्रभट्ट; in 10 प्रकरणस.
- स्मृतिरत्न m. by कालादर्श, सं. शौ., संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.
- स्मृतिरत्न of रघुनाथभट्ट. Ms. (N. VII. p. 253) is dated शके 1699.
- स्मृतिरत्नकोश.
- स्मृतिरत्नमहोदधि by श्रीपरमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दवेल्लेन्द्रसरस्वती. Contains षट्कर्मविचार, आचार, आशौच &c. Quotes माधवीय. (Vide Madras Govt. mss. cat. pp. 2055-57 Nos. 2802-4).
- स्मृतिरत्नविवेक m. by चण्डेश्वर and by रुद्रधर in his श्राद्धविवेक. Earlier than 1300 A. D.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by तातयार्य (Baroda O. I. 9919).
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by ताम्रपर्णाचार्य.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by भट्टोजि (on प्रायश्चित्त and आशौच). Vide Mad. Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2059 No. 2806.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विठ्ठल, son of केशव, a resident of विदुरपुर. Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 135a. From the place of residence and contents, it appears that this is the same as the preceding.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशव, residing at विदुरपुर; on आह्निक, 16 संस्कारs, संक्रान्ति, ग्रहण, दान, तिथि-निर्णय, प्रायश्चित्त, आशौच, नित्यनैमित्तिक (vide D. C. ms. No. 52 of 1866-68). Bik. cat. p. 467 gives शिवभट्ट as father's name.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेङ्कटनाथ, son of श्री-रङ्गनाथाचार्य, son of सरस्वतीवल्लभ, surnamed वैदिकसार्वभौम. आह्निक portion pr. Lakshminikatesvara Press at Kalyan. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, स्मृतिच०, अखण्डादर्श, माधवीय, स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय and इतिहाससमुच्चय. Also called सदाचार-संग्रह.
- स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेङ्कटार्य in 15 chapters on नित्यनैमित्तिकाचार, गर्भाधानादि संस्कार, तिथि निरूपण, श्राद्ध, शान्ति, तीर्थयात्रा, भक्ष्याभक्ष्य, व्रत, प्रायश्चित्त, आशौच, अन्त्येष्टिकर्म; written under patronage of कामरूप king. Quotes मङ्गदेव (on प्रायश्चित्त), जीमूतवाहन, स्मृतिमीमांसा, स्मृतिसमुच्चय, आचारसागर, दान-सागर, महार्णव. It is this that is probably m. in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०. Between 1250-1500 A. D. I. O. cat. pp. 473-474, N. VII. 45 (the colophon says that the प्रायश्चित्त section is the 18th परिच्छेद).
- स्मृतिरत्नावलि m. in वृत्तिप्रसाद, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नागयणभट्ट, नि. सि., शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपरिष्ठित.
- स्मृतिरत्नावलि by मधुसूदनदीक्षित, son of मधेश्वर. (Bik. cat. p. 467 contains श्राद्ध portion only).



स्मृतिरत्नावलि by रामनाथत्रिपाठाचस्पति.  
Composed in 1657 A. D. ; vide  
under दायभागविवेक. Stein's cat.  
p. 109.

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by वेजुराम. N. VII.  
p. 228.

स्मृतिरहस्य.

स्मृतिविवरण by आनन्दतीर्थ. Same as  
सदाचारस्मृति.

स्मृतिविवेक by मेधातिथि. Sec. 63  
pp. 274-275.

स्मृतिविवेक by शूलपाणि. Sec. 95.

स्मृतिव्यवस्था by चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीश-  
भट्टाचार्य of गौडदेश ; ms. of शुद्धवा-  
दिग्रन्थान्ता ( N. IV. 130 ) dated  
śake 1610 ( 1688-89 A. D. ).

स्मृतिव्यवस्थार्णव ( B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I. No. 433 ).

स्मृतिशेखर or कस्तूरिस्मृति by कस्तूरि,  
son of नागय, on आचार. ( Bur-  
nell's Tanj. cat. 1362 ).

स्मृतिसंस्कारकौस्तुभ. Probably the  
same as संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्त-  
देव.

स्मृतिसंक्षेप by नरोत्तम on आशौच,  
सहमरण, षोडशदान. N. ( new  
series ) vol. II. p. 225 and  
vol. I. p. 414.

स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार by रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन्,  
son of मधुचूदनतर्कवागीश. On उद्वाह,  
उद्वाहकाल, गोत्र, प्रवर, सपिण्ड, सभा-  
नोदक &c. N. ( new series ) vol.  
II. p. 225.

स्मृतिसंग्रह or संग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

स्मृतिसंग्रह.

(1) by छलारि नारायण, m. by his  
son in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

(2) by दयाराम.

(3) by नीलकण्ठ ( D. C. ms. No.  
373 of 1875-76 ).

(4) by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य or  
नवद्वीप on अनध्याय, तिथि, प्राय-  
श्चित्त, शुद्धि, उद्वाह, सापिण्ड्य.  
Also called व्यवस्थाविवेचन or  
व्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

(5) attributed to सायण and माधव.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by विद्यारण्य ( Hultzsch R.  
I. No. 591 ).

स्मृतिसंग्रह alias विद्यारण्यसंग्रह ( in  
margin ) - a large work in 7000  
ग्रन्थ ( Baroda O. I. 11248 ).

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश. Is it same as  
स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ ?

स्मृतिसंग्रह by हरदत्त.

स्मृतिसंग्रह - same as परमेश्वरीदासावि.

स्मृतिसंग्रह on व्यवहार ( Cal. S.  
College ms. cat. vol. II.  
p. 137 No. 141 ).

स्मृतिसंग्रह रत्नव्याख्यान - a com. on चतु-  
र्विंशतिमत by रामचन्द्र, son of नारा-  
यणभट्ट ( I. O. cat. p. 475 ).  
Seems to be the same as भट्टोजि's  
com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत.

स्मृतिसंग्रहसार of महेशपञ्चानन, founded  
on रघुनन्दन's स्मृतिरत्न. N. VI.  
p. 235.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय ( ms. in Bombay Uni-  
versity Library ) in about 500



verses on आह्निक, शौच, स्नान, एकादशी &c. Quotes गरुडपुराण.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय (from आचारतिलक or लघ्वाचारतिलक) in 321 verses on दन्तधावन, स्नान, संध्या, daily duties, आह्निक, एकादशी &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 7331).

स्मृतिसमुच्चय of विश्वेश्वर. It is said in JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII that it is this work that is m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत०, हेमाद्रि (कालनिर्णय) III. 2. 686, दिव्यतत्त्व of रघु०, तिथिविवेक of शूलपाणि.

स्मृतिसरोजकलिका by विष्णुशर्मन् in 8 sections (खण्डs) on स्नान, पूजा, तिथि, आह्निक, सूतक, दान, यज्ञ, प्रायश्चित्त. Enumerates 28 स्मृतिकारs by name (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4360 No. 2997).

स्मृतिसरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार. Vide सरोजसुन्दर.

स्मृतिसर्वस्व by नारायण of कृष्णनगर in the Hughli District. (I. O. cat. p. 448). Earlier than 1675 A. D. He speaks of a क्षयमास as yet to occur in śake 1603 (1681 A. D.).

स्मृतिसागर by कुल्लुभट्ट; vide गोविन्दार्णव; m. in शूलपाणि's दुर्गात्मविवेक, छुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु०.

स्मृतिसागरसार m. in प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह of नारायणभट्ट and in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

B. B. 85.

स्मृतिसार by केशवशर्मन् in 1359 verses on rites to be performed on several तिथिs.

स्मृतिसार by नारायण.

स्मृतिसार by महेश. On impurity due to birth and death. N. vol. III. p. 48.

स्मृतिमाग by मुकुन्दलाल.

स्मृतिसार by गजिकदेव in 311 verses culled from स्मृतis on दायभाग, आह्निक, यज्ञोपवीत, मलमास, आचार, स्नान, छुद्धिक, सापिण्ड्य, आशौच. D. C. ms. No. 181 of 1895-1902 is dated संवत् 1652 (1595-96 A. D.).

स्मृतिसार by पादवेन्मभट्ट on the performance of festivals and rites on certain तिथिs such as कृष्णजन्माष्टमी, रामनवमी, and on दुर्गा-त्सव, आह्निक, आशौच, प्रायश्चित्त; m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति. I. O. cat. p. 477; N. vol. IV. p. 213 (ms. dated śake 1619).

स्मृतिसार by श्रीकृष्ण.

स्मृतिसार by हरिनाथ. Sec. 91. The work is also called स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय.

स्मृतिसार or आशौचनिर्णय-a com. on a work by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारटीका by कृष्णनाथ.

स्मृतिसारप्रदीप m. by रघुनन्दन.

स्मृतिसारन्यवस्था by विश्वरत्नस्मार्तभट्टाचार्य.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by कृष्णभट्ट.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by पुरुषोत्तमानन्द, pupil of परमहंसपूर्णानन्द, on आह्निक,



- शौच, स्नान, त्रिपुण्ड्र, कमसंन्यास, आश्रम, विस्वाहोम, स्त्रीसंन्यासविधि, क्षीरपर्वनिर्णय, यतिपार्वणश्राद्ध.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by महेश. Vide व्यवस्था-  
सारसंग्रह.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by याज्ञिकदेव. Seems  
to be same as स्मृतिसार with  
additions. Here the verses are  
459. Vide D. C. ms. No. 344  
of 1886-92.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वाचस्पति; men-  
tions रघु° (I. O. cat. p. 450).
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विद्यानन्दनाथ.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विश्वनाथ. Mentions  
विज्ञानेश्वर, कल्पतरु, वियाकरपद्धति.  
(Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss.  
for 1919-22 p. 4264 No. 2944).
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश.
- स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ.
- स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय on domestic obser-  
vances; gives extracts from 28  
sages on शौच, ब्रह्मचारि, आचार,  
दान, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त. Vide  
I. O. cat. p. 477 No. 1556 and  
Ulwar cat. extract 372, where  
it is said to have been compil-  
ed by धर्मशास्त्रकवि (a lover of  
धर्मशास्त्र).
- स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by हरिनाथ. Same  
as स्मृतिसार above.
- स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व by वेङ्कटेश. Same as  
आशौचनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश.
- स्मृतिसारसागर m. in लिखितस्व of रघु°.
- स्मृतिसारावलि m. in लि. सि.
- स्मृतिसारोद्धार vide चक्रनारायणीय-  
मिश्र. Pr. at Benares.
- स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by इन्द्रदत्त उपाध्याय.
- स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसूत्रा by रामचन्द्रबुध, a  
com. on अष्टपञ्चशष्टि.
- स्मृतिसिन्धु by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec.  
105.
- स्मृतिसिन्धु by श्रीनिवास, pupil of  
कृष्ण (Burnell's Tanj. cat.  
p. 1352) for वैष्णव.
- स्मृतिहृषाकर or वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध by ओझा-  
शङ्कर, son of हृषाकर. N. vol. IV  
p. 271.
- स्मृतिहृषाकर of शङ्करमिश्र. About  
1600 A. D. (JBORS. for 1927  
parts III-IV p. X).
- स्मृत्यधिकरण.
- स्मृत्यर्थनिर्णय (on व्यवहार).
- स्मृत्यर्थरत्नाकर alias स्मृत्यर्थसार.
- स्मृत्यर्थसागर by कृष्णारि वृसिहाचार्य, son  
of नारायण. Based on मध्वाचार्य's  
सदाचारस्मृति; divided into four  
तरङ्ग on आह्निक, काल, आशौच  
and शुद्धि (Vide Bhandarkar's  
Report for 1883-84 p. 52 and  
BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 748  
and Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. 285b).  
He says मध्वाचार्य was born in  
śake 1120. Mentions कमलाकर  
and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Later than  
1675 A. D.
- स्मृत्यर्थसार by नीलकण्ठाचार्य (C. P.  
cat. No. 6733).
- स्मृत्यर्थसार by मुकुन्दलाल.
- स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर. Sec. 81.
- स्मृत्यर्थसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I.  
4088) summaries of the views



of 28 sages are given on शौच, आश्रमन, वृत्तपावन, &c.; ms. dated संवत् 1743. The 28 sages are मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, विश्वामित्र, अत्रि, कात्यायन, वसिष्ठ, व्यास, उशनस, बौधायन, दक्ष, शङ्ख, लिखित, आपस्तम्ब, अगस्त्य, हारीत, विष्णु, गोभिल, ह्यमन्तु, मनुस्वायम्भुव, गुरु, नारद, पराशर. गर्ग, गौतम, यम, शातातप, अङ्गिरस्, संवत्. रघुत्यालोक ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 449 ).

स्वत्वरहस्य or स्वत्वविचार by अनन्तराम. On ownership of property.

स्वत्ववाद ( Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4782 ).

स्वत्वविचार N. ( new series ) vol. II. p. 226.

स्वत्वअवस्थानवसेतुबन्ध by रघुनाथसार्वभौम, in 6 परिच्छेदसु विभागनिरूपण, स्त्रीधन, स्त्रीधनाधिकारि, अनुव्रतनाधिकार.

स्वर्गवाद on स्वर्गवाद, प्रतिष्ठावाद, सविष्णुदीकरणवाद. N. ( new series ) vol. II. p. 229.

स्वर्गसाधन by रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य. Appears to be different from the great रघुनन्दन. On आश्रमाधिकारि, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, आशौचनिर्णय, वृक्षोत्सर्ग, षोडशश्राद्ध, पार्वणश्राद्ध &c. N. ( new series ) vol. I. p. 417.

स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति by जीवराम.

हनुमत्प्रतिष्ठा.

हयश्रीर्षपञ्चरात्र a वैष्णव work concerned with the consecration of images of gods and building temples; m. by रघु०, नि. सि. and हलायुध in पुराणसर्वस्व.

हरितालिकावतनिर्णय.

हरितोषण by वेदान्तबामनीकभट्टाचार्य.

हरिविनतिलक ( on एकादशी fast ) by चण्डभारुतस्वामिन्.

हरिविनतिलक by वेदान्तदेशिक.

C. ( vide cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2368 No. 3153 ). According to it the author वेदान्तदेशिक flourished after रघुति०, हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श and कालनिर्णय and held that the views of all these were अज्ञात and आधुन.

हरिपूजापद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ भार्गव. Stein's cat. p. 109.

हरिभक्ति m. by रघु० in आश्रितकल्प and एकादशीतत्त्व.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलता by विष्णुपुरी m. in कृष्णभक्तिकल्पवल्ली.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका by कृष्णसरस्वती divided into 14 स्तवकाः.

हरिभक्तिदीपिका by गणेश. N. vol. V. pp. 189-190.

हरिभक्तिभास्कर ( सद्ब्रह्मसारासर्वस्व ) by भुवनेश्वर, son of श्रीमानन्द, in 12 प्रकाशः; composed in संवत् 1884.

हरिभक्तिरसायन.

हरिभक्तिरसायनसिन्धु.

हरिभक्तिरहस्य.

हरिभक्तिलता.

हरिभक्तिविलास by गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द. He was ordered to write this work by चैतन्य; vide under भगवद्भक्तिविलास. Composed about 1562 A. D.; m. by रघुनन्दन.

हरिभक्तिविलास ( लघु ) by रूपगोस्वामिन्. C. by सनातनगोस्वामिन्, m. in



- वैष्णवतोषिणी. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 190-93 for an account of his family.
- हरिभक्तिसार.
- हरिभक्तिसुधोदय.
- C. m. by सदाचारचन्द्रिका.
- हरिवंशविलास by नन्दपण्डित, divided into कौतुक on आह्निक, कालनिर्णय, दान, संस्कार. Vide sec. 105.
- हरिवासरनिर्णय by व्यङ्गदेश (Baroda O. I. 8793).
- हरिहरदीक्षिणी.
- हरिहरपद्धति by हरिहर. The same as is appended to his भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र; m. by हेमाद्रि, आह्निक-सौख्य of टोडरानन्द, उद्वाहत्त्व and other तत्त्व of रघु. Vide sec. 84.
- हरिहरभाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य by हरिहर.
- हलायुधनिबन्ध m. in आचारादर्श of श्रीवत्.
- हलायुधीय m. in आचारमहासूत्र. Probably the ब्राह्मणतर्कस्व of हलायुध.
- हारलता by अतिशब्द. Sec. 82.
- C. मन्दर्भस्मृतिका by अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन, son of हरिवासरतर्काचार्य.
- C. विवरण m. by नन्दपण्डित in आह्निककल्पलता.
- हारीतस्मृति. Vide sec. 11 and 56.
- C. m. by हेमाद्रि; vide p. 71 above.
- C. by तकनलाल.
- हारीतस्मृति (Baroda O. I. 8185) in four अध्याय on नित्य and नैमित्तिक rites of वर्ण and आश्रम, eight नारीधर्म, सृष्टधर्म, जीवपरमेश्वरस्वरूप, मोक्षसाधन, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्र. There is व्यवहाराध्याय also.
- हिरण्यकामधेनुदान.

हिरण्यकेशाह्निक.

हिरण्यकेशि (सत्याचाह) गृह्यसूत्र in two प्रश्न, each divided into पटल (ed. by Dr. Kirste at Vienna, 1889 and tr. in SBE. vol. 30).

C. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती by महादेव.

C. by मातृदत्त (extracts in Kirste's edition).

हिरण्यकेशिधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 8 p. 46 above.

C. उज्ज्वला by महादेव (p. 49 above).

हिरण्यश्राद्ध.

हेमाद्रिकालनिर्णयसंक्षेप or- संग्रह by भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide Baroda O. I. No. 5480.

हेमाद्रिनिबन्ध- the same as सतुर्धर्म-चिन्तामणि.

हेमाद्रिप्रयोग by विद्याधर.

हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप by भजीभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 110).

हेमाद्रिगर्वप्रायश्चित्त by वाङ्मरि.

होमकालातिक्रमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमनिर्णय by भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्कर. About 1620-1680 A. D.

होमपद्धति by माधव (part of his) मरुतिलक). Mentions रूपनारायण; Ulwar cat. extract 375.

होमपद्धति by लम्बोदर.

होमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

होमविधान by बालकृष्ण (ऋग्वेदीय). Baroda O. I. 8354.

होमसिद्धान्त ano.

होरिलस्मृति m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार or विश्वम्भर.



## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF AUTHORS ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

While preparing this list, great difficulties were experienced in stating all the works composed by an author. In the case of such names as Ananta, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṇḍādhara, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Śaṅkara, which are extremely common, the only method that could be followed, in the absence of materials to identify the authors bearing these names, was to place the same name several times in the list against the work composed by that author. Since the authors themselves very often convey no more information than their own names and since some of the reports on the search for mss. do not give even what little information about the author can be gathered from the ms. of his work, Aufrecht also was compelled to follow this method. In order to avoid repetition and save space, I have not repeated in this list the information that was given under the works contained in the list A. Dates are given principally under the names of authors and sometimes under works also. For further information readers will have in many cases to refer to the works put down as composed by an author. In the case of authors who have written on several śāstras, their works on dharmaśāstra alone have been mentioned. Wherever possible parentage has been noted and dates assigned. In a few cases information which became available after list A was prepared has been incorporated here.

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अखण्ड a. of अखण्डहाद्री.

अखण्डानन्दमुनि, disciple of अखण्डा-  
द्वन्द्वित; a. of महाविष्णुपुजापद्धति.

अगस्त्य a. of अगस्त्यसंहिता.

अधोरशिवाचार्य a. of आशौचदीपिका.

अक्षिप्स् a. of a स्मृति. Sec. 39.  
Vide also मध्यमाक्षिप्स् and बृह-  
दक्षिप्स्.

अचल, son of वत्सराज, son of भोविन्द,  
resident of आनन्दपुर; a. of आह्निक-  
दीपक and निर्णयदीपक (composed  
in संवत् 1575 i. e. 1518-19  
A. D.), महारुद्रपद्धति, शाङ्ख्यनाह्निक  
or दीपिका.

अच्युत a. of सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम.

अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन, son of हरिदासतर्का-  
चार्य; a. of दायभागसिद्धान्तकुमुद-  
चन्द्रिका (com. on दायभाग of  
जौहतराहन), सन्दर्भसूक्तिका (com.  
on हारलता of अनिरुद्ध), आश्च-  
र्यविवेकटिप्पणी (m. in his com.  
on दायभाग). About 1500-1550  
A. D.; ms. of दायभागसिद्धान्तकुमुद-  
चन्द्रिका in B. O. mss. cat. vol.  
I. No. 205 p. 120 is dated  
शके 1581 (1669 A. D.).

अच्युतानन्द, pupil of आनन्दगिरि, a.  
of एकादशीनिर्णयव्याख्या.

अच्युताश्रम, disciple of परमानन्दाश्रम  
or सिदानन्दाश्रम; a. of रामार्चन-  
चन्द्रिका, विश्वेश्वरीपद्धति (or यति-  
धर्मसंग्रह), संन्यासधर्मसंग्रह, संन्यास-  
पद्धति. In विश्वेश्वरीपद्धति, the  
ज्ञानार्णव is mentioned and the  
ms. No. 12548 Baroda O. I.  
was copied in संवत् 1887  
(1830-31 A. D.).

अजयपाल m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

अण्णादीक्षित a. of अण्णादीक्षितीय.

अत्रि. Vide sec. 16.

अनन्त a. of शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, sur-  
named यज्ञोपवीत. Later than  
1575 A. D. and earlier than  
1750; a. of प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्ता-  
नुष्ठानपद्धति (for आश्वलायनीय),  
महारुद्रपद्धति, सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग.

अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec.  
109; a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (divided  
into 12 parts on तिथि, संस्कार  
&c.), भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय or -विवेक,  
मधुरासेतु, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका, अन्ये-  
ष्टिपद्धति, ऋत्विग्धरणनिर्णय, दत्तक-  
पुत्रविधान.

अनन्तदेव a. of चलाचार्यपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of राज्याभिषेकपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of व्रतप्रकाश.

अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विवेदिन. Later  
than 1640 A. D.; a. of गयाश्राद्ध-  
पद्धति, वृद्धिश्राद्धदीपिका (वृद्धिश्राद्ध-  
पद्धति), यज्ञसंध्या, रुद्रकल्पद्रुम,  
सर्वव्रतोपायन, वृद्धिश्राद्धविनिर्णय.

अनन्तदेव a. of श्राद्धकल्पसूत्रपद्धति,  
a com. on the श्राद्धसूत्र of  
कात्यायन.

अनन्तदेव a. of गायत्रीपुस्तकश्रवणविधि,  
उत्सर्गपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of कुण्डोद्घोषोत्तर्जन.

अनन्तदेवज्ञ, son of केशवदेवज्ञ, resi-  
dent of नन्दिग्राम; a. of कालनिर्णया-  
चबोध. Bik. cat. p. 399 gives  
śake 1488 (1566-7 A. D.) as  
date but it is not clear whether  
it is of composition or copying.



- अनन्तभट्ट a. of com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1640-1670; a. of रामकल्पव्रम, सुबोधिनी (com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी).
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट; a. of ग्रहपञ्चविधान, वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of दाईभट्ट; a. of सदाचाररहस्य (composed at the desire of संग्रामसिंह). About 1715 A. D.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट or नागदेवभट्ट, son of जहु, of काण्वकुल; a. of आह्निकपारिजात, दानपारिजात, विधानपारिजात (composed in 1625 A. D.) and other works ending in पारिजात (शान्तिपारिजात), ग्रहपञ्चविधान.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट, son of यज्ञभट्ट; a. of आह्निकसंग्रह. Probably the same as the preceding.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of बापुभट्ट, a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of महादेव; a. of तिथिनिर्णय or निर्णयचिन्तु (ms. dated 1526-7 A. D. in Baroda O. I. No. 10611). It is this author that is probably mentioned as अनन्तभट्ट in नि. सि. and वृत्तिहप्रसाद. Earlier than 1500 A. D.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of समयनिर्णय.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of सदाचारनिर्णय.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of ग्रहपरिशिष्ट; m. by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I p. 54) and कुल्लुक.
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of पदुभट्ट. About 2nd quarter of 17th century; a. of तीर्थरत्नाकर (at the request of अनुपसिंह).
- अनन्तभट्ट, son of सिद्धेश्वर; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान, of com. प्रभा or सुप्रभा on कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्द (com. composed in 1692-93 A. D. at पल्लीपत्तन, probably modern Pālī in the Bhor State).
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of दानसागर.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of आर्योपयोगिवचन.
- अनन्तभट्ट a. of सुबोधिनी होमपद्धति (for nine planets).
- अनन्तभट्टमहामहोपाध्याय a. of दत्तकदीधिति (probably the same as दत्तकपुत्रविधान of अनन्तदेव).
- अनन्तमिश्र a. of पाकपञ्चपद्धति.
- अनन्तयज्वन, son of रुष्ण; a. of com. on पितृमेघसूत्र of गौतम.
- अनन्तयाज्ञिक a. of व्यवहारदर्पण, छुडि-दर्पण.
- अनन्तराम a. of विवादचन्द्रिका, स्वत्वरहस्य or स्वत्वविचार. Later than 1600 A. D.
- अनन्तराम, a. of वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा.
- अनन्तराम, son of रामचरणन्यायालङ्कार. About 1810 A. D.; a. of सहास्रमरणविवेक.
- अनन्तरामशास्त्रि a. of विवाहकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.
- अनन्तात्वर a. of जातिसाङ्ख्यवाद.
- अनिरुद्धभट्ट Vide sec. 82; 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century A. D.; a. of पितृदयिता or कर्मोपदेशिनीपद्धति and हारलता.
- अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय a. of मन्त्रकौस्तुभ. Said to be a दाक्षिणात्य. Earlier than 1795 A. D.



अनूपसिंहदेव, son of कर्णसिंह, a Rathor prince. About 1673 A.D.; (reputed) a. of अनूपविवेक, आन्ध्र-प्रयोगचिन्तामणि.

अन्युकभट्ट. About 1030-1050 A. D.; m. in the कालचिन्तक of जीवतवाहन.

अपरार्क Or अपरादित्य Sec. 79; a. of com. called याज्ञवल्क्यधर्मशास्त्र-निबन्ध. Between 1115-1130 A.D.

अपिपाल, son of देहणपाल, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्दपाल; a. of अपिपालकारिका and अपिपालपद्धति (श्रुत-पद्धति). M. by गोविन्दानन्द and रघुनन्दन. One ms. (N. vol. V. p. 302) was copied in शके 1442 (1521 A. D.). So earlier than 1500 A. D. In the colophon the work is described as कारित by अपिपाल.

अप्ययदीक्षित a. of तत्समुद्राखण्डन; about 1520-1592 A. D.

अप्ययदीक्षित (माधुर) a. of प्रायश्चित्त-विधि. Probably the same as अप्यादीक्षित native of गौरीमाधुर.

अप्ययदीक्षित a. of शिवार्चनचंद्रिका, शैवफलपत्रम्. He is probably the same as the a. of तत्समुद्राखण्डन.

अप्यादीक्षित a native of गौरीमाधुर; a. of आचारनवनीत (composed about 1700 A. D.) under Tanjore king Shahaji.

अप्याबाजयेयिन् a. of नीतिसुमावलि.

अभिनवधर्मसूत्रणाचार्य a. of न्यायदीपिका.

अमरेन्द्र a. of शिवार्चनपद्धति.

अमृतनाथमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय, son of श्रीमन्निकेशमिश्र; a. of कृतिसार-समुच्चय Or कृत्यसार, प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्था-सार, वादसारसमुच्चय (on 18 व्यवहारपद); vide B.O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 77 p. 74 for कृत्यसारसमुच्चय, which appears to be only a part dealing with व्रत and प्रायश्चित्त from the larger work called सार-समुच्चयार्णव and No. 319 p. 358 for वादसारसमुच्चय.

अमृतपाठक, son of सखाराम; a. of मरकारपद्धति. Later than 1680 A. D.

अमृतानन्दतीर्थ a. of तारकोपदेशव्यवस्था.

अल्लयम m. ताहिरिनाथ's स्मृतिसार.

अल्लाहनाथसूरी, son of सिद्धलक्ष्मण. Between 1250-1500 A. D.; a. of निर्णयामृत (composed at the desire of prince सूर्यसेन, ruler of एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna). Vide under निर्णयामृत.

अष्टावक्र com. of मानवगृह्यसूत्र and of गौधायनगृह्य.

असहाय Vide sec. 58. About 700-750 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on नारद-स्मृति, of भाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र and probably of com. on मनुस्मृति.

अहोयल a. of असगोत्रपुत्रपरिश्रवपरीक्षा and असविण्णसगोत्रपुत्रपरिश्रवविधि, पुरश्चरणकौस्तुभ (Bik. cat. p. 600).

आउच्चाशुद्धदीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तसार.

आक्षिप्त a. of आतुरतन्त्र्यासविधि.

आत्माराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार.



आवेय a. of स्मृति; m. by विश्वरूप.

आदित्यदर्शन a. of com. on काठक-  
गृह्यसूत्र.

आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ, pupil of विश्व-  
श्वराचार्य. Between 1200-1325  
A. D.; a. of कालनिर्णय or कालादर्श.

आदित्यभट्ट a. of व्रतकालनिर्णय.

आदित्याचार्य or कौशिकादित्य. About  
1400-1500 A. D.; a. of षडशीति  
or आशौचनिर्णय.

आनन्द son of प्रभाकर of the दशपुत्र  
family; a. of आह्निक.

आनन्द a. of धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका.

आनन्दचन्द्र a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह,  
बालप्रेषक (on प्रायश्चित्त), प्राय-  
श्चित्तौघसार (probably same as  
the preceding).

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of विष्णुतत्त्वनिर्णय.

आनन्दतीर्थ son of जनार्दनभट्ट; a. of  
संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति, अनुयागपद्धति, पूजा-  
पद्धति.

आनन्दतीर्थ भार्गव. a. of हरिपूजापद्धति.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of प्रणवफल्य.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

आनन्दतीर्थ, the founder of the माध्व  
sect. Said to have flourished be-  
tween 1118-1198 A.D. But there  
are varying views. One of his  
pupils अक्षोभ्यतीर्थ is said to have  
defeated विचारण्य in polemical  
discussions. If this be correct,  
then आनन्दतीर्थ must have flour-  
ished about 1250-1300. Dr.  
Bhandarkar (in Vaiṣṇaviṣm  
and Śaivism p. 59) accepts  
M. D. 86.

1198 and 1276 A. D. as the  
years of his birth and death; a.  
of कर्मनिर्णय, कृष्णासूतमहार्णव,  
जयन्तीनिर्णय, संन्यासपद्धति, सदाचार-  
स्मृति or स्मृतिविवरण. Vide  
Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-  
83, p. 207 for 37 works attrib-  
uted to him and E. I. vol. VI pp.  
261-263 for the age of आनन्दतीर्थ  
and his pupils. आनन्दतीर्थ is  
said to have been the son of  
मध्यमेह.

आनन्दरामयाज्ञिक a. of संस्कारपद्धति or  
षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति.

आनन्दराय बाजपेय्यध्वन, minister of  
Tanjore king Shahuji and Sar-  
foji (first quarter of 18th cen-  
tury), a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र-  
विरुति.

आनन्दरत्न, pupil of मुकुन्दध्वन. Ear-  
lier than 1650 A. D.; a. of रामा-  
र्चनचन्द्रिका. If it is this work  
that is quoted in the तिथितत्त्व,  
then the author is earlier than  
1550 A. D.

आनन्दशर्मन, son of रामशर्मन; a. of  
व्यवस्थादर्पण, कृत्यदर्पण.

आनन्दानन्द, a. of यतिनित्यपद्धति.

आनन्दयति (probably सरस्वतीतीर्थ or  
नरहरि) a. of स्मृतिदर्पण.

आपदेव, alias सदाशिवदेव, son of  
श्रीपति; a. of सापिण्ड्यकल्पलता or  
लतिका. About 1700 A. D. His  
grandson was a pupil of  
नागोजिभट्ट.

आपदेव a. of खेटपीठमाला, तिथि-  
तत्त्वसार.



आपदेव, son of अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. He was father of अनन्तदेव a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ and so flourished about 1600-1650 A. D. ; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, दशपद्धति.

आपदेव a. of आह्निक.

आपदेव a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (ms. No. 1870 of Baroda O. I. dated शके 1673 ).

आपस्तम्ब Vide sec. 7 ; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and धर्मसूत्र and पितृमेघसूत्र.

आर्याध्वरीन्द्र a. of com. on अनुयाग-पद्धति.

आर्षिपेण a. of a स्मृति m. in नि. सि.

आशादिभ्य or आशार्क or आशाधर, son of चक्रधर ; a. of com. on कर्मप्रदीप and of com. on छन्दोगपण्डित ; m. in आचारसार of लक्ष्मण. So earlier than 1600 A.D.

आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन, a. of मन्त्रकोश.

आशाधरभट्ट a. of सन्ध्यासूत्रप्रदीप.

आश्वलायन. Vide also लक्ष्मणश्वलायन and बह्मदाश्व० ; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति ( m. in मिताक्षरा and हेमाद्रि ).

इन्द्रगण्डि सूर्यनारायण-see under सूर्यनारायण.

इन्द्रवत्त उपाध्याय, a. of स्मृतिमिद्धान्त-संग्रह.

इन्द्रपति, son of रुचिपति and रुचिमणी and pupil of गोपालभट्ट ; a. of मीमांसापत्न्यल.

ईशान, elder brother of हलायुध. Latter half of 12th century ; a. of विज्ञातिकापद्धति (according to

ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व) m. in आश्वतरव. An ईशानन्यायाचार्य is m. in उद्वाहतरव ( vol. II. p. 135 ).

ईशाननाथ a. of नयज्ञान ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 240 p. 262 ).

ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मन् a. of स्पष्टस्थासेतु.

ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिषराय ; a. of सुहृत्तरत्न ( also called सुहृत्तरत्नाकर ).

ईश्वरनाथ or शुद्धेश्वरनाथ a. of स्मृति-कल्पद्रुम.

उतथ्य a. of स्मृति ; m. in स्मृति-चन्द्रिका.

उत्तरंगार्घ्य m. in नि. सि.

उत्पल a. of ज्ञानमाला.

उदयकर, com. of मनुस्मृति ; m. in विद्यादत्तनाकर of चण्डेश्वर ( pp. 455, 583, 590 ).

उदयकर a. of पारस्करब्राह्मणवृत्त्यर्थ-संग्रह.

उदयसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह and king of उत्तरकोसल. Flourished between 1450-1525 A. D. ; ( reputed ) a. of रूपनारायणीय ( पद्धति ).

उद्ग्राहमल्ल m. in the दायभाग of जीवतवाहन.

उपकात्यायन m. by हेमाद्रि III. 2. 657.

उपसन्धु a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा ( on राज. III. 260 ), by हरदत्त ( on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 11 ).

उपाध्याय-a com. of मनुस्मृति m. by मेधातिथि ( on मनु II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147 ).

उमानाथ a. of आशौचनिर्णय.



- उमापति Earlier than 1575 A. D. ;  
a. of प्रतिष्ठाविवेक, शुद्धिनिर्णय, आशु-  
निर्णय.
- उमापति a. of स्मृतिदीपिका (B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I p. 516, no. 441).
- उमाशङ्कर a. of com. on दायभाग and  
of शुद्धिसेतु.
- उशनस् Vide sec. 17 ; a. of a work  
on अर्थशास्त्र and of a धर्मसूत्र.
- ऋतु a. of a com. on मनुस्मृति, m.  
by मेधातिथि ( on मनु VIII. 152 ).
- ऋषिपुत्र- quoted as a writer on  
अर्थशास्त्र in the com. on नीति-  
वाक्यामृत.
- ऋषिपुत्र or ऋषिभट्ट, son of गङ्गाधर,  
surnamed शौच ; a. of संस्कार-  
भास्कर.
- ऋषिभट्ट a. of रोदशकर्मपद्धति.
- कण्वगङ्गा a. of a स्मृति ; sec. 40.
- एक an author m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6.  
19. 7.
- एकगज ( prince Ekoji of Tanjore  
who ruled from 1676 A. D. to  
1684 A. D. ) a. of प्रपञ्चामृतसार or  
प्रपञ्चसारासृत or राजरत्नपुराण.
- ओष्वाशङ्कर- vide under शङ्कर.
- जादुम्बरवि a. of व्रतनिर्णय.
- ओषकायन a. of स्मृति, m. by अपराध  
( p. 1195 ), हेमाद्रि ( दानखण्ड ).
- ओषजङ्गुनि, an author m. in धौ. ध. सू.  
II. 2. 33.
- कण्व m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 1  
and I. 6. 19. 3. Vide sec. 18.
- कण्व a. of स्मृति m. in हरदत्त on  
गौ. ध. सू. 23. 3 and 11.
- कनकसभापति a. of गृह्यकारिका ( चौपा-  
यनीय ), चौपायनस्मार्तप्रयोग.
- कनकसभापति, son of वैयनाथ of मौदूल-  
गोत्र ; a. of कारिकामञ्जरी and com.  
प्रयोगादर्श. This seems to be the  
same as the preceding, since in  
the चौपायनस्मार्तप्रयोग the author  
refers to कारिकामञ्जरी as his own  
work. Vide Hultsch's R. II.  
no. 972.
- कपर्दिन a. of भाष्य on भारद्वाजसूत्र, of  
कारिकास on आपस्तम्बसूत्र, of com.  
on आपस्तम्बपितृमेधसूत्र and of  
com. on प्रवरखण्ड and on  
( आपस्तम्बीय ) अपरसूत्र.
- कपिपुत्र m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.
- कपिल a. of स्मृति in 10 अध्याय.
- कमण्डलुभट्ट m. by कुल्लुक in आशु-  
सागर.
- कमलाकर a. of आचार्यदीपिका. Pro-  
bably same as above.
- कमलाकर, a. of प्रवरदर्पण.
- कमलाकर a. of मन्त्रकमलाकर.
- कमलाकर a. of भुक्तिप्रकरण.
- कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son  
of नारायणभट्ट. Sec. 106. First  
half of 17th century ; a. of  
कर्मविपाकरत्न, कलिधर्मनिर्णय, कर्त-  
व्यीर्षपद्धति, गोत्रप्रथरनिर्णय or- दर्पण,  
दानकमलाकर, तीर्थकमलाकर or  
सर्वतीर्थविधि, निर्णयमिन्द्रु, नीति-  
कमलाकर, पुत्रकमलाकर, प्रायश्चित्त-  
रत्न, बह्वृचाह्निक, भक्तिरत्न, रुद्रपद्धति,  
विषादताण्डव, व्रतकमलाकर, शान्ति-



कमलाकर or शान्तिरत्न, शूद्रकमलाकर or शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व, संस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारप्रयोगकमलाकर, शास्त्रतत्त्वकौतुहल or तत्त्वकमलाकर. Parts of his works (such as parts of the निर्णयसिन्धु and दानकमलाकर) are very frequently entered in the catalogues as separate works.

कमलाकरभट्ट, a resident of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon) on the Godavari; a. of आचारदीप or प्रदीप and आक्षिपप्रयोग.

कमलाकरभट्ट m. by कुट्टक in आश्व-सागर as भाष्यकार.

कम्भालूरवृत्तिह a. of आशौचदीपिका. Later than 1400 A. D.

कपीटभट्ट m. in आश्वसागर of कुट्टक.

करुणाशङ्कर (probably same as दयाशङ्कर) a. of वास्तुचन्द्रिका, वृद्धि-आश्वविधि.

करुणाशङ्कर a. of नीतिविवेक.

कर्क m. by त्रिकाण्डमण्डनभास्कर, हेमाद्रि. Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of com. on आप. श्रु. सू. and on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, on स्नानसूत्र of कात्यायन and on आश्वकल्पसूत्र of कात्यायन.

कलायखञ्ज a. of कर्मप्रकाश.

कल्याण a. of तिथिरूपद्रुम.

कल्याणभट्ट revised अतहाय's भाष्य on नारदस्मृति.

कल्याणवर्मन्, a prince; a. of com. on विषाहश्रुन्दावन of केशवार्थ and a. of व्यवहारप्रदीप.

कल्याणशर्मन् a. of शिवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति (at the bidding of king राघवसिंह).

कवय a. of a स्मृति, m. in मस्करि's भाष्य on गौ. ध. सू. and in पराशर-माधवीय.

कविकान्तसरस्वती a. of विश्वादर्श q. v.; flourished between 1100-1200 A. D.

कविरत्न a. of सरोजकलिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 419 p. 495). Earlier than 1600 A. D.

कविराजगिरि a. of कविराजकौतुक.

कवीन्द्र a. of शान्तिचन्द्रिका.

कश्यप a. of a धर्मसूत्र and a स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.

कश्यप a. of शूद्रपञ्चसंस्कारविधि.

कस्तुरि, son of नागय; a. of कस्तुरि-स्मृति or स्मृतिशेखर.

काण्व a. of a धर्मसूत्र and of a स्मृति. Sec. 18; m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.

कात्य, an author, m. in बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 45.

कात्यायन a. of वृषोत्सर्गादिपद्धति (ms. No. 9470 Baroda O. I.).

कात्यायन a. of आनुरसंन्यासविधि.

कात्यायन a. of a स्मृति in verse. Sec. 38; a. of a गृह्यसूत्र, आश्वसूत्र, of मूल्याध्याय, स्नानसूत्र or स्नानविधिसूत्र or त्रिकाण्डिकाग्र.

कात्यायन a. of कर्मप्रदीप.

कान्ददेव a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति.

कामदेव a. of दायभागनिर्णय.



कामदेवदीक्षित. Later than 1500 and earlier than 1660 A. D. ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति, पारस्करसूत्र-परिशिष्टपद्धति and of कर्मप्रदीपिका ( a पद्धति to पारस्करसूत्रम् ), of a com. on मूल्याध्याय.

कामदेवमहाराज a. of दाननागर. Later than 1200 A. D.

कामन्दक or -कि, a. of कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार. Referred to by भवभूति ( in the character कामन्दकी in मालतीमाधव ) and by वामन in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति and in the महाभारत. Earlier than 650 A. D. and probably flourished in 3rd or 4th century A. D.

कामरूपपति a. of गृहार्थप्रकाशिका com. on शारदातिलक.

कामेश्वरपञ्चन a. of com. called हित-धर्म on पराशरस्मृति. Mentions माधवाचार्य. So later than 1400 A. D.

कार्णार्जिनि a. of a स्मृति quoted in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 265 ).

कालिदास a. of उत्तरकालावृत.

कालिदास a. of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका.

कालिदास, son of बलभद्र ; a. of कुण्ड-प्रबन्ध ( D. C. ms. No. 42 of A 1882-83 ). The work was composed in शके 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D. ( आश्वेद्वेदिमिति स्मृतितथयो मासे मधुसूक्तके ).

कालिदासचपनिच, m. in the plural in कालसार of गदाधर.

कालीचरण a. of दुर्गाचामुकर.

कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार a. of स्मृतिमञ्जरी ( composed in 1834 A. D. ).

कालेसि महामहोपाध्याय, a. of दशकर्म-पद्धति.

काशीदीक्षित, son of मदाशिवदीक्षित a. of प्रयोगरत्न, रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति ( or महाकठपद्धति or कठपद्धति ), सप्तविधान-पद्धति and आश्व-प्रयोगपद्धति or आश्व-दीपिका, आह्निकप्रयोग, प्रयोगरत्न.

काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार a. of com. on तिथितत्त्व and प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु-नन्दन ( N. I. p. 105 ) and प्राय-श्चित्तकदम्बसारसंग्रह.

काशीनाथ मर a. of आपस्तम्बाह्निक and ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

काशीनाथ a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

,, a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

,, a. of आश्वकल्प.

काशीनाथ उपाध्याय ( or पाध्ये ), son of अनन्त, son of काश्यपाध्याय. Sec. 112 ; a. of धर्मसिन्धु ( or -सार composed in 1791 A. D. ), प्राय-श्चित्तेन्दुशेखर, विट्ठलकृष्णम्बरसारभाष्य, कुण्डदिव्यपाल with com.

काशीनाथ, son of जयराम ( surnamed जडे ) ; a. of शिवपूजातन्त्रिणी.

काशीनाथभट्ट ( also called शिवानन्द-नाथ ) ; son of जयरामभट्ट, son of शिवरामभट्ट ; a. of कालनिर्णयदीपिका, तिथिदीपिका, पुरश्चरणदीपिका, गायत्री-पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, चण्डिकाचर्चनदीपिका, त्रिस्थलीसेतु.

काशीराम वाचस्पतिभट्टाचार्य, son of राधावल्लभ, son of रामकृष्ण ; a. of commentaries on the various



- parts of the स्मृतितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (such as उद्वाहृतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व, तिथितत्त्व, दायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्त<sup>०</sup>, मल-मास<sup>०</sup>, शुद्धितत्त्व, छन्दोगश्राद्धतत्त्व). He is different from काशीनाथ-तर्कालङ्कार, who also commented on तिथितत्त्व (compare N. I. p. 150 with N. II. p. 84).
- काश्यप a. of स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.
- कालदेव a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I. No. 244 p. 267).
- कुणिक m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.
- कुत्स m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.
- कुशुमि a. of स्मृति m. by अपरार्क (p. 548), कालधिवेक of जीमूतवाहन, हेमाद्रि. Also कौशुमि.
- कुबेरानन्द a. of दानभागवत (vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 and 496 of 1886-92), a huge work composed under संग्राम-सिंह.
- कुबेरोपाध्याय m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivānanda vol. I. p. 298) of रघुनन्दन.
- कुबेरोपाध्याय (reputed) a. of दत्तक-चन्द्रिका. Said to have been composed by a pandit of Colebrooke, about 1800.
- कुमार a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 253), अपरार्क (p. 1070), स्मृतिभार of हरिनाथ, शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (p. 550).
- कुमारस्वामिन a. of आश्वलायनगृह्य-कारिका. Later than 1000 A. D.
- कुमारस्वामिबिष्णु a. of प्रयोगसारपीठ.
- कुलनिधि a. of नित्यधर्मप्रकाशिका.
- कुलमणिशुक्ल a. of com. on अङ्गिरः-स्मृति, com. on गौतमधर्मसूत्र, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, and of आह्निक-चन्द्रिका, of रामार्चनचन्द्रिका.
- कुलमुनि a. of नीतिप्रकाश and of शान्तिचिन्तामणि.
- कुलार्क m. by the सरस्वतीविलास (p. 281) in the same breath with विज्ञानेश्वर and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Before 1500 A. D.
- कुलकभट्ट, son of भट्टदिवाकर. Sec. 88. About 1250 A. D.; a. of मन्वर्थ-सूक्तावली; com. on मनुस्मृति and of श्राद्धमागर, आचारसागर and विवादसागर.
- कुपाराम pupil of जयराम; 2nd half of 18th century; a. of नवधर्म-प्रदीप.
- कुपाराम a. of com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व and of वास्तुचन्द्रिका.
- कुपाराम (a Gauda prince), son of यादवराज. First half of 17th century; (reputed) a. of राम-प्रकाश.
- कृष्ण, son of गोविन्द, son of राघव of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of वर्णाश्रमधर्म-दीप or दीपिका.
- कृष्ण, author of लघुपद्धति. Between 1350 and 1500 A. D.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1422) dated संवत् 1592 and the author names चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार and स्मृत्यर्थसार; flourished between 1350 and 1500 A. D.
- कृष्ण of शेष family, son of मुसिह or नरसिंह; about 1500 A. D.; a. of



- शूद्राचारशिरोमणि (where he claims गोविन्दार्णव as his own work), श्लोकचतुर्दशी.
- कृष्ण of the होसिंग family; a. of शास्त्रसरोद्धार. Later than 1450 A. D.
- कृष्ण आचार्य, a. of कृष्णार्क.
- कृष्ण आचार्य, son of कुमारहृसिंहभट्ट; a. of स्मृतिमुक्तावली.
- कृष्ण आचार्य a. of प्रभा, a com. on शुद्धिदीपिका.
- कृष्णकान्तशर्मन a. of com. on दाय-भाग.
- कृष्णगोविन्दपण्डित a. of जातिविवेक (part of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीपिका).
- कृष्णचन्द्र a. of व्रतविवेकभास्कर.
- कृष्णतर्कालङ्कार- vide under श्रीकृष्ण-तर्का.
- कृष्णतात, a. of सन्मार्गकण्ठकोद्धार.
- कृष्णताताचार्य, a. of धर्मनिर्णय, वैष्णव-लक्षण.
- कृष्णदत्त, son of आश्वमेधिक ब्रह्मन्; a. of कर्मकौमुदी.
- कृष्णदत्तमिश्र alias यत्नेमालिमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि; a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. About 1650 A. D.
- कृष्णदास a. of भक्तिरमार्णव.
- कृष्णदीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर; a. of और्ध्वदेहिकप्रयोग.
- कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य; a. of वैष्णव-धर्मोनुष्ठानपद्धति, रुमिहपरिचर्या and विष्णुभक्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.
- कृष्णदेवशर्मामागीश, son of नारायण; a. of कृत्यतत्त्व alias प्रयोगसार, प्राय-

- चित्तकौमुदी or -विवेक, शुद्धिप्रदीपिका and प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.
- कृष्णद्वैपायन, a. of स्मृति, m. in मिताक्षरा.
- कृष्णनाथ a. of com. on अत्रिस्मृति, of com. on दक्षस्मृति, of com. on मनुस्मृति and व्यासस्मृति, of com. on संस्कारतत्त्व of रघु०, of com. on स्नानसूत्रदीपिका of गोपीनाथ, of स्मृति-कौमुदीटीका, स्मृतिसारटीका.
- कृष्णपण्डित a. of धर्मागमानुबन्धि-श्लोक.
- कृष्णपण्डित, son of राघवदैवज्ञ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य,
- कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामभद्र and लक्ष्मी; a. of सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य and सन्ध्या-निर्णयकल्पवल्ली.
- कृष्णपण्डित महापात्र, grandson of गदाधर, author of कालसार; a. of नीतिरत्नाकर. About 1450 A. D.
- कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ; a. of कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपद्धति; कालनिर्णयदीपिका. Between 1300-1500 A. D.
- कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायण; a. of गायत्री-पुरश्चरणप्रयोग (composed in 1759 A. D.).
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of श्राद्धदीधिति.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of कविरहस्य.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of जीवन्मुक्तकर्तव्यसंचय.
- कृष्णभट्ट a. of समयमयूख.
- कृष्णभट्ट आर्दे (or आरड), son of रघुनाथ of Benares; a. of रत्नमाला alias दीपिका on निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकर-भट्ट.



कृष्णभट्ट मोनिव, son of रघुनाथभट्ट, son of गोवर्धन ; a. of कालचन्द्रिका, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका and सरोजसुन्दर ( vide N. I. p. 14 for शुद्धिचन्द्रिका ).

कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिशुख, son of नित्यानन्द ; a. of आद्यकाशिका, a com. on आद्यसूत्र of कात्यायन. Composed in संवत् 1505 ( 1448-9 A. D. ).

कृष्णमित्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त ; a. of कालमार्तण्ड, निधि-निर्णयमार्तण्ड and कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रेत-प्रदीप, आद्यप्रदीप and of com. on त्रिशच्छ्लोकी.

कृष्णमिश्र, of the कौत्सगोत्र, a. of कालसर्वस्व.

कृष्णराज, a king who ruled over महाराष्ट्र on the गोदावरी ; a. of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप, a large work.

कृष्णराज a. of स्मृतिमहाराज. Mentions मदनरत्न.

कृष्णराम a. of कर्मकालप्रकाशिका or-प्रकाश, उत्तरगर्गनिर्णय, दानोद्घोत, प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल.

कृष्णराम ( of काश्मीर ), a. of महा-शिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

कृष्णविप्र a. of com. on आद्यविवेक of शूलपाणि.

कृष्णाशर्मन, son of नरसिंह ; a. of शुद्धिप्रकाश ( composed at the bidding of छोटाराय ).

कृष्णशैव a. of प्रवरदीपिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

कृष्णसरस्वती a. of हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका.

कृष्णाचार्य a. of com. प्रभा on शुद्धि-दीपिका of श्रीनिवास.

कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारदासहभट्ट ; a. of स्मृतिमुक्तावली.

कृष्णानन्द a. of ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी.

कृष्णानन्द बागीश्वरभट्टाचार्य a. of १८-कर्मदीपिका.

कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती a. of अनुयागपद्धति.

केशदर, m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार. Earlier than 1150 A. D.

केशदरनाथदत्त a. of दत्तककौस्तुभ.

केशव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

केशव a. of केशवार्णव.

केशव, son of सोमेश्वर ; a. of कौशिक-गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति.

केशवकवीन्द्र a. of संख्यापरिणामसंग्रह.

He was the chief pandit of the परिषत् of a king of Tirhut.

केशवजीवानन्दशर्मेन, a. of आद्यकारिका.

केशवतर्कप्रश्नानन a. of ज्योतिषरत्न.

केशवदास, son of जीवनराम. About 1770-1790 A. D. ; a. of अहल्या-कामधेनु and रामार्चनरत्नाकर.

केशवदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव ; a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

केशवदैवज्ञ of नन्दिग्राम. About 1500 A. D. ; a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय or -मञ्जरी.

केशवदैवज्ञ, son of कमलाकर of नन्दि-ग्राम ; a. of मुहूर्ततत्त्व and कायस्थादि-धर्मपद्धति. About 1500 A. D. He is probably the same as the preceding.

केशवभट्ट a. of अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग हिरण्यकेशीय ( from his प्रयोगमणि ), प्रयोगमणि.



केशवभट्ट son of अनन्त, of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puntambe) on the गोदावरी ;

a. of अन्वेषिपद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

केशवभट्ट a. of आचारप्रदीप (probably same as that m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०), कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप and शुद्धिप्रदीप.

केशवभट्ट a. of जातकर्मपद्धति.

केशवभट्ट son of गोपालदीक्षित ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधि.

केशवभट्ट, son of नागयण अभयंकर ; a. of प्रयोगमणि.

केशवभट्टगोस्वामी a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

केशवमिश्र a. of छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट.

केशवमिश्र a. of द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट-वाचस्पतिमिश्र was his परमगुरु. So about 1540 A. D.

केशवराय, son of गोविन्दराय, son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a. of धर्मचन्द्र. Mentions स्मृत्यर्थसार and पारिजात. Ms. dated संवत् 1810 (Baroda O. I. no. 5860).

केशवशर्मा a. of स्मृतिसार.

केशवस्वामिन् a. of चौधायनशुद्धपद्धति ; m. in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन. Before 1100 A. D.

केशवाचार्य or केशवभट्ट कादमीरक a. of क्रमदीपिका, (pr. Ch. S. series). About 1500 A. D.

C. विवरण by गोविन्दभट्ट (pr. Ch. S. series).

केशवादित्यभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचान्द्रिका.

केशवाचार्य, son of राणिग ; a. of विवाह-हन्दावन. (Ms. dated 1398-99

H. D. 87.

A. D. ). The com. is by गणेश, son of केशवदेवज.

केशवीकार m. in निर्णयसिन्धु and भावि-प्रकाशितशायश्चिन्त (probably केशव, the author of the जातकपद्धति or केशवी).

केशवेन्द्रस्वामिन a. of साधनचन्द्रिका.

कैलासयति a. of त्रैवर्णिकसंन्यास.

कोकिल a. of मात्रादिश्राद्धनिर्णय (No. 641 of Viśrāmbāg collection I and D. C. No. 104 of 1895-1902). He mentions कर्कोपाध्याय, चिन्तामणि, कामधेनु, स्मृतिप्रदीप, मञ्जरी, चन्द्रिकादिनिबन्ध, विज्ञानेश्वर. Later than 1400 A. D.

कोण्डभट्ट a. of व्रतराज.

कोनेरिभट्ट a. of तत्त्वसंग्रह.

कोनेरिभट्ट, son of केशव ; a. of स्मृति-भूषण.

कोलाप्पाचार्य a. of दत्तकचान्द्रिका.

कोशीधर a. of शुद्धिप्रदीपिका (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 380 p. 435).

कोकिल (reputed) a. of a स्मृति (D. C. No. 223 of 1879-80 is a different work on श्राद्ध from above).

कौण्डिन्य m. in व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन (prose passage on limitation for recovering a debt) and in श्राद्धमयूख.

कौत्स m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 6. 19. 4 and 7 and I. 10. 28. 1 and in कालाधिके of जीमूतवाहन (p. 304).

कौथुमि m. in हेमाद्रि, कालमाष (p. 76).



कौशिक a. of स्तुति ; m. in स्तुति-  
चान्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि.

कौशिक आदित्य Vide under आदित्या-  
चार्य.

क्रतु a. of स्तुति ; m. in मिताक्षरा ( on  
पात. III. 28 ), अयगर्क ( pp. 487,  
1086, 1187 ), स्तुतिचान्द्रिका.

क्षेमकूर a. of विवाहरत्नसंक्षेप.

क्षेमकूर a. of निर्णयसार.

क्षेमराज a. of रामपूजापद्धति.

क्षेमराम, son of श्रीभयनन्द, son of  
बाबू called क्षिप्राशब्दग्रन्थिन ; a. of  
प्रेतमुक्तिदा, रामनिबन्ध ( composed  
in 1720 A. D. ). Vide Ulwar cat.  
No. 1431.

क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोक-  
मणि, son of दीक्षित बाबू लक्ष्मी-  
कान्त ( who is styled पञ्चाशद्ग्र-  
न्थिसोमयाजि ) or Kanoj ; colophon  
of श्राद्धपद्धति gives this pedigree,  
but the verse before it says  
that the parents of क्षेमराम were  
श्रीभवमण्डन and पद्मिनी. So this  
man may be the same as  
above.

क्षेमराम a. of आह्निकपद्धति for Sama-  
vedins ( vide B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I. No. 33 p. 32 ).

क्षेमराम a. of मुहूर्तसंचय.

क्षेमवर्मन a. of क्षेमप्रकाश composed  
in 1512 A. D. when he was a  
a governor of बीरसिंहपुर. Aufre-  
cht (II. pp. 26-27) is wrong  
in saying that he composed the  
work in 1612.

क्षेमेन्द्र 2nd and 3rd quarter of 11th  
century ; a. of नीतिकल्पतरु and  
नीतिलता, चारुचर्या, लोकप्रकाश.

क्षेमेन्द्र a. of दानपारिजात.

खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर, surnamed  
अयाचित ; a. of संस्कारभास्कर, रुद्रा-  
नुष्ठानप्रयोग.

खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित. Bet-  
ween 1400-1600 A. D. ; a. of  
परशुरामप्रकाश, first part of which  
is आचारोद्भास.

खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of  
नारायण, who belonged to महो-  
पाध्यायवंश honoured by the king  
of विदर्भ ; a. of कृत्यरत्न or कृत्य-  
रत्नाकर. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधव,  
रत्नाकर. So later than 1400 A. D.  
Also wrote संस्काररत्न.

खादिर a. of ब्राह्मणयण्युद्ध.

गङ्गादत्त a. of चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार.

गङ्गादास द्विवेदिन a. of तिथिप्रकाश.

गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथ-  
मिश्र ; a. of स्तुतिचिन्तामणि. About  
1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधर a. of आचारतिलक or आह्निक.  
( The D. C. ms. No. 135 of  
1886-92 though described as  
आचारतिलक appears to be a  
different work. It quotes आचार-  
तिलक ( folio 6a ) and explains  
sacrificial terms like प्रणीता,  
प्रोक्षणी and sacrificial materials  
like कुश.

गङ्गाधर a. of पाकयज्ञपद्धति, प्रयोगपद्धति  
( बौधायनीय ).



गङ्गाधर a. of आह्निक, काठकाह्निक.

गङ्गाधर a. of कायस्थोत्पत्ति, चातुर्वर्ण्य-  
विवरण.

गङ्गाधर a. of आशौचगङ्गाधरी, संस्कार-  
गङ्गाधरी.

गङ्गाधर a. of तिथिनिर्णय, दायभागटीका.

गङ्गाधर a. of निर्णयमञ्जरी.

गङ्गाधर a. of उन्मयनिर्णयमञ्जरी (com-  
posed in 1632 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर a. of प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि and  
प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय.

गङ्गाधर a. of विधिरत्न.

गङ्गाधर a. of षोडशकर्मपद्धति.

गङ्गाधर a. of तीर्थकाशिका.

गङ्गाधर, son of नारायण. About 1600  
A. D. ; a. of मनोरमा, a com. on  
कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण of his father.

गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव दैवज्ञ : a. of मुहूर्त-  
भैरव, मुहूर्तालङ्कार (composed in  
1633. A. D.).

गङ्गाधर, son of अग्निहोत्रिराम ; a. of  
संस्कारपद्धति.

गङ्गाधर, son of रामचन्द्र ; a. of प्रवास-  
कृत्य (composed at Khambayat  
or Cambay in 1606-7 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर son of सदाशिव महाडकर ; a.  
of प्रपञ्चसारविवेक or भवभारविवेक  
(ms. dated 1784 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर चक्रवर्तिव a. of com. भावार्थ-  
दीपिका on आशुतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

गङ्गाधर दीक्षित a. of संस्कारगङ्गाधरी ;  
probably same as preceding.

गङ्गाधरसरस्वती, pupil of रामचन्द्रसर-  
स्वती ; a. of प्रकाश com. on प्रणव-  
कल्प.

गङ्गाभट्ट a. of धर्मप्रदीप.

गङ्गाभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.

गङ्गाग्राम, son of सदाशिव महाडकर ;  
probably the same as गङ्गाधर  
महाडकर above ; a. of आरामादि-  
प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

गङ्गाग्राम a. of com. on दायभाग.

गङ्गाग्राम a. of निबन्धसिद्धान्तबोध.

गङ्गाग्राम a. of युद्धजयोन्मव.

गङ्गाविष्णु, patronised by त्रिविक्रम ; a.  
of आचारदीपक. Earlier than 1750  
A. D.

गङ्गेश्वर m. in ब्राह्मसागर of कुङ्कु.

गजानन a. of चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण.

गणपति, son of धीरेश्वर (श्रीरेश्वर?) ; a. of  
गङ्गाभक्तिगङ्गिणी ; says his grand-  
father was patronised by king  
नान्य of मिथिला. If नान्य is identi-  
cal with the कार्णट king of  
मिथिला of that name, then गणपति  
flourished about 1350 A. D.  
Vide B. O. mss cat. No. 86 p.  
88.

गणपति, son of हरिशङ्कर रावल ; a. of  
पर्वनिर्णय (composed in 1685-  
86 A.D.), मुहूर्तगणपति. शान्तिगणपति  
and संबन्धगणपति, ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति,  
दशकर्मपद्धति.

गणपति a. of com. on राजमार्तण्ड of  
भोज.

गणेश m. in. सुसिद्धप्रसाद. Earlier  
than 1500 A. D.

गणेश, son of ज्ञानेश्वर, son of महादेव,  
son of लालभट्ट ; a. of तिथिमञ्जरी.

गणेश a. of हरिमक्तिदीपिका.



गणेशदत्त a. of ऐन्दवमासनिर्णय, क्षयाधिकमासविवृति.

गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशव, of नन्दिग्राम ; about 1520 ( in which year he composed his ग्रहलाघव ); a. of मङ्गलनिर्णय, of a com. on संहर्ततत्त्व and on विवाहवृन्दावन.

गणेश पाठक a. of प्रयोगकौस्तुभ.

गणेशभट्ट a. of उद्वाहविवेक.

गणेशभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय.

गणेशभट्ट a. of दायभागन्यवस्थामंक्षेप ( part of व्यवस्थामंक्षेप ) or दायसंक्षेप.

गणेशमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय a. of प्रायश्चित्तपरिजात ( N. vol. V. p. 222 ).

गणेशाचार्य a. of निर्णयदर्पण.

गणेश्वर मन्त्रिन्, son of देवादित्य ( who was father of वीरेश्वर ) and uncle of चण्डेश्वर ; m. in हरिनाथ's स्मृति-सार, श्रीदत्त's आचारादर्श ; about 1300-1325 A. D. ; a. of सुगति-सोपान and गङ्गापत्तलक ( B. O. mss. cat. No. 84 p. 85 ).

गणेश्वर ( महामहोपाध्याय महन्तक ) a. of आह्निकोद्धार for वाजसनेयशाखा. B. O. mss. cat. vol I No. 38, p. 36. Probably same as the preceding.

गङ्ग, surnamed द्विवेदिन् ; a. of संप्रदाय-प्रदीप composed in संवत् 1610 ( 1553-54 A. D. ) in वृन्दावन, while गिरिहर and other grandsons of बल्लभाचार्य were living.

गङ्गाधर a. of रायसिंहप्रकाश.

गङ्गाधर a. of सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका.

गङ्गाधर a. of कृत्यकल्पद्रुम ; m. by वाचस्पति. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधर, son of वामन ; later than 1550 A. D. ; a. of com. on श्राद्ध-कल्पसूत्र or नवकाण्डिकाश्राद्धसूत्र, of com. on पारस्करयज्ञसूत्र, of com. on आश्वलायनयज्ञसूत्र ; mentions कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, मदनपारिजात, राम-वाजपेयिन्, हरिहर.

गङ्गाधर, son of राघवेन्द्र ; a. of तन्त्र-प्रदीप a com. on शारदातिलक ; about 1450. A. D.

गङ्गाधर, son of नीलाम्बर. About 1450-1500 A. D. ; a. of कालसार ( pr. in. B. I. series ), आचारसार, व्रतसार, शुद्धिसार.

गङ्गाधर a. of ग्रहयोगपद्धति ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 113 ).

गङ्गाधर a. of वासिष्ठीशान्ति.

गङ्गाधर a. of com. लघुदीपिका on रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by आनन्दवन.

गङ्गाधर दीक्षित a. of व्रतार्क.

गङ्गादेवल, m. in. प्रायश्चित्तमण्डल.

गङ्गाविष्णु, m. in. नि. सि.

गङ्गाध्यास, m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतपादन, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

गङ्गाधर a. of a स्मृति ; m. by अपरार्क ( p. 549 ), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि ( III. 2. 50 ).

गङ्गा a. on politics ; m. in com. on नीतिशास्त्रासूत.

गङ्गा a. of a स्मृति ; m. in अपरार्क ( pp. 124, 196, 368 ), in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

गङ्गा a. of. गर्गपद्धति on पारस्करयज्ञसूत्र.



गर्ग, a. of एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति.

गागामह— Vide under विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

गार्ग्य a. of a स्मृति; sec. 20.

गालव a. of a स्मृति; m. by हेमाद्रि.

गिरिभट्ट, son of यल्लभट्ट; a. of संस्कार-  
कौमुदी.

गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्र a. of com. on प्रपञ्च-  
सार.

गीर्वाणेन्द्र सरस्वती, pupil of विश्वेश्वर  
सरस्वती; a. of गायत्रीपुस्तकवर्णविधि.

गुणविष्णु, son of दामुक; a. of छान्दोग्य-  
मन्त्रभाष्य; m. by रघुनन्दन in  
उद्वाहृतत्त्व, आद्धृतत्त्व, मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व.

गुरुदाय vide पञ्चाक्षर गुरुदाय.

गुरुप्रसादशर्मन a. of मालमासार्थसंग्रह.

गुरुप्रसाद न्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य a. of  
com. on शुद्धितत्त्व.

गूढमल्ल a. of विवाहपद्धति.

गोकुलचन्द्रप्रमन, a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

गोकुलजिह्व, son of हरिजित्; a. of  
संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार (composed in  
1632-33 A. D.).

गोकुलदेव, son of अरन्तदेव; a. of तीर्थ-  
कल्पलता, गयाश्राद्धविधि.

गोकुलगण्य महामहोपाध्याय, son of  
विद्यानिधि; a. of कुण्डकादम्बरी and  
कुण्डकादम्बरिसारोद्धार (B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I No. 65-66 pp. 59-60),  
of प्रदीप or कादम्बरी a com.  
on द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पति and of  
मासमीमांसा (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I  
No 54 p. 50 gives कादम्बरीप्रदीप  
as the name of the com.).

गोविन्दमिश्र, son of हरपति under  
king वासुदेव son of रविवर (of  
मिथिला); a. of श्रावचारविवेकपद्धति;

ms. copied in ल. सं. 592 (1611  
A. D.),

गोपाल a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकावली.

गोपाल a. of कामधेनु. Vide pp. 294-  
296 above.

गोपाल, m. in आद्धकल्पतरु of श्री-  
दत्त; probably the same as the  
author of the कामधेनु.

गोपाल a. of गोपालपद्धति.

गोपाल a. of सत्क्रियासारदीपिका;  
between 1500-1565 A. D.

गोपाल, a. of कुण्डसुदङ्ग.

गोपाल a. of मूल्यनिरूपण, a. of com.  
on मूल्याध्याय of कात्यायन.

गोपाल a. of आचारनिर्णय, आशौचनिर्णय  
(composed in 1613 A. D.), तिथि-  
निर्णय, शुद्धिनिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय.

गोपाल a. of आचारकौमुदी.

गोपाल a. of चातुर्मास्यकारिका.

गोपाल, son of हरिवंशभट्ट, a द्राविड; a.  
of कालकौमुदी.

गोपाल a. of प्रायश्चित्तकारिका or प्राय-  
श्चित्तशतद्वयीकारिका.

गोपाल a. of रत्नाकर.

गोपालजित् a. of com. on मूल्याध्याय  
of कात्यायन.

गोपालदेशिकान्चार्य, son of आवेय कृष्णार्थ.  
Later than 1620 A. D.; a. of  
आह्निक and जयन्तीनिर्णय, शृसिह-  
जयन्तीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, अवण-  
द्वादशीनिर्णय.

गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन a. of सदाचारसंग्रह  
(according to रामानुज).

गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन About 1570-1620;  
composed com. on the तत्त्व of



रघुनन्दन called निर्णय viz. आचार-  
निर्णय, उद्वाहनिर्णय, कालनिर्णय,  
तिथिनिर्णय, दायनि°, दुर्गोत्सवनि°, प्रा-  
यश्चित्तनि°, विचारनिर्णय, विवादिनि°,  
शुद्धिनि°, श्राद्धनि°, संक्रान्तिनि°,  
संवन्धनि°, and प्रायश्चित्तकर्मनि°.

गोपालपण्डित a. of गृहभाष्य.

गोपालभट्ट, son of कृष्णभट्ट, sur-  
named उदास; a. of शूद्रपद्धति  
( Vide Baroda O. I. ms. No.  
8975 ). He quotes शुद्धितत्त्व and  
मयूख. Later than 1650 A. D.

गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द; a. of  
हरिभक्तिविलास ( B. O. mss. cat.  
vol. I. No. 451 p. 534 ) and  
a. of भगवद्भक्तिविलास. About  
1560 A. D.

गोपालभट्ट a. of सत्क्रियासारदीपिका.

गोपालयज्वन ( गार्ग्य ) a. of पितृमेध-  
सार, पितृमेधव्याख्या or- भाष्य.

गोपालव्यास a. of नवरात्रनिर्णय.

गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in आचाररत्न of  
लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1610 A. D.;  
a. of आशौचमाला.

गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of न्ययहारा-  
लोक, विवादन्ययहार.

गोपालाचार्य a. of पितृपद्धति. Later  
than 1450 A. D.

गोपालानन्द a. of निर्याचारपद्धति.

गोपीनाथ a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव; a. of  
दीपिका com. on स्नानसूत्र of  
कात्यायन.

गोपीनाथ a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ a. of उद्वाहादिकालनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ, son of शार्ङ्गधर, son of  
विश्वनाथन्यास of वासिष्ठगोत्र who  
was one of the four sons of  
सामराज and resident of प्रत्यण्डपुर;  
a. of जातिविवेक. Earlier than  
1600 A. D. Ulwar cat. No. 1323  
and I. O. cat. p. 518 cause con-  
fusion and make it appear that  
there were two writers of जाति-  
विवेक of the same name.

गोपीनाथ अग्निहोत्रिण a. of संन्यास-  
दीपिका.

गोपीनाथदीक्षित a. of श्रावणीकर्म  
( हिरण्यकेशीय ).

गोपीनाथपाठक, son of अग्निहोत्रिपाठक,  
son of काशीपाठक; a. of प्रणवो-  
पासनविधि.

गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of निर्णयरत्नाकर.

गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका,  
तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति, प्रेतदीपिका,  
मासिकश्राद्धपद्धति, संस्काररत्नमाला.

गोपीनाथमिश्र a. of कृत्यकौमुदी.

गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण; a. of  
निर्णयामृत (written at the bidding  
of prince सूर्यसेन). Probably  
there is some confusion. The  
author of निर्णयामृत was अल्लाड  
नाथसुरि who wrote under सूर्यसेन.

गोभिल a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति  
(also called कर्मप्रदीप of कात्यायन).  
Vide pp. 218-220 above).

गोभिल ( reputed ) a. of उपनयनतन्त्र.

गोभिलपुत्र a. of गृह्यासंग्रह.

गोवर्धन उपाध्याय a. of उद्वाहचन्द्रिका.

गोवर्धन कविमण्डन a. of आपस्तम्बाह्निक.



गोवर्धनदीक्षित, son of वेणीदास ; a. of छन्दोगाह्निक.

गोवर्धन पाठक a. of पुराणमर्वस्व ( compiled in शके 1396 under Bengal Zamindar श्रीसत्य ).

गोविन्द, son of वृहयाचार्य, son of वासुदेव ; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

गोविन्द, son of सदाशिवमिश्र ; a. of संग्रहरत्नाकर.

गोविन्द a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in दीक्षा-तत्त्व. Probably the same as the next.

गोविन्द a. of प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकरूपवृत्ति.

गोविन्द, son of केशव. Earlier than 1550 A. D. ; a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in the दीक्षातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. He wrote पूजाप्रदीप at the bidding of भवानन्दराय ( B. O. mss. cat. No. 264 p. 287 dated छ. सं. 432 i. e. 1551 A. D. ).

गोविन्द a. of स्मार्तार्थानपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; a. of लक्ष-होमपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a. of परीक्ष-घारा com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि of राम who was his uncle ; com. composed in शके 1550.

गोविन्द उपाध्याय m. by हेमाद्रि.

गोविन्ददत्त, son of गणेश्वरमान्त्रिक, who was younger brother of क्षीरेश्वर and son of देवादित्य who was minister of king हरसिंह ; a. of मानसोल्लास (?). A work called गोविन्दमानसोल्लास is mentioned in मलमासतत्त्व ( p. 822 ) and एकादशीतत्त्व ( p. 12 ) of रघुनन्दन.

( Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. pp. 107-109 ). About 1300-1370 A. D.

गोविन्द वैद्य, son of गदाधर of the माध्यन्दिनशाखा and गौतमगोत्र ; a. of कण्ठमार्तण्ड ( composed at Junnar in 1691-92 A. D. ).

गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित ; a. of आर्यपद्धति.

गोविन्दपण्डित a. of आर्यदीपिका. Earlier than 1560 A. D. ; m. in आर्य-कल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

गोविन्दभट्ट, m. in आर्यसागर of कृत्यकभट्ट ( on आर्य ). Earlier than 1250.

गोविन्दभट्ट m. in मलमासतत्त्व ( p. 787 ) by रघुनन्दन as भाष्यकार of पराशर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of दर्शआर्यप्रयोग.

गोविन्दभट्ट ब्रह्मिल a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

गोविन्दराज, son of साधव ; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति and of स्मृतिमञ्जरी. Sec. 76. सहगमनविधि is ascribed to him.

गोविन्दराय a. of परशुप्रकरण ( composed between 1740-49 A. D. ).

गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट a. of दत्तपुत्रविचार.

गोविन्दस्वामिन् a. of com. on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

गोविन्दानन्द कविरङ्गनाथार्य, son of गणपतिभट्ट. Sec. 101. Flourished between 1500-1540 A. D. ; a. of दानकौमुदी, वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, ह्यदि-कौमुदी, आर्यकौमुदी and of अर्थ-



- कौमुदी com. on सुद्धिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी ( com. on शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक ).
- गोविन्दोपाध्याय a. of मलमासे निषेध-विचार ( B. O. mss. cat. No. 292 p. 332 ).
- गोस्वामिन् a. of निर्णयसार.
- गौतम a. of धर्मसूत्र ( sec. 5 ) and quoted as a writer on politics in the com. to नीतिवाक्यावृत.
- गौतम a. of आह्निकसूत्र, पितृमेधसूत्र.
- गौतम a. of दानचान्द्रिका.
- गौरीकास्त ( and others ) a. of विवा-  
दाणवभञ्जन.
- गौरीवत्त son of रामभद्र ; a. of वाग्मती-  
तीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.
- गौरीनाथचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कालभाष्यनिर्णय,  
नवार्णभाष्यनिर्णय.
- गौरीपति son of दामोदर ; a. of com.  
on आचारदर्श of श्रीदत्त. Compos-  
ed at Benares in 1640 A. D.
- गौरीशम्भु son of दामोदर, son of  
नायकपण्डित. दामोदर was born  
in महाराष्ट्र on the banks of a holy  
river in Yājñabhūmi, but studied  
at Benares and was honoured at  
the court of Akbar. गौरीश-  
म्भु wrote अनुमरणप्रदीप. He com-  
posed it after 67 years of  
Akbar's era ( अकबरमहान्दस्य गते-  
रुन्वर्तुषत्सरेः । पुरितः कार्तिकेष्टम्यां  
काश्यां गौरीशशर्मणा ), i. e. 1609  
A. D. He mentions बालोक  
( बालक ? ), जिकन, शूलपाणि, मदन-  
पारिजात, अनुमरणविवेक and several  
other works. He mentions

- also चिह्नलविलास of his father.  
Vide D. C. Ms. 76 of 1892-95.
- गौरीशङ्कर a. of विवाहपद्धति.
- ग्रहेश्वरमिश्र m. as a jurist in विवाद-  
रत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर ( pp. 46, 483 )  
and in वर्धमान's दण्डविवेक where  
his work seems to be called  
व्यवहारतरङ्ग. Earlier than 1300  
A. D.
- घटकर्पर ( reputed ) a. of नीतिसार.
- चक्रधर a. of वैतृकतिथिनिर्णय.
- चक्रपाणिपाठक a. of com. on तिथि-  
प्रकाश of गङ्गादास. Ms. ( in B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 163 p. 178 )  
is dated शके 1700.
- चक्रपाणिमिश्र a. of व्यवहारादर्श.
- चण्डमारुतस्वामिन् a. of हरिदिनतिलक.
- चण्डीदास son of दुर्गादत्त ; a. of संक्षि-  
प्ताह्निकपद्धति ( composed at the  
desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर ).
- चण्डूक a. of स्मार्तकर्मसूत्रानामविवरण  
or चण्डूनिबन्ध ( vide Baroda O. I.  
ms. No. 296 dated संवत् 1593,  
ज्येष्ठ शु. 93 शुक्रे ). He is styled  
महामात्य and सम्राट्.
- चण्डेश्वर ठक्कर son of वीरेश्वर. Sec.  
90; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर ( divided in-  
to seven parts on कृत्य, गृहस्थ,  
दान, पूजा, विवाद, व्यवहार and शुद्धि )  
and of कृत्यचिन्तामणि, राजनीति-  
रत्नाकर, दानवाक्यावलि and शिव-  
वाक्यावलि, शैवमानसोद्भास.
- चतुर्भुज a. of रामनित्यार्चनपद्धति.
- चतुर्भुज a. of विवाहपद्धति.
- चतुर्भुज a. of अद्भुतसागरसार and of  
अष्टावशसंस्काराः.



चतुर्भुज a. of कृष्णपद्धति.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 243) by रघुनन्दन.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य a. of आंशौचप्रकाश and आशौचसंग्रह (both works are probably identical). He is probably the same as the चतुर्भुज m. by रघुनन्दन.

चतुर्भुजाचार्य a. of गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी.

चन्द्र a. of स्मृति, m. in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रचूडभट्ट or चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन, son of उमापति (alias उमणभट्ट), son of धर्मेश्वर or धर्मभट्ट पौराणिक. Between 1575-1650 A. D.; a. of कालदियाकर, कालसिद्धान्तनिर्णय, गृह-वास्तुनिर्णय, पाकयज्ञनिर्णय पिण्डपितृ-यज्ञप्रयोग, आशुनिर्णय, संस्कारनिर्णय alias चन्द्रचूडीय.

चन्द्रमौलि a. of आचारभार or आचार-रत्न.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of धर्मविवेक.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of पुरश्चरणदीपिका.

चन्द्रशेखर महामहोपाध्याय a. of स्मृति-प्रदीप.

चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण; a. of धैतनिर्णय or -निर्णयसंग्रह, धर्म-दीपिका or स्मृतिप्रदीपिका, स्मृतिसार-संग्रह.

चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन a. of दुर्गभञ्जन or स्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन or सङ्कल्पस्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन.

चक्रवर्तिरत्नपञ्चन, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट; a. of वदकर्मचान्निका.

चाणक्य m. as a writer on राजनीति by माहिनाथ on रघु० V. 50.

B. D. 88,

चाणक्य a. of राजनीतिशास्त्र in verse (various recensions) pr. in Dr. N. Law's Calcutta Oriental Series; and of the कौटिलीय. Hultzsch's R. II. No. 993 (and p. 85 extract) is a चाणक्यसप्तति the last verse of which is 'श्लोका-नामिति सप्तत्या नीतिसारसमुच्चयम् । चन्द्रगुप्ताय चाणक्यः संक्षेपेणोपादिष्ट-वान्'. Vide under चाणक्यनीति and similar works.

चारायण m. in the com. on the नीतिवाक्यामृत.

चारायण a. of गृह्यसूत्र.

चित्रपति, son of नन्दीपति, son of मधुसूदन, a Pandit of Colebrooke; a. of व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपरीक्ष (composed in 1803 A. D.; vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 356).

चिदम्बेश्वर a. of स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह.

चिदानन्दनाथ, pupil of स्वयंप्रकाशा-नन्दनाथ; a. of ललितार्चनपद्धति.

चिद्वनानन्दनाथ a. of कर्मपद्धति.

चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीशभट्टाचार्य, a गौड; a. of स्मृतिन्यवस्था (divided into parts on उद्वाह, तिथि, दाय, प्रायश्चित्त, शुद्धि and आशु). Earlier than 1680 A. D.

चूडामणि, son of राघवेश्वरचट्ट; a. of ज्ञानाङ्कुर.

चूडभट्ट (sometimes said to be) a. of क्रीर्तिचन्द्रोदय composed by दामोदरगण्डित in the 2nd half of 16th century in Akbar's reign.

चैतन्यगिरि a. of महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति and दत्तात्रेयपद्धति, वैष्णवपूजनपद्धति.



चौण्डपार्य, son of चिन्मयार्य and कामान्दा and pupil of भारतीतीर्थ ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य (आश्वलायन), composed at request of चाण्डिड, son of भानु. Bows to भारतीतीर्थ and विद्यातीर्थ as भाष्यकारs and describes them as त्रयीमयमहार्णवौ. Probably flourished about 1350-1375 A.D. Vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4214.

व्यवन Sec. 21; a. of धर्मसूत्र.

छलारिनारायण a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

छलारि or छलारि नृसिंह (or नरसिंह) son of नारायण ; a. of स्तुत्यर्थसागर (of which कालतरङ्ग is first part) and आह्निक for माघs. Later than 1675 A.D.

छाग याज्ञिकचक्रचूडाचिन्तामणि a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र.

छागल or छागलेय a. of स्मृति m. in मितक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290, 326), कल्पतरु, स्मृतिच०, अपराकं pp. 442, 533, 932,

जगदानन्द a. of कृत्यकौमुदी.

जगदीश a. of भावार्थदीप com. on शूलपाणि's आश्वविशेष.

जगन्नाथ a. of अनुभोगकल्पतरु.

जगन्नाथ a. of विवाहपद्धति.

जगन्नाथ तर्कपञ्चानन. Sec. 113; a. of विवादमहार्णव.

जगन्नाथ याज्ञिक, son of शङ्करगुरु ; a. of संस्कारकल्पद्रुम.

जगन्नाथसुरि a. of समुदायप्रकरण.

जतमेजय (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रकाशिका (which is said to have

been imparted to him by वैशम्पायन).

जमदग्नि a. of a स्मृति m. by मितक्षरा (on याज्ञ. I. 256 in prose), by हरदत्त, कल्पतरु, अपराकं (pp. 267, 468, 501, 880, 1064) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

जम्बूनथ सभाषीश, son of हेमाद्रि ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति.

जयकृष्ण a. of गङ्गास्नानसङ्कल्पवाक्यदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. No. 90 p. 91).

जयकृष्ण or श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार a. of दीप com. on दायभाग and of दायधिकारक्रमसंग्रह.

जयकृष्ण तर्कवागीश a. of आश्वदर्पण alias आश्वदीप.

जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ ; a. of com. on कर्मनिर्णय of आनन्दतीर्थ, of पूजापद्धति. For latter vide ms. No. 8685 of Baroda O. I.

जयतुङ्ग (Is he an author?) m. in टोहरानन्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयनारायण तर्कपञ्चानन a. of नीराजन-प्रकाश (composed for शिवनारायण घोष), सूरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका.

जयन्त or जयन्तस्वामिन्, son of कान्त, son of कल्याणस्वामिन्. He was father of जमिनन्द. End of eighth century ; a. of आश्वलायनीय शृङ्गाकारिका and विमलोद्दयमाला com. on आश्वलायनसंहितासूत्र. हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1339) says that हरिहर refuted the view of जयन्तस्वामिन् on the verse अग्न्यभावे ह्यविप्रस्य. He is m. by गदाधर in his भाष्य on पारस्करसूत्र, in आश्वकाशिका



- of रघुनाथ and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट. For विमलोदय (com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य vide D. C. ms. No. 45 of 1899-1915).
- जयराम a. of शतचण्डीविधानपद्धति.
- जयराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार.
- जयराम a. of वानचन्द्रिका (abstract of हेमाद्रि's work).
- जयराम a. of सुदृतालङ्कार.
- जयराम, son of बलभद्र, son of दामोदर of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Between 1200-1400 A. D.; a. of सज्जनबल्लभा (a com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र). In Ulwar cat. extract No. 39 the date (of composition probably?) is संवत् 1611 (1554-5 A. D.).
- जयशर्मन् m. in तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति.
- जयसिंहदेव, king of गोरक्षपुर. Earlier than 1750 A. D.; (reputed) a. of जयमाधवमानसोल्लास.
- जयस्वामिन् m. in मलमासतत्त्व (p. 782) of रघुनन्दन.
- जयानन्द a. of छूर्तदीप.
- जातूकर्ण्य- vide sec. 22.
- जानकीरामसार्वभौम a. of सत्सृष्टिसार.
- जाबाल or -लि a. of a सृष्टि m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 24, 260, 263-64, 315, 322, 326), अपराक प. 736.
- जिकन Earlier than 1250 A. D.; m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लुभट्ट, in गूलपाणि's द्वागोत्सवविवेक and प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 237 vol. II. refers to his अन्त्येष्टिविधि and अनुमरणविवेक) and in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 774).
- जितामित्र Earlier than 1250 A. D.; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 46) of रघुनन्दन as referred to by श्रीदत्त.
- जितेन्द्रिय Sec. 66; flourished about 1000-1050 A. D.
- जीवतवाहन Sec. 78; a. of कालविवेक, व्यवहारमातृका, वयभाग.
- जीव a. of दुर्गसङ्गमनी a com. of भक्ति-रसासूतसिन्धु.
- जीवदेव, son of आपदेव and younger brother of अनन्तदेव; latter half of 17th century; he names निर्णय-सिन्धु and मण्डस; a. of आशौच-निर्णय and गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (extracted in संस्कारकौस्तुभ).
- जीवनाथ दैवज्ञ a. of वास्तुरत्नावली.
- जीवराम a. of स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति.
- जैमिनिह a. of भैरवार्चापारिजात.
- जैमिनि a. of सृष्टि m. in मिता० (on याज्ञ. III. 20), कालमाधव (p. 259), एकादशीतत्त्व, नि. सि.
- जैमिनि a. of सृष्टिमीमांसा (m. by अपराक).
- जैमिनि a. of गृह्यसूत्र (pr. in Punjab Oriental series).
- जोतेश्वर महामहोपाध्याय a. of द्वैतनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol I. No. 225 p. 237.)
- जोगलोक- vide योगलोक.
- ज्ञानभास्कर a. of आह्निकसंक्षेप and आह्निक.



ज्ञानस्वरूप a. of com. on प्रपञ्चसार.  
 ज्योतिर्गर्ग m. in निर्णयमिन्धु.  
 ज्योतिर्गर्ग m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.  
 ज्योतिर्नारद m. in निर्णयमिन्धु.  
 ज्योतिर्नार्थ a. of शैबरनाकर.  
 ज्योतिर्नृसिंह m. by भट्टोजि in चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान.  
 ज्योतिर्नृहस्पति m. by हेमाद्रि ( III, 2. 472 ), in निर्णयदीपक.  
 ज्योतिर्वसिष्ठ m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ.  
 ज्योतिषराशर m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, कालमाधव ( p. 91 ), in एकादशीतत्त्व of गृध्रनन्दन.  
 ज्योतिषितामह m. in कालमाधव ( p. 91 ).  
 ज्वालानाथमिश्र a. of सुकृत्यप्रकाश and उदक्यायुद्धिप्रकाश.  
 शिङ्गप्य कोविद ( or शिङ्कर ), son of पेञ्जल मन्त्रनाचार्य ; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति ( for आपस्तम्बीय, also called शिङ्गाभट्टीय ).  
 टीकाराम a. of दायमुक्तावली.  
 टीकाकारभर्मन् a. of पिष्टपशुखण्डन ( ms. No. 2436 of Baroda O. I. ). He was of गार्ग्यगोत्र and followed पारानन्दवैतवेदान्त.  
 टोडरमल्ल Sec. 104 ; ( reputed ) a. of टोडरानन्द ( several parts of which are separately noted, as कालनिर्णयसौख्य &c. ).  
 हाण्डू ( or मिश्रभीडोडू ) ; a. of ब्राह्मविधि for माध्यान्दिनीय. Mentions कर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठ, हलायुध ( BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 736 ).  
 हाण्डि a. of मांसनिर्णय and मासादिनिर्णय.

दुण्डिराज son of दुरुषोत्तम and pupil of रामपण्डित father of नन्दपण्डित. About 1600 A. D. ; a. of कुण्डकल्पता.

दुण्डू ( or दुण्डु ). Earlier than 1555 A. D. ; a. of पद्धति m. in अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट and in ब्राह्मतरव.

दोण्डू a. of ब्राह्मविधि ( माध्यान्दिनीय ) Same as हाण्डू above. Between 1200-1500 A. D.

दोदामिश्र son of प्राणकृष्ण ; a. of ब्राह्मविवेक.

तकनलाल Later than 1686 A. D. ; a. of com. on अत्रिस्मृति, of com. on आचारार्क, of com. on दशस्मृति, com. on दत्तकचान्द्रिका, com. on हारीतस्मृति.

तर्कतिलक vide under मोहनमिश्र.

तातयार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

तातादास a. of प्रवक्ष्यमतिदीपिका.

तात्याशास्त्रिन् a. of दत्तकनिर्णय.

तानपाठक a. of संस्कारमुक्तावली.

ताम्रपर्णाचार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

तालवृन्तनिवासिन् a. of आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र-प्रयोगवृत्ति ; follows देवस्वामिन्, कपर्दिन्, कुमारसिद्धान्तिन्.

तिगलामट्ट a. of श्रीस्थलप्रकाश.

तिप्पामट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बालम्भट्ट surnamed गह्वर ; a. of स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त, संस्कारनिर्णय ; wrote संग्रहदीपिका in 1776 A. D.

तिम्मणभट्ट a. of स्मृतिकोशदीपिका.

तिम्मयज्वन् चरकूरि a. of षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र a. of ब्राह्मनिर्णयदीपिका.



तिरुमलयज्वन् a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

तिरुमलसोमयाजिन, son of तिरुमलयज्वन्; a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका.

तिरुपिल्लूरि a. of प्रयोगमुक्तावली.

तिरुमल of पराशरगोत्र a. of धर्ममेतु.

तुरगवदनपण्डित a. of जालग्रामलक्षण.

मुलजाराम a. of उत्सवनिर्णय.

तुलानिराज Tanjore king (1765-1788 A. D.); (reputed) a. of आदिधर्मसारसंग्रह, राजधर्मसारसंग्रह. He is said to have composed सङ्गीतसारासुत also.

तोडकाचार्य a. of कालनिर्णय.

तोडप्पर, son of श्रीनिवासाचार्य; a. of दत्तकचन्द्रिका.

त्रिकाण्ठमण्डन (मास्कर). Between 1100 and 1250 A.D.; a. of आपस्तम्बसूत्र-ध्वनितार्थकारिका (pr. in B. I. series) m. by हेमाद्रि, मदन-पारिजात and he wrote प्रवरनिर्णय. Mentions कर्क, केशवसिद्धान्त, दामोदर, भवभाष्य, रुद्रदत्त, वामन.

त्रिलोचनमिश्र earlier than 1450 A. D.; a. of धर्मकोश.

त्रिलोचनशिख a. of प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय.

त्रिविक्रम. Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of त्रिविक्रमपद्धति or त्रैविक्रमी or प्रतिष्ठापद्धति (on the consecration of idols &c.) m. in टोडरानन्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

त्रिविक्रम a. of न्यासपद्धति.

त्रिविक्रमज्ञ, pupil of श्रीरामभारती; a. of शूदार्थदीपिका (or सुगु.) com. on शारदातिलक.

त्रिविक्रमसूरि, son of रघुसूरि; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका; m. in टोडरानन्द. Probably the same as above.

त्रैविक्रम a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग.

व्यम्बक, pupil of पद्मेश; a. of गार्हस्थ्य-दीपिका.

व्यम्बक a. of तत्त्वदीप.

व्यम्बक a. of स्त्रीधर्मपद्धति.

व्यम्बक, son of नारायण, surnamed माटे; a. of आचारेन्दु. (composed in 1838 A. D.), प्रतिष्ठेन्दु.

व्यम्बक, son of राम, surnamed ओक; a. of आचारसूत्रण (composed in 1819 A. D.).

व्यम्बक पण्डित, son of नारायण of the आङ्गिरससमुद्रलगोत्र; about 1760 A.D.; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

व्यम्बकभट्ट मोल्ह, son of कृष्णभट्ट; a. of जातिविवेक, प्रायश्चित्तसार, प्रायश्चित्त-प्रयोग.

दक्ष sec. 43; a. of स्मृति.

दत्त vide गौरीदत्त.

दत्तपण्डित a. of चूडाकर्म.

दत्तात्रेय m. in. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, अपराक (p. 971), मदनपारिजात, निर्णयसिन्धु.

दयाराम a. of दानप्रदीप, पदचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमग्न

दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर; a. of उपाकर्म-विधि, और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति, तिथिनिर्णय, दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग, दानप्रदीप, नीतिविवेक, प्रयोगदीप (or -रत्नाकर), शाङ्खायनसूत्र, शुद्धिरत्न, श्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धप्रयोग.

दलपतिराज, son of बह्मभ; sec. 99; a. of नृसिंहप्रसाद (several parts of which are separately noted in



the catalogues, such as आह्निकसार, कालनिर्णयसार ).

दशपुत्र ( probably this is only the surname ) a. of मलमासनिर्णय.

दादा, son of माधव son of वृसिंह, surnamed Karajgi. He was a माधव and of वसिष्ठगोत्र and resided at Nasik; mentions मयूख and कौस्तुभ; a. of दत्तार्क ( composed in शके 1691 शशिग्रहर-सम्भयुक्तशाककेन्द्रे ). Aufrecht is wrong in giving the date as 1661.

दामोदर a. of इष्टिकाल.

दामोदर a. of लघुकालनिर्णय.

दामोदर a. of जातकर्मपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of आर्यपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of मांसविवेक.

दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट and eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ. About 1610 A.D.; a. of कलिवर्णनिर्णय, द्वैतनिर्णय-परिशिष्ट.

दामोदर गार्ग्य a. of प्रयोगपद्धति ( alias संस्कारपद्धति ) following पारस्करगृह्य. Names कर्क, गङ्गाधर and हरिहर.

दामोदर ठक्कर Earlier than 1575 A.D.; a. of दिव्यनिर्णय ( compiled under संग्रामसिंह ) and विवेकदीपक; N. vol. V. p. 282 speaks of दिव्य-दीपिका ( compiled under श्रीमद्-माहृपाल ), while N. vol. VI p. 40 says that दिव्यनिर्णय was compiled under संग्रामसाह; but the works appear to be the same.

दामोदरठक्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय ( B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I No. 276 p. 313 ).

दामोदरपाण्डित. Latter half of 16th century; a. of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय ( under the patronage of चूड-मल्ल ).

दामोदरीय m. in शुद्धिमयूख and निर्णय-दीपक.

दारिल a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र.

दाल्भ्य a. of धर्मशास्त्र ( D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91 ) in verse ( with a few prose passages about प्रयोग ) on प्रेतक्रिया, एकादशाहश्राद्ध, नवकश्राद्ध, सपिण्डीकरण, वृषोत्सर्ग ( मैत्रेय asks दाल्भ्य ) and of a पद्धति.

दाल्भ्य 2. of नारायणबलिपद्धति.

दिनकर son of वृसिंह from the दशार्ण country. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of गोपालपद्धति.

दिनकर a. of प्रायश्चित्तरहस्य.

दिनकर alias दिवाकर, son of गमकृष्ण-भट्ट; a. of कर्मविपाकसार, प्रायश्चित्त-सार, शान्तिसार, दिनकरोद्घोत ( completed by his son विश्वेश्वर alias गामाभट्ट ). Between 1575-1640 A. D.

दिवाकर son of महादेव, son of बाल-कृष्ण, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. His maternal grand-father was नीलकण्ठ author of the twelve मयूख; a. of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of which अन्ये-ष्टिप्रकाश, आचारार्क ( composed in 1686 A. D. ), दानहीराबालिप्रकाश, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका, तिथ्यर्क, प्रायश्चित्तसुका-यली, सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति and others were parts. Aufrecht ( part I. p. 253 ) confounded



this with the next, but corrected himself ( part II. p. 54 ).

दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल ( काटे in Marathi ). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, father of कमलाकर. About 1620-1670 A.D.; a. of दानचन्द्रिका (or दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका), आह्निकचन्द्रिका or संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका, स्मार्त-प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार, पतितन्यासविधि, पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग.

दिवाकर, son of दिनकर ; a. of दानदिनकर.

दिवाकरभट्ट a. of त्रिवेणीपद्धति.

दिवोदास Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of दिवोदासप्रकाश; m. by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर and seems to be the same as दिवोदासीय m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, विधानपरिज्ञात, शुद्धिमयूख.

दिव्यसिंह महापात्र a. of कालदीप (or-प्रदीप), आह्निकदीप and of दिव्यसिंहकारिका ( which summarises the two preceding ).

दीक्षित About 1050-1100 A. D.; m. by दायभाग ( on daughter's succession ) and कालविवेक ( pp. 92, 102, 237, 264, 541 ). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

दीनदयालु पाठक a. of सुदृढभैरव.

दीर्घतमस m. in मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 260 ) and by मस्करिण ( on गौतमधर्मसूत्र ).

दुःखमञ्जन a. of सुदृढकल्पाकर, सुखजय-प्रकाश.

दुर्गदत्त a. of शुद्धदीपिका.

दुर्गाय, son of वासुदेव ; a. of com. on दायदशश्लोकी or दायमंग्रहश्लोकदशक.

दुर्गासहाय a. of सुदृढरचना.

दुर्लाल a. of दुर्लालीय.

देवकीनन्दन a. of एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय.

देवजानि (?) a. of देवजानीयभाष्य on निर्णयदीपक.

देवणभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट. Sec. 85; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son of अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र and honoured by मालव king; between 1250-1500 A.D.; mentions कल्पतरु, कर्क, अर्णव ( महार्णव ), मिताक्षरा, स्मृतिसार, विश्वादर्शी ; a. of देवदासप्रकाश or सद्ग्रन्थचूडामणि, तिथिनिर्णय. निर्णयासुत and विधानपारिजात mention a देवदासीय which is probably the देवदासप्रकाश.

देवनाथ ठाकुर. Earlier than 1620 A. D. ; a. of स्मृतिकौमुदी, दिव्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकौमुदी. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 60 p. 54 is a कालकौमुदी of देवनाथ, which is probably a part of the स्मृतिकौमुदी.

देवपाल, son of हरिपाल ; a. of भाष्य on काठकपुद्गसूत्र.

देवबोध a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व ( p. 236 ).

देवभट्ट a. of पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग ( for वाजसनेयस ).

देवभट्ट पाठक a. of दशसुखकोटिशोमप्रयोग.



देवभद्र पाठक, son of चालभद्र ; a. of प्रयोगसार (कात्यायनीय ).

देवयाज्ञिक vide याज्ञिकदेव.

देवयाज्ञिक a. of सूतकसिद्धान्त.

देवयाज्ञिक a. of अपद्धति ( यजुर्वेदीय ); pr. in Kashi S. series.

देवराज a. of com. on नीतिमञ्जरी of याद्विवेदिन.

देवराज a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह ( compiled under orders of prince चेतसिंह of Benares, 1770-1781 A. D. ).

देवराज a. of सुहृत्परीक्षा.

देवराज a. of श्रद्धाशौचीदर्पण.

देवराज a. of a work on धर्मशास्त्र ( probably a निबन्ध ) m. in स्मृति-चन्द्रिका for the view that दुहितरः in याज्ञवल्क्य's verses on inheritance means पुत्रिका. The सरस्वतीविलास ( p. 414, Mysore ed. ) attributes the same view to him along with धारेश्वर, देव-स्वामिन and श्रीकर.

देवराम a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

देवराम a. of सुहृत्सुक्तावली.

देवल vide sec. 23.

देवस्वामिन. Vide sec. 65. About 1000-1050 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on आश्वलायनगृह्य and of a निबन्ध on धर्मशास्त्र.

देवीदास a. of राजनीति.

देवीदासपण्डित a. of कर्मविपाकचिकित्सासुतसागर.

देवेन्द्राश्रम, pupil of विबुधेन्द्राश्रम. Earlier than 1696 A. D.; a. of

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका ( D. C. ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत् 1753 ).

यादुमिश्र a. of प्रेतमञ्जरी.

याद्विवेदिन, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अत्रि, son of मुकुन्द of आनन्दपुर ; a. of नीतिमञ्जरी and com. thereon ( composed in 1494 A. D. ). Aufrecht ( I. p. 263 ) said that याद्विवेदिन composed in 1054 but corrected himself later ( II. p. 56 ).

ग्रविह m. as an author in the स्मृत्यर्थसार of श्रीधर.

ब्राह्मयण a. of ब्राह्मयणगृह्यसूत्र ( attributed to स्वादिर ).

ब्रौण Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of रत्नकरण्डिका.

द्वारकानाथयज्वन्, son of टीकाभट्ट; a. of उपाकर्मप्रयोग.

द्वैपायन ( reputed ) a. of दनकदर्पण.

द्वैपायनाचार्य a. of स्मार्तपदार्थानुक्रमणिका.

धनञ्जय Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of धर्मप्रदीप and सम्बन्धविशेषपरिशिष्ट; m. in संस्कारतत्त्व ( vol. I p. 891 ) of रघुनन्दन ). In उद्वाहृतत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 145 ) we have only सम्बन्ध-विशेष of धनञ्जय.

धनपति, son of रुचिपति, son of विश्वनाथ, son of रतिधर of खोजालवंश ; a. of श्रद्धादर्पण. The author resided at बेजोल and is later than 1500 A. D.

धनराम son of गोवर्धन ; a. of श्रद्धाप्रदीप. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

धनिराम a. of सिद्धान्तज्योत्स्ना.



धरणीधर Earlier than 1250 A. D.; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति m. by कुल्लुक.

धरणीधर son of रेवाधर; a. of सापिण्डव-  
तत्त्वप्रकाश (probably same as  
next).

धरणीधर, son of मुरारि; a. of एकादशी-  
निर्णयसार composed in शके 1408  
(1492 A. D.); ms. No. 12052  
(Baroda O. I.) was copied in  
संवत् 1620 मार्गशीर्ष (Dec. 1553  
A. D.). It recites that the work  
was composed during the reign  
of king वीरसेनदेव and mentions  
विज्ञानेश्वर, अनन्तभट्ट, विश्वरूप and  
बोपदेवपण्डित.

धरणीधर पन्थ a. of com. on काल-  
निर्णय (of माधव), of चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन,  
of चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था.

धर्म a. of भाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका  
and हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 747).

धर्मकरोपाध्याय a. of तडागादिप्रतिष्ठा-  
पद्धति, पुष्करिणीपत्तलक (B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 263  
p. 286). Both works are pro-  
bably the same.

धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र;  
a. of दक्षरत्नाकर. Later than  
1650 A. D.

धर्मेश्वर, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of  
महूर्तशिरोमणि.

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति;  
m. in शूलपाणि's प्रार्यश्रितविवेक.  
(p. 529).

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on चमत्कारचिन्ता-  
मणि of नारायणभट्ट.

H. D. 89.

धवल Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m.  
in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन  
(pp. 134, 264, 513).

धवल a. of a निबन्ध; धवलनिबन्ध is  
m. in the अन्वयेष्टिपद्धति of नारा-  
यणभट्ट, in निर्णयामृत. Probably  
the same as the preceding.

धारेश्वर. Vide sec. 64.

धीरमति (queen of नर्मिहदेव of  
मिथिला) reputed author of  
दानवाय्यावली (real author being  
विद्यार्पति) and दानार्णव. About  
first half of 15th century.

धीरेन्द्रपञ्चीभूषण, son of धर्मेेश्वर; a. of  
नित्यकर्मलता.

धौम्य a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा  
(on याज्ञ. III. 290).

नन्द, son of देवशर्मन; a. of ज्योतिः-  
सारसमुच्चय, स्मार्तसमुच्चय.

नन्दन a. of आर्यचन्द्रिका.

नन्दन, younger brother of लक्ष्मण;  
a. of नन्दिनी, com. on the  
मानवधर्मशास्त्र.

नन्दनमिश्र a. of रुद्रविलासनिबन्ध.

नन्दपण्डित alias विनायकपण्डित, son  
of रामपण्डित धर्माधिकारिन. Sec.  
105; a. of काशीप्रकाश, तत्त्व-  
मुक्तावली, तीर्थकल्पलता, दत्तकमीमांसा,  
नवरात्रप्रदीप, प्रमिताक्षरा (com. on  
मिताक्षरा), विद्वन्मनोहरा (com. on  
पराशरस्मृति), वैजयन्ती alias केशव-  
वैजयन्ती (com. on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र),  
शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (com. on षडशीति of  
कौशिकदिन्य), आर्यकल्पलता, स्मृति-  
सिन्धु (of which संस्कारनिर्णय is  
a part), हरिवंशविलास (of which



- कालनिर्णयकौतुक is a part). He probably composed ज्योतिःसार-समुच्चय and स्मार्तसमुच्चय.
- नन्दमद a. of विवाहनिरूपण.
- नन्दराममिश्र, son of दीपचन्द्रमिश्र; a. of निर्णयसार (composed in 1780 A. D.).
- नरराज vide under नवराज.
- नरसिंह a. of ब्रह्मयज्ञशिरोरत्न.
- नरसिंह a. of आपस्तम्बब्रह्मसूत्रकारिका-वृत्ति; composed in 1614 A. D.
- नरसिंह vide छलारि वृत्ति.
- नरसिंह a. of तुलसीकाव्यमालाधारणनिषेध.
- नरसिंह or वृत्ति ठाकुर About 1300-1325 A. D.; a. of प्रमाणपत्र (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 270 p. 209).
- नरसिंहदेव (reputed) a. of दुर्गाभक्ति-तरङ्गिणी or दुर्गापद्धति. About 1425-50 A. D.
- नरसिंहभट्ट a. of धनुर्वेदचिन्तामणि.
- नरसिंह राजपेयिन्, son of मुरारि of कौत्सवंश. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of नित्याचारप्रदीप. Pt. in B. I. series.
- नरसिंह सोमयाजिन्, son of माधवाचार्य; a. of विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिदर्पण.
- नरहरि a. of विवाहपद्धति.
- नरहरि a. of संस्कारवृत्ति.
- नरहरि उपाध्याय a. of द्वैतनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 223 p. 236).
- नरहरिभट्ट सप्तर्षि a. of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन and com. प्रकाशिका thereon and of a work on सापिण्ड्य; m in com. on सापिण्ड्य कल्पलिका.
- नरोत्तम a. of स्मृतिसंक्षेप.
- नरोत्तमदास a. of प्रातःपूजाविधि (for followers of चैतन्य).
- नरोत्तमदेव a. of ब्राह्मप्रकरण.
- नवरसौन्दर्यमद a. of शूद्राचारसंग्रह or सच्छूद्राचार.
- नवराज, son of देवसिंह of the प्रोण family; a. of दानपञ्जी and व्रत-पञ्जी and दानवाक्यावलि. The real author was सूर्यकर. Often read as नरराज in the catalogues; vide Peterson's 5th Report p. 177 extract and B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 195 p. 210 where we have both नरराज and सूर्यकर.
- नागदेव flourished before 1435 A.D.; a. of आचारदीप or-प्रदीप (ms. No. 3858 Baroda O. I. copied in 1491 शके माघे) and निर्णय-तत्त्व; m. in आचारमण्डल and शूद्रकमलाकर.
- नागदेव a. of सुहृत्सिद्धि and सुहृत्दीपक.
- नागदेव, son of शिव. Later than 1612 A. D.; a. of तीर्थनिर्णय based on निर्णयसिन्धु.
- नागदेवज्ञ, son of शिव; a. of निर्णय-तत्त्व (which is an abstract of निर्णयसिन्धु), आचारप्रदीप, प्रथित-तिथिनिर्णय. Most probably the same as the preceding.
- नागेश, son of वेङ्कटेश of Haldipur in North Canara; about 1741-1782 A. D.; a. of आगमग्रन्थ, तान्त्रिकशुद्धावलि, स्मृत्यर्थशुद्धावलि.
- नागेशभट्ट or नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिव-भट्ट and सती. Sec. 110; a. आचा-



रेन्दुशेखर, आशौचनिर्णय, आशौचेन्दु-  
शेखर, कुण्डपद्धति, तिथीन्दुशेखर,  
तिथिनिर्णय, त्रिस्थलीसेतु or- सारसंग्रह,  
गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, चण्डीप्रयोग, तीर्थेन्दु-  
शेखर, प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर, प्रायश्चित्त-  
सारसंग्रह, आदेन्दुशेखर, संस्काररत्न-  
माला, सापिण्डीमञ्जरी or सापिण्ड्य-  
दीपिका, सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय (probably  
same as preceding).

नाडीजङ्घ m. as a स्मृतिकार in निव्या-  
चारप्रदीप (p. 20).

नारद Sec. 36:

नारद (reputed) a. of मयूरचित्रक  
or मेघमाला.

नारायण a. of a. स्मृति m. in अपराक  
pp. 135, 146, 500, 508. In the  
Mad. Govt. Oriental Library  
there is a नारायणस्मृति in 9  
chapters, where नारायण asks  
दुर्वासन् about sins.

नारायण m. in आश्वलायन of कुल्लुकभट्ट.

नारायण, son of अनन्त, son of हरि ;  
a. of कुण्डमण्डपवर्णन (composed  
in 1578 A. D.) and of मुहूर्त-  
मार्तण्ड and its com. मार्तण्डवल्लभा  
(composed in 1572 A. D.).

नारायण a. of a पद्धति; m. in ज्योति-  
स्तत्त्व (p. 616) and मलमासतत्त्व (p.  
746) of रघुनन्दन.

नारायण, son of कृष्णजीह्वेदेविन्, son  
of श्रीपति. Probably earlier  
than 1570 A. D. He was from  
श्रीपाटलपुरी in गुर्जरदेश ; a. of com.  
गृह्यप्रदीपक On शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र and  
of a गृह्यपद्धति also.

नारायण a. of प्रदीपभाष्य On पार्षणभाष्य.  
नारायण Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a.  
of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि.

नारायण Earlier than 1450 A. D. ; a.  
of com. अपेक्षितार्थयोतिनी ; m.  
in मदनरत्नप्रदीप ( शास्त्र portion ).

नारायण, son of महाबल. Earlier than  
1500 A. D. ; a. of भाष्य On गोमिल-  
गृह्य ; m. in आश्वलायन and छन्दोग-  
वृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, sur-  
named आरुह ; a. of गृह्याग्निसागर  
or प्रयोगसार and आश्वलायन, आश्व-  
पद्धति. Later than 1650 A. D.

नारायण, son of दिवाकर of the नैघ्रिक-  
गोत्र ; a. of com. on आश्वलायन-  
गृह्य. It is probably this नारायण  
that is m. in पराशरभाष्यवृत्ति.

नारायण a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रपद्धति.

नारायण a. of चलाचार्पणपद्धति. Later  
than 1450 A. D.

नारायण a. of दिनत्रयमीमांसा (for  
माध्व followers).

नारायण a. of ह्योषिनी.

नारायण a. of स्मृतिसर्वस्व. Before  
1675 A. D.

नारायण a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय.

नारायण a. of दक्षिणद्वारनिर्णय.

नारायण a. of com. On शारदातिलक.

नारायण, pupil of विश्वामित्र ; a. of  
व्यवहारशिरोमणि. About 1100 A.D.

नारायण a. of नीतिमाला.

नारायण ( छलारि ) a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह and  
स्मृतिसार.



नारायण उपाध्याय ; m. in *एकादशीतत्त्व* (p. 30), *ज्योतिस्तत्त्व* (p. 708 where his explanation of the last सूत्र of *आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र* is given), in *आद्धसागर* of कुल्लुक, in *आद्धकियाकौमुदी* of गोविन्दानन्द.

नारायण उपाध्याय son of भोज ; a. of *परिशिष्टप्रकाश* com. on *कर्मप्रदीप*.  
नारायणचक्रवर्तिन् a. of *शान्तिकतस्पासृत*.  
नारायणटक्कुर a. of *ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी* or *संस्कारमञ्जरी*.

नारायणतर्काचार्य a. of *दोलापात्रासृत*.

नारायणदीक्षित, son of चायम्भट्ट. Later than 1400 A. D. ; a. of *प्रयोगदर्पण*.

नारायणदीक्षित a. of *स्मार्तस्फुटपद्धति*.

नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण, son of सदाशिवदेव. He was pupil of नागेश. About 1750-80 A. D. ; a. of com. on *सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका* of his grandfather.

नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथपण्डित, pupil of भट्टनीलकण्ठ. Earlier than 1720 A. D. ; a. of *पिटृपशुखण्डन-मीमांसा* (ms. No. 8831 of Baroda O. L. is *पिटृपशुमीमांसा* of नारायण, son of विश्वनाथ), *पिटृपशुमीमांसाकारिका*.

नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथसूरी (acc. to Stein's cat p. 107) and son of हितार्थसूरी (acc. to Bik. cat. p. 449) ; a. of *सदाचारसृष्टि-टीका*.

नारायणपण्डित a. of *संख्यावन्दनमाध्य*.

नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Sec. 103 ; a. of *अन्येष्टिपद्धति*, *अयन-निर्णय*, *आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति*, *आतुरसंन्यास-*

*विधि*, *जीवच्छादप्रयोग*, *त्रिस्थलीसेतु*, *प्रयोगरत्न*, *आहिताग्निमरणदाहादिपद्धति*, *महारुद्रपद्धति* or *रुद्रपद्धति*, *काशीमरण-मुक्तिविवेक*, *गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय*, *तिथि-निर्णय*, *तुलापुरुषदातप्रयोग*, *दिव्यानुष्ठान-पद्धति*, *मांसमीमांसा*, *कालनिर्णय-कारिकाव्याख्या*, *वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति*, *लक्ष-होमपद्धति*, *विष्णुआद्धपद्धति*. Portions of his *प्रयोगरत्न* and other works are separately entered in the catalogues as distinct works.

नारायणभट्ट a. of *दशकर्मपद्धति*.

नारायणभट्ट between 1400-1600 A. D. ; a. of *धर्मप्रवृत्ति*.

नारायणभट्ट a. of *जातिविवेक* (ms. No. 11147 of Baroda O. L.).

नारायणभट्ट a. of *प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह*.

नारायणभट्ट a. of *विश्वानरत्न*.

नारायणभट्ट, son of राम, son of नारायण ; a. of *काशीरहस्यप्रकाश* (composed by order of कामदेव).

नारायणयज्यन्त a. of *आपस्तम्बप्रयोगरत्न*.

नारायणवन्दोपाध्याय a. of *शुद्धिकारिका*.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of *धर्मसंग्रह*.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of *व्यवस्थासार* (a different work from *व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह*).

नारायणशर्मन्सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of *व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह*.

नारायणसर्वज्ञ a. of *मन्वर्थविवृति* com. on *मनुस्मृति*, of *कामधेनुदीपिका*, of *शुद्धिदीपिका*. As *रायमुकुट* (1431 A. D.) mentions him, he is earlier than 1400 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 62.



नारायणानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनशिरो-  
मणि.

नारायणार्य a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवर-  
निर्णय of अभिनवमाधवाचार्य.

भद्रोजिपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ ; a. of  
लक्षणशतक and com. लक्षणरत्नमा-  
लिका thereon.

निजानन्द a. of प्रयोगसार.

नित्यानन्द a. of क्रमदीपिका.

नित्यानन्द a. of वदकर्मन्यायानचिन्ता-  
मणि.

निधिराम a. of आचारमाला.

निवन्धनकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास  
( pp. 51, 349 ).

निम्बार्कशिष्य a. of संन्यासपद्धति.

निरवयवियोद्दोत m. in the दायभाग-  
of जीमूतबाहन.

निर्द्विर्बिसबोधाध्याय a. of व्याख्यानदी-  
पिका com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञा-  
नेश्वर.

निर्भयरामभट्ट a. of व्रतोपवाससंग्रह and  
संवत्सरोन्मेषकालनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति ; a. of दैवज्ञवल्लभ.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or  
विधान.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट ; a. of  
कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on दायभाग.

नीलकण्ठ a. of प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on श्राद्धविवेक of  
शूलभाषि.

नीलकण्ठ a. of निर्णयभास्कर.

नीलकण्ठ son of अनन्त, son of चिन्ता-  
मणि. About 1600 A. D. ; a. of

तिथिरत्नमाला and com. on मुहूर्त-  
चिन्तामणि.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec.  
107 ; a. of भगवन्तभास्कर ( divided  
into 12 मयूखs ). अष्टावतारतत्त्व, कुण्डो-  
द्घोत.

नीलकण्ठ son of भास्कर ; a. of दान-  
दीपिति.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानचन्द्रिका.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानपरिभाषा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान and  
कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

नीलकण्ठदीक्षित son of अप्यपदीक्षित  
अद्वैताचार्य, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a.  
of अष्टाविवेक.

नीलकण्ठ यतीन्द्र a. of यतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी.

नीलकण्ठसूरि a. of परभूषकरण.

नीलकण्ठाचार्य a. of स्वयर्थसार.

नीलकमल ( लाडाडी ) a. of काल्यार्चन-  
चन्द्रिका.

नीलाम्बरभट्ट son of गदाधर ( author  
of कालसार ). Before 1500 A. D. ;  
a. of कालकौमुदी ; m. in शास्त्रि-  
कौमुदी ( p. 275 ) of गोविन्दानन्द.  
He is probably the same as  
नीलाम्बर m. as भाष्यकार of कान्यायन  
in the यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतरव of रघुनन्दन  
( vol. II. p. 496 ).

नीलासुर (?), son of सङ्कर्षण ; a. of  
com. on श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्ठ-  
कासूत्र of कान्यायन. It is probable  
that नीलासुर is a misreading of  
नीलाम्बर meaning हलासुर.

वृत्तिह ( कम्भालूर ). Later than 1400  
A. D. ; a. of आशौचदीपिका and  
तिथिप्रदीपिका.



वृसिंह a. of निबन्धशिरोमणि.

वृसिंह, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Between 1360-1435 A. D. ; a. of प्रयोगपरिजात.

वृसिंह of अत्रिगोत्र, resided on the बहुमती near चन्दनमिरि in वैराटदेश. Earlier than 1565 A. D. and later than 1300 A. D. ; a. of विधानमाला. He mentions चतुर्गर्विस्तामणि.

वृसिंह a. of श्रौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग.

वृसिंह, son of माधवाचार्य वाजपेय-याजिन् ; a. of com. on वैखानसधर्म-प्रश्न and वैखानससूत्रवर्णन.

वृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य surnamed शेष. 1400-1450 A. D. ; a. काल-निर्णयदीपिकाविवरण, and of com. on तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह (of रामचन्द्र), तिथिप्रदीपिका, गोविन्दार्णव or धर्म-तत्त्वावलोक ; ms. 10410 (Baroda O. I.) gives date of composition (?) as शशाङ्ककालानलविश्व-संमते विरोधिचर्ये (i.e. 1330 शके).

वृसिंहठक्कर a. of प्रमाणपल्लव.

वृसिंहपण्डित a. of गोत्रासुत.

वृसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट of कण्व-शास्त्रा ; a. of संस्काररत्नावलि.

वृसिंहभट्ट a. of दत्तकपुत्रविधान.

वृसिंहभट्ट, son of सोमभट्ट ; a. of विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा.

वृसिंहभट्ट (मीमांसक) a. of स्मृति-निबन्ध.

वृसिंहभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Be-  
tween 1500-1600 A. D. ; a. of  
प्रयोगरत्न.

वृसिंहवाजपेयिन् a. of श्रुतिमीमांसा.

वृसिंहारण्य or वृसिंहाचार्य. Earlier  
than 1440 A. D. Vide Bhandar-  
kar's Report, 1883-84 p. 76 ; a.  
of विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय.

वृहरि a. of शास्त्रप्रदीप alias निबन्धसार.  
Before 1607 A. D.

वृहरि, surnamed पण्डरपुर ; a. of  
प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा.

वृहरि, pupil of मध्व ; a. of सदाचार-  
स्थितिटीका.

वृहरि अग्निहोत्रिन् a. of शास्त्रदीप.

न्यायपञ्चानन (probably गोपाल) a.  
of दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय.

पक्षधरमिश्र, son of महामहोपाध्याय वटे-  
श्वर. Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a.  
of तत्त्वनिर्णय (N. vol. V. p. 155).

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Prob-  
ably he is identical with the  
preceding.

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिचन्द्रिका ;  
ms. of विष्णुपुराण was copied in  
1464 A. D. by him. ; probably  
the same as above (B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I. No. 145  
p. 146).

पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका.

पञ्चानन m. in कालसार of मदाधर.

पञ्चाननसिंह m. in जटमलविलास.

पञ्जिकाकारमिश्र m. in कालविवेक  
(p. 63) of जीवतसाहन.

पण्डितपरितोषकार m. by हेमाद्रि (III.  
2. 481) as refuting गोविन्दराज's  
view. Between 1075-1225 A. D.

पद्मनाभ a. of माध्यन्दिनीयाचारसंग्रह-  
दीपिका.



पद्मनाभ, son of बलमङ्ग. Between 1460-1550 A. D. ; a. of दुर्गावती-प्रकाश or समपालोक ( under दुर्गावती, queen of बलपति, king on the नर्मदा ).

पद्मनाभ a. of गौत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

पद्मनाभ Earlier than 1700 A. D. ; a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.

पद्मनाभ a. of संन्यासरत्नावली ( according to मध्यमत ).

पद्मनाभदत्त, son of कामोदरदत्त, son of श्रीदत्त. Between 1340-1400 A. D., as he composed his सुपद्यव्याकरण in 1367 A. D. ; a. of आचार-चन्द्रिका.

पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण, residing on the banks of the प्रवरा at निवासपुर ; a. of प्रतिष्ठादर्पण and प्रयोगदर्पण. ( Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 355 for both ).

पद्मनाभमिश्र a. of व्यवहारप्रदीप.

पद्मोनीमट्ट, son of लक्ष्मणमट्ट ; a. of समयकल्पतरु.

परमहंस, son of सीताराम. Later than 1685 A. D. ; a. of com. on मुहूर्त-गणपति.

परमाचार्य a. of वास्तुयोजनपद्धति.

परमानन्दशर्मन् a. of दुर्गार्चाकौमुदी.

परमानन्द a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय ( on मत्स्यादिभक्षणभक्षण ).

परमानन्दधन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्र-सरस्वती ; a. of स्मृतिमहोदधि and प्रयोगरत्नावली.

परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक a. of अमल a com. on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

परशुराम a. of द्विजकल्पलता or संघ्या-त्रयभाष्य.

परशुराम a. of शुचालवल्गुभ.

परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an उदीच्यब्राह्मण ; a. of महारूपपद्धति composed in 1458 A. D.

परशुराममिश्र. Later than 1685 A. D. ; a. of com. on मुहूर्तगणपति.

पराशर. Sec. 35 ; a. of स्मृति.

पराशर a. of जातिविशेषक.

पराशर or पराशर m. as an author on politics in com. on नीति-वाक्यामृत.

पद्मपति, minister of लक्ष्मणसेन and son of धनञ्जय. About 1160-1200 A. D. ; a. of प्रवराध्याय, दशकर्मदीपिका or दशकर्मपद्धति, श्राद्धपद्धति and पाकयज्ञपद्धति.

पाण्डुरङ्ग, son of चिन्तामणि, sur-named टकले ; a. of प्रतिष्ठासार-दीपिका ( composed in 1780 A. D. ) at पञ्चवटी near Nasik and यज्ञ-शास्त्राभेदतत्त्वनिर्णय.

पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वर मट्ट a. of कालचन्द्रिका पारस्कर a. of युद्धसूत्र.

पाराशर्य m. in the प्रायश्चित्तमसूत्र.

पालकि m. as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

पितामह. Sec. 44 ; a. of स्मृति.

पीताम्बर son of काश्यपाचार्य. Between 1500-1675 A. D. ; a. of धर्मार्णव and स्मार्तप्राधान्यप्रयोग.

पीताम्बर a. of दानवाक्यावली ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 193 p. 208 ).



पीताम्बरसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of दाप-  
कौमुदी and विवादकौमुदी. About  
1604 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of पुण्याहवाचनप्रयोग.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of पुराणसर्वस्व.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of उत्सवप्रतान, संवत्सरानिर्णय-  
प्रतान.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय  
(D. C. mss. No. 177 of 1884-  
86 is dated संवत् 1816 i. e. 1759  
A. D.). It deals with उत्सवस  
from भाद्रपद to श्रावण for the  
followers of बल्लभाचार्य. Based  
upon ब्रजराज's work.

पुरुषोत्तम son of पीताम्बर. Born  
संवत् 1724 (1668 A.D.) and died  
संवत् 1781 (1725 A. D.); a. of  
शङ्खचक्रधारणवाद, ब्रह्मशुद्धिदीपिका,  
संन्यासनिर्णयविवरण. He was  
7th from the great Vallabhā-  
cārya.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रानिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संन्यासनिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of कर्मसिद्धान्त or कर्म-  
सिद्धिसिद्धान्त (ms. No. 8361  
Baroda O. I.).

पुरुषोत्तम son of देवराजार्थ; a. of  
प्रयोगपारिजात.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of धर्मसार. Earlier than  
1675 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम prince of गजपति dynasty;  
(reputed) a. of स्मृतिचिन्तामणि.  
About 1500 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तमपण्डित Earlier than  
1450 A. D.; a. of गोत्रप्रवर-

मञ्जरी or प्रवरमञ्जरी and महाप्रवर  
भाष्य.

पुरुषोत्तम विद्यावागीश a. of प्रयोगरत्न-  
माला.

पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती pupil of पूर्णानन्द;  
a. of यतिधर्म, यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण,  
स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

पुलस्त्य Sec. 45; a. of a स्मृति.

पुलह a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृतिचान्द्रिका.

पुष्कर m. in संस्कारमयूख.

पुष्करसादि m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19.  
7. and I. 10. 28. 1.

पृथिवीधरमिश्राचार्य m. in शुद्धितत्त्व  
(p. 314) by रघुनन्दन.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र, son of नागमल्ल; a. of  
आशौचप्रकाश (part of धर्मतत्त्व-  
कलानिधि).

पृथ्वीधर a. of दशकर्मपद्धति.

पृथ्वीमल्लराज a. of महार्णव. Probably  
the same as the महार्णव attribut-  
ed to मान्यातृ who was a brother  
of पृथ्वीमल्ल and son of मदनपाल.

पैङ्गव a. of स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा  
(on याज्ञ. III. 18, a prose pas-  
sage), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच,  
Mysore ed. p. 14).

पैठीनसि Sec. 24.

प्रचेतस् Sec. 46.

प्रजापति Sec. 47.

प्रतापकृष्णदेव Sec. 100; (reputed)  
a. of प्रतापमार्तण्ड or प्रौढप्रताप-  
मार्तण्ड, सरस्वतीविलास and निर्णय-  
संग्रह. His कौतुकचिन्तामणि (vide



- D. C. ms. No. 981 of 1887-91) is not a work on धर्मशास्त्र, but on erotics and poetic fantasies like चित्रवन्द्य, प्रहेलिका and magician's tricks &c.
- प्रतिहस्त a. of a पद्धति; m. in कल्प-  
निर्णय of वर्धमान.
- प्रदीपकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास p. 361.  
Vide sec. 80.
- प्रद्युम्नशर्मन्, son of श्रीधरशर्मन्; a. of  
आन्ध्रप्रदीप. Earlier than 1525 A.D.
- प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son of बलभद्र. Latter  
half of 16th century. He wrote  
शारदागम or चन्द्रालोकप्रकाश by  
order of वीरभद्रदेव, a Bundella  
chief; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश.
- प्रभाकर a. of काशीतत्त्वदीपिका and  
काशीखण्डकथाकेलि and गयापद्धति-  
दीपिका.
- प्रभाकर वैद्य a. of वाक्पुष्पमाला a  
com. on the गोत्रनिर्णय of केशव-  
वैद्य.
- प्रभाकर Earlier than 1600 A. D.;  
a. of धर्मसार.
- प्रभाकरभट्ट a. of प्रभाकराह्निक.
- प्रह्लादभट्ट a. of नवरत्नमाला.
- प्रेमनिधि a. of नैमित्तिकप्रयोगरत्नाकर.
- प्रेमनिधि ठक्कर, son of इन्द्रपति, son of  
रुचिपति. A रुचिपति lived under  
भैरव's reign in मिथिला; a. of  
धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी (completed in  
1410, of what era is rather  
doubtful; probably संवत्). Vide  
under धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी.
- प्रेमनिधि पन्थ ( or पन्त ), son of उमा-  
पति, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of दूत-  
दानपद्धति, दूतप्रदानरत्न, प्रयोगरत्न,  
प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप ( composed in शके  
1675 ), जन्मदार्थचिन्तामणि com. on  
शारदातिलक, पृथ्वीप्रेमोदय ( D. C.  
ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 says  
it was composed in शके 1659 ).
- प्रेमनिधि a. of प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार.
- फकीरचन्द्र a. of धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध.
- बद्धिय vide under बन्धिय or बद्धिय.
- यशु a. of स्मृति.
- बलदेव a. of बलदेवाह्निक.
- बलभद्र a. of नित्यानुष्ठानपद्धति.
- बलभद्र m. in मुद्रिकौमुदी ( p. 33 ) of  
गोविन्दानन्द and in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व  
pp. 690 and 686 ( where we  
have कल्याचिन्तामणौ बलभद्रः ).  
Earlier than 1500 A. D. He is  
probably the same as the author  
of आशौचसार.
- बलभद्र a. of आशौचसार.
- बलभद्र a. of आह्निक.
- बलभद्र a. of महाकल्पपद्धति, महाकल्पन्यास-  
पद्धति.
- बलभद्रतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of दायमाग-  
सिद्धान्त.
- बलभद्रशुक्ल, son of रथावर of the बत्स-  
गोत्र. He came from सत्तम्भतीर्थ  
( modern Cambay ); a. of कुण्ड-  
तत्त्वप्रदीप ( composed in 1623  
A. D. ) and com. composed in  
विक्रम 1699 i. e. 1643 A. D. ( vide  
D. C. mss. No. 204 of 1884-87 )  
and of चातुर्मास्यकौमुदी.



बलभद्रसूत्रि a. of कुण्डाकर्मणिदीपिका.

बलालसेन Sec. 83 ; a. of अद्भुतसागर, आचारसागर, दानसागर and प्रतिष्ठासागर.

बसन्तनायक a. of शिवतत्त्वस्माकर.

बसवोपाध्याय vide under निर्द्वि.

बाणेश्वर ( and others ) ; a. of विद्या-  
दार्णयसेतु ( compiled in 1773  
A. D. ).

बादरायण a. of स्मृति ( m. in प्रायश्चित्त-  
मूल ) and as a writer on politics  
in the com. on the नीतिवाक्यामृत.

बादरायण a. of मुहूर्तदीपिका.

बापुभट्ट a. of मूल्याध्याय or मूल्यसंग्रह  
( N. vol. X. p. 238 ). Mentions  
गोपालभाष्य.

बापुभट्ट alias अनन्तभट्ट ; a. of प्रतिष्ठा-  
पद्धति.

बापुभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed  
केलकर ( modern Kelakara ) ; a.  
उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग, प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी  
( composed in 1814 A. D. ) and  
आद्यमञ्जरी ( composed in 1810  
A. D. ). Vide N. vol. IX p. 302  
for the first.

बापुभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed  
केलकर of the चित्तपावन caste ; a.  
of कृत्यमञ्जरी ( composed in खवे-  
दरसंज्ञाके i. e. śake 1640 ) at  
सप्तर्षिक्षेत्र on southern bank  
of the river कृष्णा. Vide N. vol  
X. pp. 217-219. Therefore  
either this date is wrong or  
there were two बापुभट्ट केलकर,  
whose father's name also was  
the same. कृत्यमञ्जरी further says

that बापुभट्ट was originally an  
inhabitant of कणशीग्राम ( in the  
Ratnagiri District ). Baroda O.  
I. No. 8442 gives the date  
as खवेदस्वरभूषाके ( i. e. 1740 )  
and seems to be the correct  
date. This would show that he  
is the same as the above. In  
the कृत्यमञ्जरी he refers to आद्य-  
मञ्जरी as his work.

बाप्यणभट्ट or बाप्यणभट्ट a. of स्मार्तप्रयोग  
and of बाप्यणभट्टीय, जातकर्म ( आप-  
स्तम्बीय ).

बाबदेवभट्ट, surnamed आटले ( modern  
Athlye ). About 1740 A. D. ; a.  
of परशुप्रकरण.

बाबा alias काशीनाथ पाध्ये. Sec. 112.  
Vide under काशीनाथ पाध्ये above.

बाबूदीक्षित, surnamed जडे ; a. of  
कृष्णमण्डपविधि or- सिद्धि.

बाबादेय a. of शालग्रामदानपद्धति.  
बालक. Sec. 67.

बालकृष्ण a. of होमविधान.

बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य residing in  
गोदुलग्राम ; a. of प्रयोगसार.

बालकृष्ण a. of पुनर्विवाहमीमांसा.

बालकृष्ण a. of बालश्रुता com. on  
तत्त्वसुतावलि of नन्दपण्डित.

बालकृष्ण, son of देवभद्र, surnamed  
फट्टनिटकर ; a. of दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

बालकृष्ण a. of श्रौतस्मार्तविधि.

बालकृष्ण, son of महादेव ; a. of सप्त-  
संस्थाप्रयोग.

बालकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन, son of काशीराम,  
of the महारक्ष family ; a. of गुण-  
मञ्जरी ( on प्रायश्चित्त ).



बालकृष्णदीक्षित a. of निर्णयार्णव.

बालकृष्णभट्ट, son of रङ्गोजिभट्ट ; a. of जीवत्पितृकर्तव्यनिर्णय. Earlier than 1725 A. D.

बालकृष्ण मारद्वाज a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

बालदीक्षित a. of उपाकर्मप्रमाण.

बालम्भट्ट a. of गोत्रनिर्णय.

बालम्भट्ट, son of विश्वनाथभट्ट, surnamed दातार ; a. of आह्निकसार-मञ्जरी.

बालम्भट्ट or बालकृष्ण, son of वैद्यनाथ, surnamed पायगुण्ड. Sec. III ; a. उपाकृतितत्त्व, बालम्भट्टी ( com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर ), धर्मशास्त्र-संग्रह, जीवत्पितृकर्तव्यनिर्णय.

बालरूप. Sec. 68.

बालशास्त्रिन कागलकर, son of शेषभट्ट, son of नारायण ; a. of प्रायश्चित्त-प्रयोग or सर्वप्राय०.

बालसूरी, son of शेषभट्ट ; a. of कुण्ड-रचनारीति.

बालसूरी a. of हेमाद्रिसर्वप्रायश्चित्त.

बालाग्निहोत्रिन a. of ब्राह्मणयज्ञसूत्र-कारिका.

बाष्कल m. by मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 58 ) and in धर्मप्रदीप of भोज.

बृहण a. of निर्णयचिन्दु.

बुद्धिकरछद्म a. of द्विविधजलाशयोत्सर्ग-प्रमाणदर्शन ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 222 p. 235 ).

बुध. Sec. 25 ; m. by कालविवेक of जीवतवाहन.

बृहच्छह.

बृहच्छातातप m. in मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 290 ).

बृहच्छैनक.

बृहत्कात्यायन m. by ल्यबहारमातृका of जीवतवाहन.

बृहत्कौण्डिन्य.

बृहत्पराशर. Vide sec. 35, pp. 195-196 above.

बृहत्पञ्चेतस् m. in मिताक्षरा, by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 22. 18, अपराध ( pp. 910, 1125, 1171 ), भास्व-मयूख.

बृहत्संवर्त m. in मिता० ( on याज्ञ. III. 256, 265 ) and in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

बृहद्वज्रिम m. in the मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 277 ).

बृहदाश्वलायन.

बृहद्वर्ग m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

बृहद्वर्ग्य.

बृहदयम m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध, by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 12, अपराध p. 1074, मिता० ( on याज्ञ. III. 255 ).

बृहदयाज्ञवल्क्य m. in मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 290 ), कालमाधव ( p. 140 ).

बृहदयोगलोक m. by कालविवेक of जीवतवाहन.

बृहद्वारित m. in मिता. ( on याज्ञ. III. 254, 261 ).

बृहद्वारद m. by रघुनन्दन, in निर्णयचिन्दु.

बृहद्वम्भट्ट m. by मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. III. 20 ), कालविवेक of जीवतवाहन, संस्कारमयूख, शान्तिमयूख.



बृहद्विष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा, कालविवेक (p. 386) of जीमूतपाह्न, आचार-मयख, कालमाधव (p. 114).

बृहद्विष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. II 135 and III. 20), मरस्वतीविलास, प्रायश्चित्तमयख, अपर्गक pp. 909, 1070, 1243.

बृहद्विष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290), प्रायश्चित्तमयख.

बृहस्पति a. of बृहपुजापद्धति composed at the bidding of king हरिसिंह. (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. p. 111).

बृहस्पति a. of बृहर्त्तस्कन्ध.

बृहस्पति Sec. 26, 37.

बृहस्पति son of भवदेव ; a. of मलमास-रहस्य composed in 1681 A. D. and मलमासनिर्णय (probably the same as the preceding).

वैजवाप a. of a गृह्यसूत्र ; m. in the तन्त्रवार्तिक of कुमारिलभट्ट.

वैजवाप m. in अपर्गक pp. 27, 51, 229, 533, हारलता, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

वोपदेव- vide under वोपदेव ; a. of आचारदर्पण ; m. in पूर्वकमलाकर.

वोपदेवपण्डित a. of ब्राह्मकाण्डदीपिका or ब्राह्मदीपकालिका (com. on परशुरामप्रताप), of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय com. on तत्त्वकौस्तुभ, चतुर्विंशतिमत, चतुर्दश-श्लोकी.

वौधायन a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a धर्मसूत्र, sec. 6 ; a. of a स्मृति ; a. of नागप्रतिष्ठा ; a. of नक्षत्रशान्ति.

ब्रह्मगर्भ a. of स्मृति ; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 262, 268), अप-रार्क (pp. 447, 536, 880), स्मृति-चन्द्रिका.

ब्रह्मदत्त. Earlier than 1100 A. D. ; a. of भाष्य on शाङ्खायनगृह्य ; m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धिनच (p. 312) as referred to by कल्पतरु.

ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ a. of गृह्यप्रयोग.

ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ a. of नृसिंहार्चनपद्धति.

ब्रह्मानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनाशिरोमणि.

ब्रह्मानन्दभारती, pupil of रामराजसर-स्वती ; between 1420-1554 A. D. ; a. of पुरुषार्थप्रबोध.

ब्रह्मानन्दिन a. of मंन्यासपद्धति.

ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर ; a. of प्रश्न-ज्ञानदेवपट्टच्छाप्रकरण.

ब्राह्मणचल, son of माधवाध्वर्यु ; a. of com. on काठकगृह्यसूत्र.

ब्राह्मवध m. in मिता० (on याज्ञ. III. 257).

भजीभट्ट a. of हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप (कालनिर्णय, Stein's cat. p. 110).

भट्टशुक्र a. of मयूरचित्रक.

भट्टस्वामिन् a. of com. प्रतिपदपञ्चिका on कौटिलीय.

भट्टाचार्य. Earlier than 1520 A. D. ; ms. No. 3883 (Baroda O. I.) is dated संवत् 1579 (1522 A. D.) ; a. of com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी and com. on आशौचसंग्रह or शौच-संग्रहविवृति (same as the preceding work).

भट्टारिभट्ट a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्य-सूत्र.

भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर and brother of रङ्गोजिदीक्षित. About 1575-1650 A. D. ; a. of आचारप्रदीप, of com. on त्रिशङ्खोकी, आशौच-निर्णय, आह्निक, कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त),



- तिथिनिर्णय or तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप, तिथि-  
प्रदीपक, त्रिस्थलीभित्तुसारसंग्रह, of com.  
on दशश्लोकी, of धर्मशास्त्रसंक्षेप,  
प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय, मासनिर्णय, सूर्य-  
सारसंग्रह, पयोगन्त, मापिण्ड्यनिर्णय,  
सूतकनिर्णय, हेमाद्रिकालनिर्णयसंक्षेप.
- भरत, son of सूर्यदास and brother of  
रामचन्द्र; a. of com. on समरसार  
by his brother रामचन्द्र.
- भरत (reputed) a. of कर्मविपाक.
- भरद्वाज. Sec. 27; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and  
of a work on politics.
- भरद्वाज a. of पितृमेधसूत्र.
- भर्तृयज्ञ. Sec. 59; a. of आद्वकल्प and  
of com. on पारस्करगृह्य.
- भलु m. in निर्णयदीपक.
- भवदेव styled बालवलभीभुजङ्ग, which  
may (apart from what is said  
on p. 30; above) also mean a  
young gallant of बालवलभी (pos-  
sibly the village where भवदेव  
lived). Sec. 73; a. of कर्मा-  
नुष्ठानपद्धति or दशकर्मपद्धति, दत्तक-  
तिलक (part of व्यवहारतिलक),  
प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपणं, व्यवहारतिलक, मन्व-  
न्धर्विवेक.
- भवदेवभट्ट, son of कृष्णदेवसन्मिश्र  
मैथिल. Earlier than 1635 A. D.;  
a. of दानधर्मप्रक्रिया or दानप्रक्रिया  
(composed at bidding of रुद्र-  
दासभट्टिच, son of दामोदर). B. O.  
mss. cat. vol. I No. 189 p. 203.
- भवदेवशर्मन भ्यायालङ्कार, son of हरिहर;  
a. of स्मृतिचन्द्र (composed in  
1720-22 A. D.), its parts being  
called कला such as आद्वकला.
- भवनाथ a. of com. on आशौच-  
विशच्छ्लोकी. (B. O. mss. cat. vol.  
I. No. 175 p. 186). This is  
probably a misreading for भट्टा-  
चार्य. Baroda O. I. ms. No.  
76; by भट्टाचार्य has the same  
opening verses and opening  
words.
- भवशर्मन of the खौपालवंश. First half  
of 14th century; a. of पौडश-  
महादानपद्धति (written at the  
bidding of रामदत्त, minister of  
king नृसिंह of मिथिला of the  
काण्ठावंश). I. O. cat. p. 549.  
It is probably he who is re-  
ferred to in the छगतिसोपान as  
गणेश्वर's contemporary.
- भवानन्दशर्मन a. of प्रायश्चित्तवार्त्ति.
- भवानीप्रसाद a. of पूजनमालिका.
- भवानीशङ्कर a. of स्मृतिचरण.
- भागुणिमिश्र a. of जलाशयप्रतिष्ठा and  
प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा.
- भागुरि m. in कालविवेक (p. 14) of  
जीमूतवाहन and वि. र. (p. 104),  
where he appears to be regard-  
ed as earlier than कल्पतरु and  
even मेधातिथि.
- भानुचन्द्रगणि a. of com. on वसन्त-  
राजीय or शकुनार्णव. Between  
1550-1600 A. D.
- भानुजिदीक्षित, son of भट्टोजिदीक्षित.  
About 1650 A. D.; a. of दान-  
विवेक.
- भानुदत्त a. of मुहूर्तमार.
- भानुदत्त a. of पारिजात (B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 257 p. 278).



भानुनाथ दैवज्ञ, son of चन्दनानन्द, of the भौआलवंश. He was a मैथिल ; a. of व्यवहाररत्न (astrology in relation to religious rites, foundation of houses &c. ). N. vol. V. p. 191.

भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. 1620-1680 A.D. ; a. of एकवस्त्रस्नानविधि, धैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्त-संग्रह and होमनिर्णय.

भारतीतीर्थ a. of व्रतकालनिर्णय.

भारद्वाज. Sec. 27 ; a. of गृह्यसूत्र, of a work on अर्थशास्त्र and of a स्मृति ( in verse on व्यवहार ). Possibly these are the compositions of three different authors.

भारुचि. Sec. 61.

भार्गव m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and भास्व-मयूख and in the com. of नीति-वाक्यासुत. In some cases भार्गव probably stands for शुक्र's work on politics.

भार्गवराम a. of वर्णसङ्करजातिमाला or पराशरपद्धति.

भालूक (?) भट्ट m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका ( p. 31 ) of नन्दपण्डित.

भावधन m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत-बाहन.

भास्कर a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवर.

भास्कर of the लौगाक्षिगोत्र ; a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय, तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1680 A. D.

भास्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका, प्राय-श्चित्तविधि, प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी or-प्रदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तसहस्रचय.

भास्कर a. of सुहृत्सुक्तावली.

भास्कर, son of आपाजि or आयाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट of काश्यपगोत्र ; a. of आचारप्रकाश, मुक्तिकेवप्रकाश, शुद्धिप्रकाश ( composed in 1695-96 A. D. ), यशवन्तभास्कर ( under the patronage of यशवन्तदेव, king of Bundelkhand ), स्मृतिप्रकाश, संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश ( part of यशवन्त-भास्कर ).

भास्करदीक्षित a. of तत्तत्सुब्राविषरण.

भास्करदीक्षित, pupil of राघवेन्द्रारण्य ; a. of पारस्करगृह्यपद्धति and com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

भास्करदीक्षित, son of रामकृष्ण ; a. of रुद्रपद्धति ( शाङ्खायनीय ).

भास्करभट्ट पण्डित a. of दत्तसिद्धान्त-मञ्जरी.

भास्करमिश्र त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, son of कुमार-रवामिन. Between 1000-1200 A.D. ; a. of आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका and प्रवरनिर्णय.

भास्करराम son of गम्भीररामदीक्षित ; a. of सहस्रभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या.

भास्वत्कविरत्न a. of सरोजकलिका.

भीमनाथ m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व.

भीममहामहोपाध्याय of काञ्जिविलीयकुल ( in राहा ) ; a. of शुद्धिसुक्तावली, आश्वदीपिका.

भीमसेनकवि a. of दत्तसंग्रह.

भीमाशङ्करशर्मन a. of संन्यासग्रहणरत्न-माला.

भुजबलभीम said to be a. of अतीचार-निर्णय.



भूपातिमिश्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Mentions हेमाद्रि and भोज. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No 157 p. 171).

भूपाल or राजा refers to भोजदेव. Vide under भोज; m. in समयप्रदीप of श्रीदत्त, दानरत्नाकर, कृत्यरत्नाकर (as a. of कृत्यसमुच्चय).

भुषनेश्वर son of श्रीमानन्द; a. of हरि-भाक्तिभास्कर. About 1827 A. D.

सुभाक son of विशाखभट्ट; a. of ग्रह-कारिका (सामवेदीय).

भूषण m. in आह्निकतत्त्व (p. 417).

भूषणभट्ट a. of गायत्रीपद्धति,

भूय sometimes treated as the promulgator of मनुस्मृति. In many works verses are quoted as भूय's which are not found in the मनुस्मृति; (reputed) a. of कर्म-विषाक.

भूयदेव a. of प्रवराध्याय.

भैयाभट्ट, son of भट्टारकभट्ट; a. of धर्म-रत्न; ms. No. 12524 (Baroda O. I.) is आह्निकदीधिति from it.

भैरवभट्ट a. of संहिताहोमपद्धति.

भैरवेन्द्र (reputed) a. of महादाननिर्णय or महादानप्रयोगपद्धति (the real author being वाचस्पतिमिश्र) and of विष्णुपूजाकल्पलता (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 340 p. 383). About 1440-1460 A. D.

भोज a. of विविधविद्याविचारचतुष्टय (ms. dated 1490 A. D.)

भोजदेव Sec. 64; a. of भूपालपद्धति, भूपालसमुच्चय or भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भुजबलभीम, चारुचर्या, युक्तिकल्पतरु,

राजनीति, राजमार्तण्ड, शिवतत्त्व-प्रकाशिका.

भोजदेव son of भारमल्ल, king of कच्छ. Between 1400-1600 A. D.; a. of धर्मप्रदीप. Vide p. 279 above.

भोलानाथ a. of वैष्णवाद्युत.

मञ्जनाचार्य a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग-दीपिका.

मन्धरदास a. of धर्मपरीक्षा.

मणिराम a. of अन्यक्रियाविधि. Probably the same as the author of अनूप-विलास.

मणिराम a. of धर्मसिन्धु or सिन्धुसार. Probably same as author of धर्माभोधि above.

मणिराम दीक्षित, son of गङ्गाराम, son of शिवदत्त. About 1630-1660 A. D.; a. of अनूपविलास or धर्माभोधि, आचाररत्न (a part of अनूप-विलास), शुद्धिरत्न, and समयरत्न, सुखबोधिनी com. on मानवधर्मशास्त्र (Stein's cat. pp. 98, 313).

मणिराम दीक्षित a. of कृतिवत्सर.

मणिरामदीक्षित a. of कुण्डानिर्माणश्लोक-दीपिका. Later than 1640 A. D.

मणिरामदीक्षित a. of गणयात्राप्रयोग.

मणेश्वर a. of com. on दायभाग.

मथुरानाथ चक्रवर्तिन a. of शुद्धिरत्नाङ्कुर.

मथुरानाथतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of पाणि-ग्रहणादिकृत्यविवेक.

मथुरानाथशुक्ल a. of अथपञ्चविवेचन, अथपञ्चवटि, आचारमञ्जरी, आचारार्क, आचारोल्लास, आशौचनिर्णयटीका, कालमाधवचन्द्रिका (com. on काल-माधव), कृत्यसार, क्रियाकौमुदी, तिथि-



- निर्णय, विव्यतस्वल्लुटीका, दुर्गाचिना-  
धुतरहस्य, मलमासतत्त्वटीका, मिताक्षरा  
(com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति), युद्ध-  
नयोत्सवदिष्पनी, शारदातिलकप्रकाश  
(com. on शारदातिलक).
- मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of ह्युदिदीपिकावृत्ति.
- मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of छन्दोगाह्निक  
written to please prince माधव-  
सिंह (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I  
p. 126).
- मधुरेश a. of ज्योतिःसागरसार.
- मदनपाल Sec. 93 ; ( reputed ) a.  
of मदनपारिजात, स्मृतिकौस्तुभ ( or  
शुद्धप्रथमबोधिनी ), महार्णवकर्मविपाक,  
तिथिनिर्णयसार.
- मदनमनोहर or भदनमोहन, son of  
मधुसूदन पण्डितराज, son of  
रामभद्र. Both names occur  
in mss. ( vide B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I No. 252 p. 274 and  
No. 253 p. 275 ); a. of पलपी-  
यलता and आश्वप्रदीप. One ms.  
of पलपीयलता is dated शके 1694  
(B. O. mss. cat. No. 253 A  
p. 275 ).
- मदनसिंह, son of शक्तिसिंह. Sec. 94 ;  
( reputed ) a. of मदनरत्न alias  
मदनरत्नप्रदीप, the several parts  
of which such as आचारविवेक  
are separately entered in the  
catalogues.
- मधुपतिठक्कर a. of आश्वविधि ( com-  
posed at the bidding of his  
mother's sister's son हृदयनाथ  
and based on आश्वरत्न and पितृ-  
भक्तिगङ्गाणी ). Later than 1600  
A. D.
- मधुमिश्र or मधुशर्माश्रम m. in चतुर्वर्ग-  
चिन्तामणि ( III. I. 1134 and  
1343 ).
- मधुसूदन a. of नीतिसारसंग्रह.
- मधुसूदन a. of आश्वदर्पण.
- मधुसूदनगोस्वामी, son of वज्रराज ; a.  
of मोदानयिधिसंग्रह, जीवत्पितृकवि-  
भागव्यवस्था and व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह  
and तडागादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि, निर्णय-  
संग्रह, मिताक्षरसार (com. on  
मिताक्षरा), व्यवहारसारोद्धार or व्यव-  
हारार्थसार. Ulwar cat. extract  
No. 306 gives for जीवत्पितृकसंग्रह  
the date संवत् 1812.
- मधुसूदन गोस्वामी a. of न्यासपञ्चति.
- मधुसूदनगोस्वामी a. of पञ्चकशान्तिविधि,  
सुलशान्तिविधि.
- मधुसूदन दीक्षित, son of महेश्वर ; a. of  
स्मृतिरत्नावली.
- मधुसूदनमिश्र a. of सुहृत्सिन्धु.
- मधुसूदनमिश्र ठक्कर. Later than 1500  
A. D. and earlier than 1624 A. D.;  
a. of द्वैतनिर्णयप्रकाश or द्वैतनिर्णय-  
जीर्णोद्धार and जीर्णोद्धार com. on  
समयप्रदीप of श्रीदत्त.
- मधुसूदनवाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य a. of अशौच-  
संग्रह.
- मधुसूदन वाचस्पति of the चट्ट family ;  
a. of अशौचसंक्षेप.
- मधुसूदन वाचस्पति a. of दुर्गाचौकाल-  
निष्कर्ष, आश्वकालनिरूपण, व्रतकाल-  
निष्कर्ष.
- मधुसूदनसरस्वती a. of भगवद्भक्तिसायन.
- मधुसूदनानन्द a. of यतिश्रौतविधि.
- मध्वमाह्विस् m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ.  
III. 243, 247, 257, 260 ).



मध्व vide under आनन्दतीर्थ.

मनु Vide sec. 31.

मनोहरभट्ट son of महादेव; a. of आह्निक-  
प्रयोग ( हिरण्यकेशीय ).

मय a. of वास्तुशास्त्र.

मयाराममिश्र गौड. First half of 18th  
century; a. of मयहोमनिर्णय  
( under orders of जयसिंह ), मय-  
हारसार, मिताक्षरासार, मयहोम-  
सूतिसर्वस्व.

मरीचि Sec. 48.

महाराष्ट्रीक्षित मौनिन a. of मासिकश्राद्ध-  
मानोपन्यास.

मस्कारिन् a. of भाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

महादेव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

महादेव, son of मतिनाथ and nephew  
and pupil of गोविन्द; a. of पितृ-  
भक्तिचर्या com. on पितृभक्ति of श्री-  
वत्त.

महादेव a. of तिथिरत्न.

महादेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of निबन्ध-  
सर्वस्व ( 3rd chap. of which is  
on प्रायश्चित्त ).

महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ, of the  
भगस्यगोत्र; a. of आशौचतत्त्व.

महादेव a. of सुबोधिनी.

महादेव a. of धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह.

महादेव दैवज्ञ a. of गोत्रनिर्णय and तिथि-  
निर्णय.

महादेव द्विवेदिन् a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र  
or त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र of कात्यायन.

महादेवभट्ट a. of सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति.

महादेव राजखड्ग, son of काह्लजिह्वाडभ,  
who was the guru of हैबतराज  
H. D. 91.

(Haibatrao, some Maratha chief);  
a. of कुण्डपदीप and com. thereon,  
सुहृत्तरीयक ( composed in 1661  
A. D. and com. thereon, and of  
सुहृत्तीमञ्जि.

महादेवभट्ट, son of कालजित ( which is  
probably a misreading for काह-  
जित ); a. of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त  
( composed in 1652-53 A. D. )  
and com. thereon. He was ho-  
noured by the chief of Ginnar  
and composed the com. at भुज-  
पुर. From these details it appears  
that he is the same as the next.

महादेव सोमयाजिन Earlier than 1650  
A. D.; a. of com. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती  
on हिरण्यकेशिसूत्र and of a com.  
on हिरण्यकेशिधर्मसूत्र. Vide pp. 49-  
50 above and BBRAS. cat. vol.  
II. p. 189.

महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of  
वासिष्ठीशान्ति. Bik. cat. p. 490  
shows that he only 'revised'  
or 'restored' the वासिष्ठीशान्ति  
( खलैर्या दृषिता शान्तिर्वासिष्ठी सा  
प्रशोधिता ).

महायशस्व a. of भाष्य on गोमिलीय-  
श्राद्धकल्प; m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व ( vol.  
I. p. 213 ) by रघुनन्दन.

महार्णवप्रकाशकार m. in श्राद्धसागर of  
कुल्लुकभट्ट and in हेमाद्रि ( IM. I.  
1440 ).

महार्णवोपाध्याय m. in श्राद्धसागर of  
कुल्लुकभट्ट. Probably same as the  
preceding.

महाशर्मन् a. of आचार्यशास्त्राणि.

महीधर a. of अमृतविषेक.



महेश a. of अतीचारनिर्णय.

महेश, son of सारस्वत दुर्ग; a. of आचार-चन्द्रोदय or माधवप्रकाश.

महेश a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह or व्यवस्था-संग्रह and स्मृतिसार.

महेश, son of महादेव, surnamed वैज्ञान्यायन; a. of प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्त-प्रयोगरत्न.

महेशाठकुर a. of तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 149 p. 153).

महेशाठकुर महामहोपाध्याय a. of काय-सार (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 206 p. 221) and शुद्धितत्त्व (ibid. No. 372 p. 423). Later than 1500 A. D.

महेशाठकुर महामहोपाध्याय a. of हरिभक्ति-दीपिका (ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 532 No. 431) is dated ल. सं. 546 i. e. 1665-1666 A. D. Probably the same as above.

महेशपञ्चानन a. of स्मृतिसंग्रहसार.

महेशभट्ट, surnamed हर्ष; a. of अमृत-टिपञ्चति and प्रतिष्ठापञ्चति.

महेश्वर, son of मनोरथ; a. of वृत्तशतक. About 1100-1150 A. D.

महेश्वर Later than 1550 A. D.; a. of com. on कायभाग.

महेश्वर a. of com. on चतुर्दशश्लोकी (of भट्टोजि?). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 1488 He mentions आचार-रत्न. So later than 1650 A. D. महेश्वर simply says that some noble soul composed these 14 verses.

महेश्वर a. of शुद्धिकौमुदी.

महेश्वरमिश्र a. of आश्वादर्श.

माग्निदेव a. of मठोत्सर्ग.

माणिक्यदेव a. of शुद्धिचोहकायुष्मक.

माण्डव्य m. in कालविवेक of जीवत-वाहन. Probably an astronomer.

माण्डव्य a. of work in 12 अध्याय on the Ganges (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5161).

मातृदत्त a. of com. on हिरण्यकेशिपु-मूत्र.

माधव, son of स्वातर and pupil of गोपाल; a. of दिव्यदीपिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I p. 225 No. 208 and No. 209 p. 226, which is dated लक्ष्मणसंवत् 508). Men- tions मिताक्षरा and रत्नाकर. Be- tween 1350-1600 A. D.

माधव a. of दुर्गाभक्तिरत्नशिखी.

माधव. Later than 1500 A. D.; a. of धर्मप्रकाश.

माधव a. of होमपञ्चति. Later than 1500 A. D.

माधव, son of कृष्णार्च्य of भारद्वाज-गोत्र; a. of ग्रहमसतिलक of which होमपञ्चति is a part.

माधव a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

माधव a. of माधवीशान्ति.

माधवपण्डित a. of वृत्तादर्श.

माधवपाठक a. of पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका.

माधवभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. About 1520-1570 A. D.; a. of आशौच-निर्णय, सूर्यार्घ्यदानपञ्चति.



- माधवभट्ट a. of com. on सुहृत्दर्पण.
- माधव महामहोपाध्याय, son of विष्णु-  
शर्मन् ; a. of दानप्रदीप.
- माधवहनुनि a. of com. घोषणभट्टीय.
- माधवपञ्चन a. of com. नयचन्द्रिका  
on अर्थशास्त्र.
- माधवशर्मन्, son of ग्युनाथ, of the  
बुधबाण family ; a. of अद्भुतदर्पण.  
Later than 1200 A. D.
- माधवशुक्ल, son of कूक, son of व्यास-  
नारायण, an औदीच्य ब्राह्मण of  
काश्यपगोत्र ; a. of कुण्डकल्पद्रुम  
(composed in 1656 A. D.)  
and com. thereon.
- माधवस्वामिन् m. in the गृहस्थगन्ताकर  
of चण्डेश्वर as explaining a सूत्र  
of शङ्खलिसित.
- माधवाचार्य a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or  
-माहात्म्य.
- माधवाचार्य, son of मायण and सुकीर्ति.  
Sec. 92 ; several works are  
attributed to him, but their  
authenticity is doubtful ; a. of  
पराशरमाधवीय and कालनिर्णय, दत्त-  
कमीमांसा, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, पुरुषार्थ-  
सुधानिधि, सुहृत्माधवीय, सृष्टिसंग्रह,  
ब्राह्मस्तोत्रपद्धति.
- माधवाचार्य ( अभिनव ) ; a. of गोत्रप्रवर-  
निर्णय, अभिनवमाधवीय.
- माधवाचार्य a. of सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.
- माधवाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.
- मार्तण्डिह a. of आचारविधेय and मान-  
सागरीपद्धति.
- मानेश्वरशर्मन् a. of वर्षकृत्यप्रयोगमतमाला  
or प्रयोगमाला ; ms. dated 1477  
A. D. ( ल. सं. 358 ).
- मान्धातु, son of मदनपाल ; ( reputed  
in some mss. as ) a. of महार्णव-  
कर्मविपाक.
- मार्कण्डेय m. in मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ.  
III. 19 ).
- मार्तण्डमिश्र a. of प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड.  
Earlier than 1620 A. D.
- मार्तण्डसोमपाणिन a. of संस्कारमार्तण्ड.
- मालती alias वेदाङ्गराय ; a. of महा-  
रूपपद्धति. About 1627-1655 A. D.
- मित्रमिश्र, son of परशुराममिश्र, son of  
हंसपण्डित. Sec. 108 ; a. of वीर-  
मित्रोदय ( com. on याज्ञवल्क्य )  
and वीरमित्रोदय ( a digest ).
- मिथिली ? निर्ले लि a. of प्रयोगसुका-  
वलि. Later than 1650 A. D.
- मिसरमिश्र a. of विवाहचन्द्र ( compos-  
ed by order of लल्लिमादेवी, wife  
of prince चन्द्रमिह of मिथिला ).  
Sec. 97.
- मुकुन्द, son of माधवाचार्य वज्र ; a. of  
पुरश्चरणकौमुदी.
- मुकुन्दलाल a. of तीर्थमञ्जरी, प्रणवार्चन-  
चन्द्रिका, प्रायश्चित्तकृतुहल, प्रायश्चित्तच-  
न्द्रिका, मार्तण्डार्चनचन्द्रिका, of com.  
on मिताक्षरा, समयप्रकाश, आद्य-  
मञ्जरी, सृष्टिसार, सृष्ट्यर्थसार.
- मुकुन्दलाल a. of पदकर्मदीपिका.
- मुदाकरसूरि a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर. Earlier  
than 1700 A. D. ; as it is men-  
tioned in रामनिबन्ध of क्षेमराम.



**बरोडा** a. of विश्वामित्र ; a. of स्मृति-  
सिंह. Baroda O. I. ms. No.  
1550 (in Telugu characters).

**सुराजी** a. of पर्यातिर्णय.

**सुरारि**, son of रुद्रशर्मन. son of हरि-  
हर who was chief judge of देव-  
सिंह, eldest son of भवेश. So  
about 1425-1450 A. D. ; a. of  
सुद्धिनिर्णय.

**सुरारिमित्र**, son of वेदामित्र, son of  
विश्वरूपदीक्षित ; a. of भाष्य on पार-  
स्करसूत्रमन्त्र. Earlier than 1370  
A. D.

**सुरारिमित्र**, son of कृष्णमित्र and  
pupil of रामभट्ट and केशवमित्र.  
About end of 15th century ; a.  
of प्रायश्चित्तमनोहर ; शुभकर्मनिर्णय,  
of com. on पितृभक्ति of श्रीवत्त  
( vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I.  
No. 262 pp. 285-286 ).

**सुलभट्ट** a. of सुलभट्टप्रमाण.

**सुसुत्रय कोकिल** a. of सुदार्ढ and  
com. प्रभा thereon.

**मेङ्गनाथ**, of the family of गर्वज ; a.  
of रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति.

**मेधातिथि**, son of दीरस्वामिन. Sec. 63 ;  
a. of भाष्य on मनुस्मृति and of  
स्मृतिषिषेक.

**मेत्रेय** a. of a सूत्र ; m. by निर्णयमिन्द्र.

**मैलुगि** or **मौलुगि**, king. Earlier than  
1380 A. D. ; a. of कर्मविपाक ;  
m. in दृष्टिप्रसाद and in सागराह-  
कर्मविपाक by the son of कादम्बदेव.

**मोहनचन्द्रविशयाचर्यपति** a. of दायभाग-  
कारिका, प्रायश्चित्तन्यवस्थासंग्रह, सुद्धि-  
कारिकादी.

**मोहनमित्र** a. of सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि.

**मोहनमित्र तर्कतिलक**, son of द्वारकादास ;  
a. of com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव  
( composed in 1614 A. D. ).

**मौद्वल्य** m. in बी. ध. सू. II. 2. 67.

**यज्ञपति** m. in अरस्वतीधिलास (p. 362).

**यज्ञपार्श्व** a. of संग्रहकारिका ; m. in  
मदाधर's भाष्य on पारस्करसूत्रसूत्र, in  
मदनपास्त्रिजित ( pp. 543, 576 ).

**यज्ञसुरि**, son of विश्वनाथ ; a. of  
कुण्डमण्डपचन्द्रिका.

**यज्ञस्वामि** a. of com. on वसिष्ठधर्म-  
सूत्र ( according to गोविन्दस्वामि  
on बी. ध. सू. II. 2. 51 ).

**यज्ञेश** a. of निर्णयोद्धारखण्डन ( ms.  
No. 5247 Baroda O. I. ). Later  
than 1550 A. D.

**यतीश** a. of कामधेनु and धार्तिकसार  
( composed in विष्णुगणेशसुक्ष्माह-  
मिलिते i. e. 1840 संवत् i. e.  
1781 A. D. ). He was son of  
देवचन्द्र and belonged to लवपुर  
and was of कल्हणकुल ( Stein's cat.  
p. 314 ). Wrote under विजय-  
नाल, son of अहृतपाल.

**यदुनन्दनपण्डित** a. of हस्तमंथरी ( com-  
posed in 1670 A. D. ).

**यम** Sec. 49.

**यलुभट्ट** a. of शतश्लोका, षडशीति.

**यल्लान्ति**, son of यलुभट्ट ; a. of यल्लान्तीय,  
पैतृमेधिक.

**यशोवन्तभट्ट** a. of प्रयोगरत्नाकर.

**यशोधरभट्ट** a. of प्रायश्चित्तयिनिर्णय.



यशोधर a. of निबन्धचूडामणि. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

यशोधर a. of com. on गोभिलवृद्ध ; m. in दानक्रियाकौमुदी ( p. 77 ) and by रघुनन्दन.

याज्ञवल्क्य Sec. 34 ; a. of स्मृति. Also reputed author of अपप्रदीपिका.

याज्ञिकदेव or देवयाज्ञिक son of महादेव alias प्रजापति, son of गङ्गाधर. Earlier than 1595 A. D. ; a. of स्नानविधिपद्धति, com. on the स्नानविधिसूत्र of कात्यायन, of स्मृतिमार, वास्तुध्वजनपद्धति. उत्तरक्रियापद्धति, दादादिकर्तृपद्धति. आद्यक्रम, स्मृतिमारमंथ ( probably same as स्मृतिमार ).

यादवप्रकाश said to have been a disciple of रामानुज ; a. of यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

यादवेन्द्रर्षमन a. of छडाद्विकाचारम्भार ( under orders of रघुदेव prince of गौड. ).

यादवेन्द्रभट्ट or यादवविद्याधरपण. Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a. of भुविमार.

येनुभट्ट ( कथं ) a. of स्मृतिकदम्ब.

योगीन्द्र a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

योगीश्वर Earlier than 1537 A. D. ; a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. D. C. ms. No. 332 of 1880-81 is dated संवत् 1594 ज्येष्ठ व. 12 Sunday ( 1537 A. D. ).

योगेश्वर ( different from याज्ञवल्क्य ); m. in काण्डविवेक of जैमिनीसंहिता ( p. 217 ), दानस्नान of चण्डेश्वर, कृष्णरत्नकर ( pp. 81 and 114 as

explaining a passage of the मत्स्यपुराण ), मलमासतत्त्व ( vol. I. p. 820 ).

योगीश्वर a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. Earlier than 1530 A. D. Probably same as above.

योगलोक Sec. 69.

योगराज a. of ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति.

योगनभट्ट (?) a. of आपस्तम्बगृह्यसार.

गक्षपाल a. of पिटृपञ्चमण्डनव्याख्यार्थदीपिका.

रघु दैवज्ञ a. of com. on पीयूषधारा ( which is a com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि ).

रघुनन्दन a. of आशीचनिर्णय.

रघुनन्दन a. of विद्वद्विर्षण, स्वयम्भार्षय ( on pre-emption ), सङ्कल्पचन्द्रिका.

रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य a. of स्वर्णसाधन.

रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य, son of हरिहरभट्टाचार्य and pupil of श्रीनाथआचार्यचूडामणि. Sec. 102 ; a. of स्मृति-तत्त्व ( divided into 28 तत्त्वs, for which see. p. 416 & above ), com. on दायभाग, तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व, द्वादशयात्रातत्त्व, त्रिपुष्करशान्ति-तत्त्व, गवाश्राद्धपद्धति and गमयात्रापद्धति.

रघुनन्दनामिश्र. Latter half of 16th century ; a. of दोहप्रकाश.

रघुनन्दन श्रेय a. of भक्तिप्रकाश.

रघुनाथ a. of जयभिरुप्रयोग.

रघुनाथ. Later than 1640 A. D. ; a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

रघुनाथ a. of com. on अनुष्ठानपद्धति.



रघुनाथ a. of जातिविवेक.

रघुनाथ, surnamed नवहस्त ( modern Navāthe ); a. of प्रयोगरत्नसूत्रा.

रघुनाथ a. of प्रत्यक्षुद्धि.

रघुनाथ a. of धर्मसेतु.

रघुनाथ a. of पूर्वमाला.

रघुनाथ, son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तकुतुहल.

रघुनाथ a. of सुदूर्तरत्न.

रघुनाथ, pupil of विठ्ठलेश ; a. of com. on संन्यासनिर्णय of वल्लभाचार्य.

रघुनाथ a. of पञ्चस्तकर्मपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of रुद्रभट्ट surnamed अपाचित ; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति, मासिक-श्राद्धप्रयोग, राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग.

रघुनाथ a. of गृह्यदर्पण com. on शाङ्खरायनगृह्य.

रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव ; a. of धर्माधृतमहोदधि.

रघुनाथ, son of भानुजि, of शाण्डिल्य-गोत्र ; a. of प्रयोगतत्त्व ( composed at Benares in 1656 A. D. ).

रघुनाथ, son of विश्वामित्र ; a. of कर्तव्यार्थार्द्धनदीपदानपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of सरस, of the चित्तपावन subcaste and शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; a. of सुहृत्तमाला.

रघुनाथ, pupil of रामदयालु ; a. of काशीतत्त्वकौमुदी ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 63 p. 57 ).

रघुनाथदास a. of काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदी.

रघुनाथ दीक्षित a. of आश्वलायनसूत्र-कारिका.

रघुनाथभट्ट, styled सद्वादरथपति, son of माधव, son of गणेशभट्ट. Flourished between 1545-1625 A. D. ; a. of आह्निकपद्धति, अष्टमहाद्वादशी-निर्णय, आह्निकप्रयोग, कालतत्त्वविवे-चन ( composed in 1620 A. D. ), गयापद्धति, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, विशा-च्छ्लोकीविवरण or आशीचनिर्णय, दश-श्लोकीटीका ( composed in 1578 A. D. ), वृणयतिश्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्ध-पद्धति or दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति, पर्वनिर्णय, रथिसंक्रान्तिनिर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of व्यतिषङ्गनिर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्य-स्मृति.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of स्मृतिरत्न.

रघुनाथभट्टाचार्य a. of यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

रघुनाथनाजपेयिन् a. of प्रयोगपारिजात and com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर ( vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 10 for व्यवहार portion )

रघुनाथनार्वभौम a. of स्वन्वयवस्थार्णव-सेतुचन्द्र.

रघुनाथनार्वभौम, son of मधुरेश ; a. of स्मार्तस्ववस्थार्णव ( composed in 1661-62 A. D. at the order of king रत्नेश्वरगण ).

रघुनाथसूरि a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

रघुनाथेन्द्रशिवयोगिन् a. of काशीतत्त्व-प्रकाशिका or काशीसागेन्द्र.

रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of काशीतत्त्व.

रघुपति a. of तद्भागविधि.

रघुपति a. of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका ( compos- ed at the bidding of king कर्प-दिन of पांगदेश ). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 369 p. 419.



रघुमणि, said to be the real name of author of वृत्तकचन्द्रिका. About 1800 A. D.

रघुराम a. of सिद्धान्तनिर्णय (probably same as above).

रघुराम, pupil of रघुमणि; a. of दाय-मागधदीपिका.

रघुरामतीर्थ a. of कर्मदीपिका.

रघुरामभट्ट, son of जयराम, son of वैकुण्ठ; (collected materials of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

रघुवर a. of सपिण्डीश्राद्ध.

रघुवीरदीक्षित, son of विद्वत्, son of इब; a. of मरीचिमाला com. on the कुण्डाकं of शङ्कर and of मुहूर्तसर्वस्व (composed in 1635-36 A. D.).

रघुनमनोहरशिरोमणि a. of तिथ्यादिचिपि-संग्रह.

रघुनमतीर्थ a. of दुर्गाभक्तिलहरी.

रङ्गनाथ a. of पितृमेघविषरण.

रङ्गनाथदेशिक a. of रङ्गनाथदेशिकाद्विक.

रङ्गनाथसूरि, pupil of कृष्णानन्दसं-स्वती; a. of पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर.

रङ्गभट्ट a. of गृह्यप्रयोगवृत्ति on भारद्वाज-सूत्रसूत्र.

रजोमिश्र a. of तीर्थसामान्यवृत्ति or rather तीर्थलक्ष्मीवती. Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 170 p. 186.

रत्नधरमिश्र a. of स्मृतिमञ्जरी.

रत्ननाथभट्टाचार्य a. of चन्दनधेनु-सर्ग-पद्धति.

रत्नपाणि a. of स्मृतिकाशोच्चनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 428

p. 505). He mentions हरीश्वर. He was a मैथिल.

रत्नपाणशर्मन्, son of गङ्गोली सञ्जीवे-श्वरशर्मन्, patronised by छत्रसिंह of मिथिला. Later than 1550 A. D.; a. of आचारसंग्रह, एकोद्दिष्ट-मार्गिणी, कृष्णाचनचन्द्रिका, क्षयमा-सादिविवेक, पार्ष्णचन्द्रिका, प्राय-श्चित्तपाणिजात, महादानवाक्यावलि, मि-थिलशास्त्रिक, रामचन्द्रप्रतिमोपनिषद्, लक्ष्मीप्रतिष्ठा, व्रताचार (probably his last work as it was written for महेश्वरसिंह grandson of छत्र-सिंह), सुबोधिनी (composed for रुद्रसिंह son of छत्रसिंह). In his रामचन्द्रप्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा (composed at the bidding of रुद्रसिंह of मिथिला) he says that he follows the प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. (Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 300 p. 341).

रत्नाकर a. of दानवाक्यावली (based on दानसागर). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 196 p. 111. Probably same as above.

रत्नाकर a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह, प्राय-श्चित्तरत्नाकर.

रत्नाकर, son of देवभट्ट; a. of जय-सिंहकल्पद्रुम (composed in 1713 A. D.). The work is also called द्रुमोदयोत.

रत्नाकरठक्कुर a. of दानपञ्ची.

रत्नाकरभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लुक.

रत्नेश्वरमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय. N. vol. VII p. 79; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका.

रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन, son of मधुसूदन; a. of स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार.



- रमानाथ a. of com. on नारदस्मृति  
रमानाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.  
रमापति of the मैत्रालवंश ; a. of प्राय-  
श्चित्तचन्द्रिका.  
रमापति a. of दिवालयप्रतष्ठाविधि.  
रमापति उपाध्यायसन्निभ ; a. of आचार-  
चन्द्रिका, आचारसंग्रहि and दिवा-  
लयविधि.  
रमापति सिद्धान्त a. of तिथिनिर्णय.  
रविनाथमिश्र a. of आचारतर्कवर्णिका.  
राघवभट्ट a. of निर्णयसार. Mentions  
रामकौतुक, माधव, निर्णयसिन्धु and  
हेमाद्रि. Later than 1612 and  
earlier than 1700 A. D.  
राघवभट्ट, son of पृथ्वीधर. About  
1493-4 A. D. ; a. of दुर्गातत्त्व  
and com. पदार्थदर्श on शास्त्रा-  
तिलक m. by गुनन्दन (in उद्योगितस्तत्त्व  
p. 580 ).  
राघवभट्ट. Later than 1640 A. D. ;  
a. of तिथिनिर्णय and तिथिनिर्णयोद्धार  
or लघुतिथिनिर्णय, स्मृतिदर्पण.  
राघवभट्ट, pupil of सुकुन्द ; a. of  
com. called दीप on आशीचरित्र-  
शङ्खोकी.  
राघवाचार्य a. of com. प्रकाश on  
हृदिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास.  
राघवानन्दतीर्थिन. Earlier than 1600  
A. D. ; m. in आचारसूत्र of लक्ष्मण.  
राघवानन्दनाथ a. of शिवपूजापद्धति.  
राघवानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of अह्वयानन्द.  
Later than 1350 A. D. ; a. of  
मन्वर्थचन्द्रिका com. on मनुस्मृति.  
राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ ; a. of  
रामप्रकाश and of a com. on काल-

- निर्णयदीपिका also called रामप्रकाश.  
Flourished in latter half of 17th  
century.  
राघवेन्द्र a. of com. on जयतीर्थी's  
com. on कर्मनिर्णय and सदाचार-  
स्मृति of आनन्दतीर्थ.  
राघवेन्द्र a. of श्रीपुनरुद्गाहखण्डनकारिका.  
राजकृष्णतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of आ-  
शीचरित्रिका.  
राजचूडामणि, son of रत्नखेट श्रीनिवास  
दाक्षित ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.  
राजनाथभग्न मुखोपाध्याय a. of तुलसी-  
चन्द्रिका.  
राजपुत्र a writer on politics ; m. in  
अद्भुतसागर and in com. on नीति-  
वैश्याभूत.  
राजपिबट्ट. Earlier than 1350 A. D. ;  
a. of समकारचिन्तामणि.  
राजाराम, son of सोमेश्वर. Earlier  
than 1725 A. D. ; a. of आचार-  
कीर्तनी.  
राघवकान्तदेव a. of प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका.  
राधाकृष्ण a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति, शिवालय-  
प्रतिष्ठा.  
राधानाथशर्मन a. of आशीचरित्रवस्था  
( part of व्यवस्थादीपिका ).  
राधामोहन गोस्वामिभट्टाचार्य. About  
1800 A. D. ; a. of commentaries  
on एकादशीतत्त्व, द्वायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्त-  
तत्त्व, मलमासतत्त्व, हृदितत्त्व, and  
of कृष्णराज, of सिद्धान्तसंग्रह a  
com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञाने-  
श्वर.  
राम a. of अद्भुतहोमलक्षहोमकोटिहोमा.  
About 1660 A. D.  
राम a. of com. on कृष्णरामण्डपसिद्धि  
or सिद्धल.



राम a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

राम a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका or -प्रदीपिका.

राम, son of चौण्ड or चाउण्ड ; a. of  
बीधयनयुद्धप्रयोगमाला.

राम Later than 1550 A. D. ; a. of  
com. on मोचदधम्मञ्जरी of केशव.

राम a. of com. on प्रवरनिर्णय of  
भास्करमिश्रक्रिष्णण्डमण्डन.

राम आचार्य a. of अन्येष्टिपद्धति.

रामकिशोर a. of दीक्षातत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

रामकृष्ण a. of कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह.

रामकृष्ण, son of दाम्पयणभट्ट. Between  
1510-1590 A. D. ; a. of अनन्तव्रतो-  
थापनप्रयोग, उत्सर्गोत्प्रेषणप्रयोग, केटि-  
होमप्रयोग, जीवपितृकर्मनिर्णय or  
कर्तव्यसमुच्चय, विभागतत्त्व or -तत्त्व-  
विचार, मामिकश्राद्धनिर्णय, बान्तु-  
शान्तिप्रयोग, रुद्रस्तानपद्धति, शिवालङ्क-  
प्रतिष्ठाविधि.

रामकृष्ण a. of आश्वलायनयुहोक्तवास्तु-  
शान्ति.

रामकृष्ण a. of आदिकदर्पण.

रामकृष्ण a. of विजयविलास.

रामकृष्ण a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण and श्राद्ध-  
प्रभा.

रामकृष्ण a. of श्राद्धसङ्कर्षणनिर्णय.

रामकृष्ण a. of com. कौमुदी on शूल-  
पाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक.

रामकृष्ण a. of विवेककौमुदी. उपोत्सर्ग-  
कौमुदी, व्रतोत्थापनकौमुदी. Relies on  
हेमाद्रि.

रामकृष्ण a. of सपिण्डवर्जितर्णय.

रामकृष्ण a. of सङ्कल्पकौमुदी.

रामकृष्ण, son of केनेर, son of प्रयाग-  
भट्ट of भारद्वाजगोत्र. He was pa-  
R. D. 92.

tronised by विजयमिह. Vide I. O.  
cat. p. 560 footnote ; a. of com.  
called संस्कारगणपति on पारस्करश्रुत.  
About 1750 A. D.

रामकृष्ण, son of चौण्डभट्ट, son of  
प्रयागभट्ट of the भारद्वाजगोत्र re-  
siding in चिखतगडलपत्तन on the  
यसिष्ठा river. He was a student of  
काण्यशास्त्रा ; a. of श्राद्धगणपति or  
श्राद्धसंग्रह ( composed at Benares  
in 1731 A. D. ). Anfrecht  
treats the two रामकृष्ण as dif-  
ferent, but this seems to be  
incorrect, as the grandfather of  
both is given as प्रयागभट्ट and  
चौण्डभट्ट is another form of  
केनेर.

रामकृष्ण, son of योगीश्वर, surnamed  
शाच ( modern जीवे ) ; a. of  
विनायकपूजा ( composed in 1702  
A. D. ).

रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, son of नारा-  
यण of the पराशरगोत्र. Between  
1500-1545 A. D. ; a. of तीर्थ-  
रत्नाकर or रामप्रसाद and प्रतापमा-  
तण्ड.

रामकृष्ण विपारिण. son of दामोदर.  
About 1616 A. D. ; a. of com.  
on मन्त्रांगसंग्रह, of उन्मादगादिकपद्धति.

रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son of नारायण, a. of  
माधवीनारायण com. on पराशर-  
स्मृति ( comp. and under लक्ष्मण-  
चन्द्रदेव ). About 1575-1600 A. D.

रामकृष्ण न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य ; a. of  
श्राद्धादिविवेककौमुदी ( com. on  
श्राद्धविवेक and other works of  
शूलपाणि. N. vol. X. pp. 119-



- 120). Probably same as the preceding.
- रामकृष्णपाण्डित a. of धर्मनिबन्ध.
- रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of प्रयोगदीपिका.
- रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of व्यवहारदर्पण.
- रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिकौमुदी, ग्रह-  
यागकौमुदी.
- रामकृष्णाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.
- रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्तिन, son of रामगो-  
पालचक्रवर्तिन of the चटुवंश and  
resident of बालिचामटग्राम ; a. of  
व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह (N. new series  
I. No. 345).
- रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त of भारद्वाजगोत्र;  
a. of अष्टविधेयन.
- रामचन्द्र a. of पुरश्चरणदीपिका.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डभ्लोकदीपिका.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डोदधि.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय or  
तीर्थनिर्णय.
- रामचन्द्र a. of धर्माष्टवधोप.
- रामचन्द्र Earlier than 1600 A. D. ;  
a. of प्रतिष्ठासार.
- रामचन्द्र, son of कृष्ण, son of रुद्रि,  
son of अनन्ताचार्य of the शेष  
family. About 1400 A. D.  
Wrote according to his son  
हृसिंह three works on कालनिर्णय.  
रामचन्द्र's गुरु was गोपाल परमहंस ;  
a. of कालनिर्णयदीपिका (com. on  
कालनिर्णय of माधव), तिथिनिर्णय-  
संग्रह (a summary of the तिथि-  
निर्णय of अनन्तभट्ट), वैष्णवसिद्धान्त-  
दीपिका.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कालनिर्णय (vide Ba-  
roda O. I. ms. No. 3871).
- रामचन्द्र a. of ब्राह्मपद्धति. B. O.  
ms. cat. 399 p. 468.
- रामचन्द्र a. of आशीचर्चनिर्णय.
- रामचन्द्र a. of निर्णयामृत.
- रामचन्द्र a. of शारदार्चाप्रयोग.
- रामचन्द्र a. of अर्जुनार्चापारिजात, अर्जु-  
नार्चनकल्पलता.
- रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास ; a. of प्राय-  
श्चित्तपद्धति, समरसार, कुण्डाकृति or  
कुण्डलक्षण and com.
- रामचन्द्र a. of कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी.
- रामचन्द्र, son of नारायण ; a. of com.  
on चतुर्विंशतिमतस्मृति.
- रामचन्द्र, surnamed जडे ; a. of कुण्ड-  
रत्नावलि, composed in śake  
1790.
- रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the  
अत्रिगोत्र ; a. of com. on शिवपूजा-  
सूत्र.
- रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल, son of बाल-  
कृष्ण, surnamed तत्सत्. He was  
daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author  
of कालतत्त्वविशेषन. Between 1610-  
1690 A. D. ; a. of कुण्डभ्लोक-  
दीपिका, कालनिर्णयप्रकाश, कृत्यरत्ना-  
वली (composed in 1648-49  
A. D.), शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति or  
आधानपद्धति. Ms. of कालनिर्णय-  
प्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No. 8455)  
is dated śake 1603 Māgha  
(1682 A. D.).
- रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णु ; a. of कृष्णा-  
दिष्टप्रबोधिनीपद्धति.
- रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णुभट्ट उज्जयलकर ;  
a. of पूजापद्धति. Earlier than  
1810 A. D.



- रामचन्द्र a. of विवाहपद्धति.  
 रामचन्द्र अलुहीवार a. of राजनीतिप्रकाश.  
 रामचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका.  
 रामचन्द्रदीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तलमाला.  
 रामचन्द्रदेवगजपति (reputed) a. of दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका (really composed by भारतीभूषण वर्धमानमहापात्र).  
 रामचन्द्रपाठक a. of रुद्रजपसिद्धान्त-शिरोमणि.  
 रामचन्द्रबुध a. of स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा com. on अधपञ्चषष्टि.  
 रामचन्द्रभट्ट a. of आचारार्क, प्रायश्चित्त-सुक्तावली, आद्यचन्द्रिका.  
 रामचन्द्रयज्यन् a. of समयप्रकाश.  
 रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनायण ; a. of आशौचसंग्रह.  
 रामचरण a. of कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका, तर्पणचन्द्रिका.  
 रामचरण विद्यावाखस्पति a. of com. on तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.  
 रामजय तर्कालङ्कार a. of दत्तककौस्तुभ, वानकौस्तुभ.  
 रामजित् a. of निबन्धनवनीत or नवनीतनिबन्ध and of भागविवेक and com. मितषादिनी. He was son of श्रीनाथ, son of हरिनाथ, son of बेषु, son of यज्ञेश्वर. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1600 A.D. For निबन्धनवनीत vide D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 (dated संवत् 1673).  
 राम ज्योतिर्विष्णु a. of वीरसिंहमित्रोदय.

- रामदत्त a. of मुहूर्तचूषणटीका, युद्धज्यो-त्सवटीका.  
 रामदत्त ni. in पञ्चवेदितृपोत्सर्गतत्त्व (p. 640) of रघुनन्दन.  
 रामदत्तठक्कर a. of शूद्रभ्रातृपद्धति.  
 रामदत्तठक्कर a. of शूद्राचारपद्धति.  
 रामदत्त मन्त्रिन्, son of गणेश्वरठक्कर and nephew of वीरेश्वर. First half of 14th century ; a. of उपनयनपद्धति or व्रतबन्धपद्धति, दान-पद्धति or षोडशमहादानपद्धति, नान्दी-भ्रातृपद्धति, विवाहपद्धति or विवाहा-दिपद्धति, गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति, यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति, शूद्रभ्रातृपद्धति. He seems to have written a com- prehensive पद्धति for Vājasane- yins, parts of which on उपनयन, विवाह and other संस्कारs are separately noticed in the cat- alogues. Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. Nos. 315A, 316, 317 and pp. 353-355.  
 रामदीक्षित a. of com. on शारदा-तिलक.  
 रामदेव, son of शम्भु ; a. of तिथिनि-र्णयदीपिका.  
 रामदेव a. of रामप्रकाश a com. on कालतत्त्वार्णव.  
 रामदैवज्ञ a. of आशौचादिनिर्णय, आ-शौचेन्दुशेखर.  
 राम दैवज्ञ, son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि ; a. of मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि (composed at Benares in 1600-1601) with com. प्रमिता-क्षरा.



रामनन्दिन a. of com. on प्रवरनिर्णय of भारकर.

रामनवरत्न a. of एकादशीहोमनिर्णय.

रामनाथ a. of संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य (a com. on संस्कारपद्धति or कर्मा-  
नुष्ठानपद्धति of भवदेव composed  
in 1622-23 A. D.) and रामनाथ-  
पद्धति.

रामनाथ a. of प्रयोगसंग्रह.

रामनाथ a. of व्यवहारसारसंग्रह.

रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of दायभाग-  
विवेक or दायरहस्य (com. on दाय-  
भाग) which is part of स्मृतिरत्नावलि  
(composed in 1657 A. D.). He  
quotes अश्रुत, चूडामणि, हरिनाथ.

रामपाण्डित, son of विश्वेश्वर of the वत्स-  
गोत्र. Later than 1400 A. D. ;  
a. of पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय.

रामपाण्डित शेष a. of com. on धर्मा-  
गमादुचान्धिश्लोक or श्लोकचतुर्दशी of  
कृष्णशेष.

रामपति a. of सदाचारक्रम.

रामप्रसाद a. of तिथिनिर्णय, यज्ञसिद्धान्त-  
संग्रह and रत्नाकर.

रामप्रसाद देवशर्मा a. of मारसंग्रहदीपिका.

रामभट्ट a. of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

रामभट्ट a. of संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार.

रामभट्ट, surnamed सिंह ; a. of सा-  
पिण्डचनिर्णय (called अनुकल्पसाठ).  
Discusses the views of श्रीधर in  
his सापिण्डचदीपिका. (D. C. ms.  
No. 208 of A 1882-83).

रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ, son of सुब्रह्म,  
surnamed होसिङ्ग. About 1675  
A. D. ; a. of अनुपविबेक, दानरत्ना-

कर, आहिताग्नेर्दाहादिनिर्णय, कञ्च-  
प्रयोग following तीर्थदर्पण, दर्शभास्व.

रामभट्टाचार्य a. of निर्णयसार.

रामभट्ट a. of पुत्रक्रमदीपिका.

रामभट्टन्यायालङ्कार a. of शुद्धिकारिका or  
शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका (on रघुनन्दन's  
शुद्धितत्त्व).

रामभट्टन्यायालङ्कार, son of रघुनाथ ; a.  
of उद्वाहन्यवस्था, स्मृतिसंग्रह (of  
which the first is a part).

रामभट्ट न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य, son of  
श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. About  
1525 A. D. ; a. of com. on the  
दायभाग and of स्मृतितत्त्वनिर्णय or  
व्यवस्थापर्व.

रामभट्टशिष्य a. of मांसपीयूषलता.

रामबाजपेयिन् नैमिषस्थ, son of सूर्य-  
दास, son of शिवदास, son of श्री-  
धर मालव, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र ;  
a. of कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण or कुण्ड-  
निर्माणश्लोक with com. (कुण्डा-  
हिति composed in 1449-50  
A. D. ), of समरगार and of com.  
on शारदातिलक at the bidding  
of king रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर.

रामविद्यावाचस्पति a. of com. on तिथि-  
तत्त्व.

रामशङ्कर a. of शूद्रविवेक.

रामशर्मा a. of प्राणश्चित्तप्रदीप.

रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन्, son of रामशङ्कर ;  
a. of दत्ताशौचव्यवस्थापनवाद, धर्म-  
विवेचन. About end of 18th  
century.

रामसेवक a. of यज्ञसिद्धान्तविग्रह.

रामसेवक, son of लोकमणि or लेखराज ;  
a. of तिथिप्रदीपिका or- मदीष्



रामसेवक, son of देधीदत्त ; a. of  
सुहृत्तर्दीपक.

रामसेवक त्रिपाठिन a. of युद्धचिन्तामणि.

रामसेवक त्रिवेदिन ; a. of सुहृत्तर्दीपण or  
मञ्जीर.

रामाचार्य a. of अन्येष्टिपद्धति.

रामाचार्य a. of com. on सदाचार-  
सूति of श्रीमध्वाचार्य.

रामानन्द a. of रामार्चनपद्धति.

रामानन्दतीर्थ or रामानन्दयति ; a. of  
कुण्डतत्त्वप्रकाशिका, राजभूषणी or  
वृषभूषणी, संध्याविधिमन्त्रसूहृदीका.

रामानन्द व्यायवागीश a. of वैजय-  
चन्द्रिका.

रामानन्दयति a. of दत्तार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका.

रामानन्द वाचस्पति. About 1750 A.D. ;  
a. of आह्निकाचारराज.

रामानन्दशर्मन् a. of सुब्रह्मलदीपिका.

रामानुज a. of रामार्चनपद्धति.

रामानुजदीक्षित a. of 'आशौचनिर्णय'  
com. on आशौचशतक of वेङ्कट  
of the हारीतगोत्र.

रामानुजयज्वन् a. of दीपिका on अध-  
निर्णय or आशौचशतक of वेङ्कटेश.

रामानुजाचार्य a. of सच्चरितरक्षा and  
com.

रामाश्रम, pupil of महादेव ; a. of  
संख्याभाष्य (composed in 1653  
A. D.).

रामेश्वर a. of आशौचशतक.

रामेश्वर a. of युद्धपद्धति and षोडश-  
संस्कारसेतु.

रामेश्वर, pupil of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती ;  
a. of शिवाष्ट्युक्तिप्रकाश.

रामेश्वरभट्ट a. of धर्मरत्नाकर.

रामेश्वरभट्ट. Earlier than 1600 A. D. ;  
a. of पदार्थादर्श.

रामेश्वर भारती a. of com. on विश्व-  
चक्रोक्ती.

रामेश्वरशास्त्रिन् a. of सुदर्शनकालप्रभा.

रामेश्वरशुक्ल a. of com. on दत्तक-  
चन्द्रिका of कुबेरपण्डित.

राघसुकुट. His com. on the अमरकोश  
was composed in 1431 A. D. ;  
a. of a पद्धति m. in भाद्रतत्त्व  
(p. 213) and ह्यदितत्त्व (pp.  
281, 283) of रघुनन्दन.

राघम्भट्ट a. of यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग.

राघसवेङ्कटाद्रि vide under वेङ्कटाद्रि ;  
a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रावणशर्मन् of चम्पहट्टि family ; a. of  
वर्षकृत्य.

रिपुञ्जय a. of पूर्णचन्द्र (on प्रायश्चित्त),  
प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण.

रुचिक m. by सरस्वतीविलास p. 307.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on अष्टविवेचन.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on मनुस्मृति.

रुद्र a. of युद्धकौशल.

रुद्रकवीन्द्र a. of मानुगोत्रनिर्णय.

रुद्रदेव a. of कौतुकचिन्तामणि.

रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण, surnamed  
'तेरो', and pupil of अनन्त ; a. of  
प्रतापनारसिंह (composed in 1710-  
11 A. D.). Several parts of it  
such as आपस्तम्बाह्निक, कुण्डप्रकाश,  
पाकयज्ञप्रकाश, धूर्तप्रकाश, संस्कार-  
प्रकाश are separately entered in  
the reports.



रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. 1360-1400 A. D.; a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका, विधाचन्द्रिका and आद्यचन्द्रिका.

रुद्रधर a. of दुष्पमाला.

रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, son of महामहोपाध्यायलक्ष्मीधर and younger brother of हलधर. Sec. 96; a. of वर्षकृत्य, व्रतपद्धति, शुद्धिविधेय, आद्यविधेय.

रुद्रशर्मन्, son of राघवराय; a. of पुराणसार.

रुद्रस्कन्द, son of नारायण, residing at मखवाट; a. of com. on द्वाह्यायण-यज्ञ and स्वादिरयज्ञ (called साम-यज्ञवृत्ति).

रूपगोस्वामिन् a. of हरिभक्तिविलास.

रूपनारायण. Between 1420 and 1500 A. D.; a. of महादानपद्धति (ms. copied in 1530 A. D.).

रूपनारायण, son of यवानीदास, son of नाथमल्ल; a. of व्यवहारचमत्कार (composed in 1580 A. D.).

रूपनारायण (उदयसिंह), son of शक्ति-सिंह; a. of रूपनारायणीयपद्धति (of which महादानपद्धति seems to be a part); ms. No. 2393 (Baroda O. I.) is रूपनारायणीयपद्धतिरत्न, wherein लक्ष्मीधर, भोजराज, हेमाद्रि, and चण्डेश्वर are relied upon. So it is later than 1350 A. D.

रेणुकाचार्य, son of महेश्वरि, son of सोमेश्वर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र; a. of कारिका on पारस्करयज्ञ (composed in 1266 A. D.).

रैय m. in the com. on the नीति-वाक्यावृत as a writer on politics.

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र a. of कृष्णमण्डपविधि.

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son of श्रीकृष्ण. Probably 12th century A. D.; a. of कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति, शारदा-तिलक.

लक्ष्मण श्रीशैलवेङ्कोटीर a. of यतिखन-नादिप्रयोग.

लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1585-1630 A. D.; a. of आचाररत्न or आचार-मार, गोत्रप्रवररत्न.

लक्ष्मणसेन, son of बल्लालसेन. Sec. 83; (reputed) a. of दानसागर (which was begun by his father).

लक्ष्मणोपाध्याय m. in the प्रकाश of हलायुध on the आद्यकृत्य of कात्यायन.

लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिश्र a. of शैवकल्पद्रुम.

लक्ष्मीदाम, son of गोपाल; a. of सुहृत्सुकावली (composed in 1618 A. D.).

लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड. Sec. III; (reputed) a. of बाल-म्भट्टी (com. on the मिताक्षरा) and of लक्ष्मी com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of भट्टहृदयधर; a. of कल्पतरु. Sec. 77.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of मल्लदेव and श्रीदेवी; a. of विरुद्धविधिविध्वंस. Earlier than 1525 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of दैवज्ञमनोहर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर.



लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट a. of कुण्डकारिका.

लक्ष्मीनाथ a. of गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लक्ष्मीनारायण a. of दायधिकारिक्रम.

लक्ष्मीनारायण न्यायालङ्कार, son of गदाधर ; a. of व्यवस्थारत्नमाला.

लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित a. of कायस्थक्षत्रियवृत्तमवलोकनकुठार.

लक्ष्मीनृसिंह a. of अधशोधिनी com. on पञ्चशीति.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of com. on सुहृत्संग्रह.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र.

लक्ष्मीपति ठक्कर, pupil of इन्द्रपति or महीन्द्रपति ; a. of श्राद्धरत्न. Relies on श्रीदत्त and वाचस्पति ; ms. No. 401 F ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 472 ) is dated ल. सं. 525 ( 1644 A. D. ). So he flourished between 1500 and 1640 A.D.

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुनारद m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, संस्कार-कौस्तुभ.

लघुपराशर m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

लघुबृहस्पति.

लघुयम m. by अपरार्क on याज्ञवल्क्य I. 238, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुविष्णु m. by अपरार्क ( pp. 1031, 1080 ), by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुव्यास ( vide Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 310-320 ).

लघुशङ्ख.

लघुशातातप (Ānan.Sm. pp. 128-135).

लघुसौनव.

लघुहारीत m. by कालमाधव ( p. 88 ), अपरार्क ( pp. 145, 539, 543, 547 ).

लघ्वङ्गिरम्.

लघ्वत्रि.

लघ्वाश्वलायन.

लम्बोदर a. of होमपद्धति.

ललित m. by नन्दपण्डित in सुविचन्द्रिका.

लल्लु a. of विधानमाला.

लालयहादुर a. of शूद्रकृत्य.

लालमणि, son of जगन्नाम, son of गङ्गाराम of अलकपुर ; a. of सुहृत्-वृत्त.

लालमणि भट्टाचार्य a. of निर्णयसार.

लिखित m. by मिता<sup>०</sup> ( on याज्ञ. III. 290 ), by अपरार्क pp. 1183, 38, 138.

लोकनाथ a. of कृत्तरत्नाकर.

लोकनाथ, son of वैद्यनाथ ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका ( part of सकलायम-संग्रह ).

लोहट a. of श्राद्धप्रकरण. Between 900-1100 A.D. ; m. in स्मृत्यर्थ-सार, श्राद्धकलिका of नारायण, in पञ्चशीति of नन्दपण्डित, in श्राद्ध-सागर of कुल्लुक.

लोहित a. of स्मृति.

लौगाक्षि Sec. 50 ; a. of काठकृद्गमूत्र and प्रवराध्याय ; m. by मिताक्षरा ( on याज्ञ. II. 119 and III. 1-2, 260, 289 ), अपरार्क ( pp. 28, 30, 33, 259, 269, 418, 460, 542, 870, 942 &c. ).

लौगाक्षि a. of उपनयनतन्त्र.

लौगाक्षि a. of श्लोकतर्पण.

लौगाक्षि भास्कर, son of सुहृल, son of रुद्रकवीन्द्र of लौगाक्षिकुल. Later



- than 1400 A. D. ; a. of मातृगोत्र-  
निर्णय, तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय.
- वंशीधर a. of कुशकाण्डिका
- वक्त्रिपुरेश्वर a. of वक्त्रिपुरेश्वरकारिका.
- वचिय Or वडिय a. of निवन्धसार ( D.  
C. ms. No. 123 of 1884-86  
was copied in संवत् 1632 i. e.  
1575 A. D. ).
- वखेश्वर, son of नरसिंह ; a. of दत्त-  
चिन्तामणि and मलमासनिर्णय.
- वस a. of स्मृति, m. in. कालमाधव  
( p. 134 ), by मस्करिन्.
- वत्सराज ( It is his son अचल who  
composed निर्णयदीपिका ); a. of  
निर्णयदीपिका.
- वनमालिदास a. of वनमाला.
- वनमालिन् a. of विष्णुतन्त्रप्रकाश.
- वनमालिन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारकौमुदी.
- वनमालिमिश्र alias रुष्णदत्तमिश्र son of  
महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि.  
About 1650 A. D. ; a. of कुरु-  
क्षेत्रप्रदीप, ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका ( सन्ध्या-  
मन्त्रव्याख्या ).
- वरद, son of श्रीनिवास ; a. of आशौच-  
निर्णय.
- वरदराज About 1450-1500 A. D. ;  
a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय ( of which a  
portion is called दायभाग ). It is  
probably this author that is  
mentioned in सरस्वतीविलास.
- वरदराज 18th century ; a. of व्यव-  
हारमाला.
- वरदराज a. of नवविशेकदीपिका.
- वरदराजबट्ट a. of सन्यासपदमञ्जरी.
- वरदराजभट्टरक a. of com. on कामन्द-  
कीयनीतिसार.
- वरदाचार्य a. of सारार्थचतुष्टय.
- वरदाचार्य of वात्स्यगोत्र ; a. of स्मृति-  
चूडामणि or -मणिसंग्रह.
- वरदाशीशयज्वन, pupil of वेङ्कटाशीश ;  
a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका or -प्रदीप.
- वररुचि a. of आशौचाष्टक, of नीति-  
रत्न, of राजनीति.
- वर्ग m. as a writer on politics in  
com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.
- वर्णिकुबेरानन्द a. of दानभागवत during  
the reign of संग्रामसिंह. Later  
than 1300 A. D.
- वर्धमान a. of श्राद्धप्रदीप, धर्मप्रदीप.
- वर्धमान a. of दत्तकोज्ज्वल.
- वर्धमान a. of कृत्यनिर्णय ( B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 74 p. 66.).  
Mentions लक्ष्मीधर and प्रतिहस्त-  
पद्धति.
- वर्धमान भारतीभूषणमहापात्र a. of दुर्गो-  
त्तमचन्द्रिका.
- वर्धमान महामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश,  
of the विल्वपत्रक family. He was  
judge under भवेश and his son  
रामभट्ट, king of मिथिला. 1450-  
1500 A. D. His elder brother  
was गण्डकमिश्र, and शङ्करमिश्र  
and वाचस्पति were his *gurus*;  
a. of गङ्गाकृत्याविवेक, दण्डविवेक, धर्म-  
प्रदीप, द्वैतविषयविवेक, नानाशास्त्रार्थ-  
निर्णय, परिभाषाविवेक. श्राद्धप्रदीप,  
स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक or स्मृतितत्त्वामृत  
and its सारोद्धार, स्मृतिपरिभाषा.  
गयापद्धति, गयाविधिविवेक, द्वैतविवेक.



- He is m. by वाचस्पति in पितृभक्ति and by रघुनन्दन in his व्यवहार-तत्त्व, आश्रितत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व (generally as नव्यपर्यमान). Parts of स्मृतितत्त्वाश्रित and स्मृत-सांगोद्धार are separately labelled in the catalogues, such as व्यवहारकोश and शान्तिपौष्टिक.
- बल्लभ a. of सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका.
- बल्लभाचार्य, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट of भार-द्वाजगोत्र and तैत्तिरीयशाखा. 1478-1530 A. D. His pedigree is यज्ञ-नारायण-गंगाधर-गणपतिभट्ट-बल्लभभट्ट-लक्ष्मणभट्ट (wife इल्लमा)-बल्लभाचार्य; a. of सन्यासनिर्णय and com. सन्यासविवरण.
- बल्लभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of जगद्बल्लभा.
- बल्लभाचार्य a. of भक्तिवर्धिनी.
- बल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of बाह्यदेवेन्द्र; a. of प्रदोषपूजापद्धति, शिवपूजासंग्रह.
- वसन्तराज, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयराज. Before 1150 A. D.; a. of शकु-नार्णय (composed at request of चन्द्रदेव of मिथिला).
- वसिष्ठ a. of धनुर्वेदसंहिता.
- वसिष्ठ reputed a. of नवग्रहमख.
- वसिष्ठ a. of धर्मसूत्र. Sec. 9.
- वागीश्वरीदत्त a. of com. on पास्क-र-युद्ध.
- वाचस्पति a. of तीर्थकल्पलता (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I, No. 166 p. 181), of कृत्यकल्पलता.
- B. D. 93.
- वाचस्पति a. of जन्ममरणविवेक or जननमरणविवेक (vide ms. No. 12774 of Baroda O. I.).
- वाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिप्रभा.
- वाचस्पति a. of स्मृतिमार्गसंग्रह.
- वाचस्पति a. of कृष्णमण्डप.
- वाचस्पति (गोड) m. in आश्रितसागर by कुल्लुक.
- वाचस्पतिभिन्न. Sec. 98; a. of आचार-चिन्तामणि, आह्निकचिन्तामणि, कृत्य-चिन्तामणि, तीर्थचि°, द्वैतचि°, नीति-चि°, धियादचि°, व्यवहाराचि°, शुद्धिचि°, लूटाचारचि°, आश्रितचि°; a. of तिथिनिर्णय, द्वैतनिर्णय, महा-दातनिर्णय, धियादनिर्णय, शुद्धिनिर्णय; a. of कृत्यमहार्णय गङ्गाभक्तिर-द्विणी (extracted from तीर्थचि°), गयाआश्रयपद्धति, चन्दनपेनुप्रमाण, दत्त-कविधि, पितृभक्तिरद्विणी; a. of कृत्यप्रदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I, p. 67 No. 75).
- वाज्जेश्वर son of नरसिंह, son of माधव; a. of दत्तचिन्तामणि, मलमासनिर्णय.
- वाद(दि)भयङ्कर, a follower of विज्ञानेश्वर; 1080-1130 A. D.; m. in कल्पतरु, वीरमित्रोदय (p. 350).
- वाधूल a. of एतसूत्र and of a स्मृति.
- वामदेव m. by हेमाद्रि as a निबन्धकार in चतुर्वर्ग III. I. 159.
- वामदेव a. of आह्निकसंक्षेप (composed for लालाठकुर).
- वामदेव a. of सुनिमतमणिमाला.
- वामदेव उपाध्याय a. of गृहार्थदीपिका or स्मृतिदीपिका. (B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I No. 111 p. 104).



वामदेवभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

वामदेव महामहोपाध्याय a. of भाषदी-  
पिका com. on श्राद्धचिन्तामणि of  
वाचस्पति.

वामन a. of स्वादिरगृह्यकारिका.

वामन a. of a पद्धति m. in श्राद्धसौम्य  
(टोडरानन्द).

वामनभट्ट a. of बृहद्रत्नाकर.

वामन, भाष्य of, m. in कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका  
of कृष्ण.

वाष्पायणि m. in आप. घ. सू. I. 10-  
28. 2.

वाल्मीकि a writer on politics; m. in  
com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

वासुदेव a. of मलमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार.

वासुदेव a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्य-  
सूत्र m. in. टोडरानन्द.

वासुदेव a. of दत्तपुत्रतत्त्वविवेक.

वासुदेव a. of परीक्षापद्धति.

वासुदेव, son of ईजट; a. of शाङ्खायन-  
गृह्यसंग्रह. As ms. is dated संवत्  
1428 (1371-2 A. D.), he is  
probably identical with the com-  
mentator of the पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.

वासुदेव a. of वास्तुप्रदीप.

वासुदेव, son of शिवसूरि, son of  
व्यम्बक surnamed महाजन; a. of  
com. on कुण्डचमत्कृति. Between  
1680-1760 A. D.

वासुदेव, son of आपदेव, of the त्वित-  
पावन caste; a. of प्रयोगरत्नमाला or  
वासुदेवी.

वासुदेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of आथर्व-  
जप्रथिताक्षरा. Vide ms. No. 7603  
(Baroda O. I.); mentions हेमाद्रि,  
वैशिकमीपद्धति.

वासुदेवदीक्षित Earlier than 1250 A.  
D.; a. of com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र  
and of a पद्धति thereon. He is  
m. by हरिहर and रघुनन्दन.

वासुदेवदीक्षित a. of गृह्यपद्धति.

वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य, son of रङ्गनाथ; a. of  
आह्निकासूत्र (for वैखानस school of  
वैष्णवस).

वासुदेव रथ a. of स्मृतिप्रकाश.

वासुदेवाश्रम a. of और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय,  
यतिधर्मप्रकाश.

वासुदेवेन्द्र a. of आचारपद्धति.

वाहिनीपति a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका or-  
प्रदीपिका.

विक्रमभट्ट a. of गृह्यार्थसार com. on  
शारदातिलक.

विखनम् (supposed to be) a. of  
वैखानसकल्प (including गृह्य and  
धर्म प्रश्नस).

विजयीन्द्रभिक्षु, pupil of सुरेन्द्र; a. of  
पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका.

विज्ञानेश्वर. Sec. 70; a. of मिता-  
क्षरा (com. on याज्ञ.), आशौच-  
दशक or दशश्लोकी.

विठ्ठल, son of वृत्तिह, son of राम-  
चन्द्र; a. of com. on वैष्णवसि-  
द्धान्तदीपिका of रामचन्द्र.

विठ्ठल, son of केशव; a. of स्मृति-  
रत्नाकर.

विठ्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed  
वैष्णव and resident of श्रीपुर;  
a. of com. on सूत्र्याध्याय.

विठ्ठल, son of बृहदशमेन्द्र, of the कृष्णा-  
त्रिगोत्र; a. of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or  
कुण्डसिद्धि (composed in  
1619-20 A. D.) and com. there-



- on and of *सुहृत्कल्पद्रुम* (composed in 1628 A. D. ) and com. मञ्जरी thereon.
- विठ्ठल a. of तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग. Probably the same as above.
- विठ्ठल, son of महादेव ; a. of प्रयोग-लाघव.
- विठ्ठलदीक्षित a. of पद्मदी.
- विठ्ठलदीक्षित a. of समयप्रदीप.
- विठ्ठलाचार्य a. of आह्निक.
- विठ्ठलेश्वर or विठ्ठलदीक्षित, son of बल्लभाचार्य ; born in 1515 A. D. Said to have been a. of आह्निकपद्धति, आग्रयणपद्धति, जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, com. on the संन्यासनिर्णय of बल्लभाचार्य, समयप्रदीप, यजुर्वेदभा ( of which आह्निकपद्धति seems to be a part ) or कर्मसरणि, भक्तिमार्गमर्यादा, भक्ति-हंस, भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय.
- विदुर a. of नीति ( which is taken from the उद्योगपर्व of the महा-भारत chap. 33-40 of the Bombay edition ).
- वियाकर वाजपेयिन्द्र, son of शम्भुकर. Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; a. of आचारपद्धति, नित्याचारपद्धति, आह्निककृत्य ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व ( vol. II. pp. 68, 75 ), देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 505 ), आह्निकतत्त्व ( vol. I p. 355 ), मलमामतत्त्व ( vol. I p. 744 speaks of विद्याकराह्निकतत्त्व ), शुद्धितत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 312 ).
- वियाधर a. of दायनिर्णय and हेमाद्रि-प्रयोग.
- वियाधर m. in. रूपनारायणीयनिबन्ध.
- वियाधीशसुनि a. of दिनत्रयनिर्णय.
- वियाधीशस्वामिन्द्र m. in. स्मृत्यर्थसार.
- वियानन्दनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.
- वियानिधि a. of ज्योतिःसमग्रसार.
- वियानिधि a. of सम्बन्धदीपिका.
- वियानिवास a. of दोलारोहणपद्धति, द्वादशयात्राप्रयोग.
- वियापति, son of गणपति, son of जय-दत्त. Between 1375-1450 A. D. A voluminous and versatile writer ; wrote in Maithili also and on moral tales ( as in पुरुष-परीक्षा, भूपरिक्रमण ) ; a. of गङ्गा वाक्यावली ( under the patronage of महादेवी विश्वासदेवी queen of पद्मसिंह, son of शिवसिंह ), गयापत्तलक, दानवाक्यावली ( under patronage of महादेवी धीरमती, queen of नर-सिंहदेव दर्पनागयण ), दुर्गाभक्तिरत्नविणी ( probably his last work ), वर्ष-कृत्य, विभागसार ( under orders of दर्पनारायण, son of हरिसिंह son of भवेश ), शैवसर्वस्वसार ( composed at the bidding of queen विश्वासदेवी ). Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV p. 182 and vol. XXVIII. p. 57. His वर्षकृत्य is m. in मलमासतत्त्व ( vol. I. p. 823 ). He is m. in. श्री-नाथ's कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव and by गोविन्दा-नन्द. His पुरुषपरीक्षा ( N. vol. V. 245 ) distinctly says that पद्मसिंह was the son of शिवसिंह ( and not brother as some suppose on account of the words in the शैवसर्वस्वसार, N. vol. V. p. 1 ). Vide Journal of



- the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, for 1927 vol. XVI, where there is an informing paper on विद्यापति.
- विद्यापतिभट्ट a. of शोधायनीद्विक.
- विद्यापतिस्वामिन m. in स्मृत्यर्थनाम.
- विद्यामाधव a. of सुहृत्तर्दपण.
- विद्यारत्न स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिभार-  
स्पवस्था.
- विद्यार्णव a. of जातारंष्ट्यादिनिर्णय  
(which seems to be purely  
astrological); vide N. (new  
series) vol. II. No. 69.
- विनतानन्दन a. of ब्राह्मणशृङ्गसूत्र-  
प्रयोग.
- विनायकपण्डित vide under नन्दपण्डित.
- विबुधेन्द्राश्रम a. of पुरावरणचन्द्रिका.
- विभाकर a. of आचारद्वैतनिर्णय or-विवेक  
composed by order of king  
रामभद्रदेव स्वप्नारायण son of भैरव  
(vide B. O. ms. cat. vol. I.  
No. 24, p. 21). About 1500  
A. D.
- विराज m. in अपराक ( p. 112 ).
- विर्मिटीरु m. as a. writer on politics  
in com. on नीतिवाक्यावृत.
- विलम्ब m. in. हरिनाथ's स्मृतिभार.
- विवस्वत् a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृति-  
चन्द्रिका and in आचारमण्ड.
- विशारद earlier than 1500 A. D.; m.  
in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द  
and by रघुनन्दन in छन्दोगश्रुति-  
तत्त्व ( vol. II. p. 275 ) and  
शुद्धितत्त्व.
- विशालाक्ष a writer on politics; m. in  
the कौटिलीय, महाभारत, by विश्वरूप  
on याज्ञ. I. p. 190 (Tri. S.  
series).
- विश्वकर्मन्, son of दामोदर and हीर  
and grandson of भीम; a. of धर्म-  
विवेक. Between 1450-1525  
A. D.
- विश्वकर्मन् a. of पतिचन्द्रभा or संन्यास-  
पद्धति.
- विश्वकर्मन् m. in com. on नीतिवाक्या-  
वृत as propounder of वास्तुशास्त्र;  
m. by हेमाद्रि ( III. 2. 825 ).
- विश्वकर्मन् a. of विधानमाला.
- विश्वदास a. of सुहृत्तराज.
- विश्वनाथ, son of गोबाल; a. of अन्त्येष्टि-  
पद्धति, अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग, com. on त्रि-  
शङ्खोकी, और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवल्ली and  
और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति.
- विश्वनाथ a. of क्रियापद्धति ( probably  
the same as विश्वनाथ, son of  
गोबाल ). It deals with the rites  
from death to सपिण्डीकरण in the  
case of the माध्यान्दिनशाखा.
- विश्वनाथ earlier than 1660 A. D.;  
a. of दुण्डिप्रताप.
- विश्वनाथ son of श्रीपति, surnamed  
द्विवेदिन्. Between 1450-1615  
A. D. ; a. of कुण्डरत्नाकर.
- विश्वनाथ a. of अशीचनिर्णय.
- विश्वनाथ, son of भास्कर; a. of सिद्धा-  
न्तशेखर.
- विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुदेव; a. of रत्न-  
पद्धति; probably the same as विश्व-  
नाथ, son of शम्भुनाथ below.



- विश्वनाथ, son of कृष्ण a Garjara ब्राह्मण of नैपुथगोत्र ; a. of द्वाभ्यामप्यवर्णनार्णय (ms. No. 12708 of Baroda O. I. ) ; mentions गामाभट्ट, दिनकरो-दशत, and कौस्तुभ, so later than 1680 A. D.
- विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल ; a. of व्रतराज or व्रतप्रकाश ( compiled at Benares in 1736 A. D. ).
- विश्वनाथ a. of आङ्गिरसशतसंस्कार-पद्धति.
- विश्वनाथ a. of स्मृतिभारतसंग्रह.
- विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह, son of आशाधर ; a. of नृसिंहचक्रप्रकाशिका on पारस्करमूला. About 1530 A. D.
- विश्वनाथ, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of त्रिविक्रम ; a. of विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति ( भावस्तम्भीय ) composed in 1511 A. D.
- विश्वनाथ a. of तिथिचक्र or तिथिनिर्णय-चक्र.
- विश्वनाथ a. of तिथिनिर्णयसार ( probably the same as विश्वेश्वर. )
- विश्वनाथ, son of हारि ; a. of com. on विधानमाला.
- विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुनाथ, son of मुकुन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम. He was the younger brother of रामदेव ; a. of कुण्डकौमुदी or कुण्डमण्डप-कौमुदी, कुण्डविधान, गोत्रप्रवर्गनिर्णय ( composed in 1584 A. D. ) or रामदेवप्रसाद.
- विश्वनाथ a. of गोत्रप्रवर्गनिर्णयवाक्यसुधा-र्णव or वाक्यसुधारणव. Same as above ; ms. No. 9375 ( Baroda O. I. ).
- विश्वनाथ a. of जातिविवेकसंग्रह.
- विश्वनाथ आचार्य a. of काशीमोक्षार्णव or काशीस्मृतिसंग्रह.
- विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय a. of दत्तकनिर्णय.
- विश्वनाथकवि a. of प्रथमध्याय.
- विश्वनाथदीक्षित a. of उपनयनपद्धति.
- विश्वनाथ द्वैज, son of विद्याकर ; between 1612-1632 A. D. ; a. of महर्तमणि.
- विश्वनाथ न्यायप्रधान. About 1630 A. D. ; a. of माततत्त्वप्रियेक or -विधान.
- विश्वनाथभट्ट a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.
- विश्वनाथभट्ट a. of आह्निक (बीधायनीय).
- विश्वेश्वरत्रिप्रेदिन a. of चक्रनागयर्णीय-निबन्ध or स्मृतिमार्गोद्धार. About 1600-1630 A. D.
- विश्वेश्वरदीक्षित ; son of मयूरेश्वरभट्ट, surnamed शिष्टे, a resident of प्रगाज (modern Wai) ; a. of आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला. Mentions भट्टोजिदीक्षित. Later than 1650 A. D.
- विश्वेश्वरशास्त्रिन III. in शूकमलाकर.
- विश्वरूप, Sec. 60 ; a. of बालक्रीडा ( com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति ).
- विश्वरूप a. of विश्वरूपनिबन्ध and विश्वरूपसमुच्चय.
- विश्वरूपनाथ a. of श्राद्धकलिकाविवर्णा.
- विश्वस्वामिन m. by पुरुषोत्तम III गोत्रप्रवर्ग-मञ्जरी.
- विश्वामित्र, Sec. 51 ; a. of स्मृति.
- विश्वामदेवी ( reputed ) a. of गङ्गा-वाक्यावली ( really composed by विद्यापति ).



विश्वेश a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

विश्वेश्वर a. of पद्धति on संन्यास ( probably the same as the next ).

विश्वेश्वर a. of ग्रहपतिधर्म.

विश्वेश्वर. Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; a. of निर्णयकौस्तुभ.

विश्वेश्वर a. of स्तुतिसमुच्चय ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 445 p. 521 ).

विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Later than 1650 A. D. ; a. of com. on आशौचीयदशश्लोकी.

विश्वेश्वर, son of रामेश्वर, son of गङ्गाराम, of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, sur-named महाशब्द ; a. of प्रतापार्क ( by order of king प्रताप, grand-son of जयसिंह ). About 1750.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of अधवाहव or दानसार.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर, son of रामकृष्ण. About 1620-1685 A. D. ; a. of आपस्तम्ब-पद्धति, आशौचदीपिका, कायस्थधर्म-दीप or प्रकाश or कायस्थपद्धति, तुलादानप्रयोग, दिनकरोद्घोत ( on आचार, आशौच, काल, दान, व्रत, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, श्राद्ध and संस्कार ), पिण्ड-पितृपूजप्रयोग, प्रयोगसार, सुज्ञानदुर्गो-दय, समयमय, सापिण्ड्यविचार. Be- sides he composed on पूर्वमीमांसा the मीमांसाकुसुमाञ्जलि, शिवाकौदय and भाट्टचिन्तामणि and ( on अल-ङ्कारसाध ) राकागम ( a com. on

the चन्द्रालोक ). He officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D. Ms. No. 9670 ( Baroda O. I. ) shows that the कायस्थधर्मदीप was com- piled in शके 1599 ( 1677 A. D. ).

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of पेदिभट्ट, patroni- sed by मदनपाल. Sec. 93 ; a. of ह्योधिनी ( com. on the मितान्नर of विज्ञानेश्वर ), मदनपारिजात, महा- र्णवकर्मविपाक, स्तुतिकौस्तुबी, महादान-पद्धति and ( probably ) तिथिनिर्णय-सार.

विश्वेश्वर सरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ- विश्वेश ; a. of कलियुगधर्मसार or कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह, परमहंसपरिव्राजक-धर्मसंग्रह or यतिधर्मसंग्रह or यति-धर्मप्रकाश or यतिधर्मसमुच्चय, यति-संस्कारप्रयोग ( from यत्याचारसंग्रह ) ; earlier than 1600 A. D.

विष्णु a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगवृत्ति.

विष्णु a. of कुण्डमरीचिमाला.

विष्णु a. of आह्निकपद्धति, composed in 1559 ( शके ? ) मार्गशीर्षसित ११ शुक्र ( B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 35 p. 34 ).

विष्णु ( गृहस्वामिन् ) ; a. of com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य.

विष्णुतीर्थ a. of संन्यासविधि.

विष्णुदत्त a. of ब्राह्माधिकार.

विष्णुदत्त a. of शुद्धिदीपिकाप्रकाश.

विष्णुपण्डित a. of गोत्रप्रवरदीप.

विष्णुपुरी a. of भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली and com. कान्तिमाला ( composed in 1634 A. D. ), हरिभक्तिकल्पलता.



विष्णुभट्ट (अग्निहोत्रिन); a. of गोभिल-  
सहायपद्धति and विवाहकर्मन्.

विष्णुभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण, sur-  
named आठवले. Earlier than  
1780 A. D.; a. of पुरुषार्थचिन्ता-  
मणि.

विष्णुभट्ट. Same as above; a. of  
प्रदोषनिर्णय (from पुरुषार्थचिन्ता-  
मणि).

विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट, of विदुर-  
नगर; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेव  
विद्यावागीश; a. of प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वादर्श  
(com. on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु०  
and आश्रिततत्त्वादर्श (com. on  
आश्रिततत्त्व of रघु०).

विष्णुशर्मदीक्षित a. of संस्कारप्रदीपिका.

विष्णुशर्मन् m. as a writer on  
politics in the com. on नीति-  
वाक्यासूत.

विष्णुशर्मन्, a. of कीर्तिप्रकाश (for  
king कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह)  
parts of which are सनयप्रकाश  
etc.

विष्णुशर्मन् a. of निर्णयचिन्तामणि  
(composed at the instance of  
श्रीराजनालभदास, son of विदुर, a  
वेश्य).

विष्णुशर्मन्, son of यज्ञदत्त; a. of  
आश्वत्थमहोदधि, आश्वत्थभास्कर.

विष्णुशर्मन्, son of देवदत्त; a. of लघु-  
कारिका (for माध्यन्दिनशास्त्रा).  
Earlier than 1450 A. D. He was  
माध्यन्दिनीय and yet dwelt in

Gauda. He bows to श्रीचंदाचार्य  
and वसिष्ठ and relies on पारस्कर  
and याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति. Later than  
1200 A. D.

विष्णुशर्मन् a. of स्मृतिसरोजकलिका.

विष्णुशर्ममिश्र a. of कर्मकौस्तुभ and  
महारूपपद्धति.

वीथि (वि) नाथ of the कौशिकगोत्र; a.  
of अघपञ्चपष्टि.

वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र; a. of अघनिर्णय.

वीरराघव a. of प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, प्रयोग-  
दर्पण, प्रयोगतिलक, प्रयोगसुक्तावलि.

वीरराघव of नैधुवगोत्र; a. of सत्त्वचरित्र-  
सुधानिधि.

वीरराघव of बाधूलगोत्र; a. of सत्त्वचरित्र-  
परिभाषा.

वीरसिंह, son of देवशर्मन्, son of  
कमलसिंह of the तोमर race; (re-  
puted) a. of वीरसिंहावलोक  
(composed in 1383 A. D.).  
Aufrecht (I. p. 595) is wrong  
in ascribing दुर्गाभाकितरङ्गिणी to  
this वीरसिंह. That वीरसिंह was  
नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला of the कामे-  
श्वर dynasty. D. C. ms. 85 of  
1869-70 is dated संवत् 1572  
(1515 A. D.).

वीरेश्वर m. in कन्दोमहोत्सर्गतत्त्व (vol.  
II. p. 542), संस्कारतत्त्व (vol.  
I. pp. 867, 900) of रघुनन्दन.

वीरेश्वर, son of देवादिन्य; a. of साम-  
वेदीयदशकर्मपद्धति. About 1300  
A. D.



वीरेश्वर, son of हरिपण्डित at पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern Puntāmbē) on the गोदावरी; a. of आह्निकमन्त्ररीटिका (composed in 1598 A. D.).

वीरेश्वर a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

वीरेश्वरभट्ट गोडबोले; a. of लघुचिन्तामणि.

वृद्धकात्यायन m. in दायभाग, सरस्वती-विलास (p. 320).

वृद्धगर्ग m. in अद्भुतसागर, हेमाद्रि (वतखण्ड), भास्करयूख.

वृद्धगर्ग (reputed) a. of उपातशान्ति.

वृद्धगार्ग्य m. by विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 195, in अपराक (p. 880), कालमाधव (p. 326), संस्कारमयूख, भास्करयूख.

वृद्धगौतम m. by अपराक (p. 550) हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड), समयमयूख.

वृद्धचाणक्य.

वृद्धनारदीय m. in प्रतापनागसिंह.

वृद्धपाशर m. by अपराक (p. 1235), पाशरमाधवीय (vol. I. part I, pp. 230), आचारमयूख.

वृद्धपञ्चेतम् m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 265), अपराक (pp. 888, 897, 1090).

वृद्धवहस्पति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 261), अपराक (pp. 602-603).

वृद्धवीधायन m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 110).

वृद्धमनु m. in मिताक्षरा and विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 60).

वृद्धयम.

वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य m. by विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 4-5), मिताक्षरा, अपराक (p. 33).

वृद्धवामिष्ठ m. in विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 19), हरदत्त on गो. ध. सू. (23. 20), हेमाद्रि, सरस्वतीविलास p. 467, अपराक (pp. 198, 420, 446).

वृद्धविष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 267).

वृद्धव्यास m. by रघुनन्दन, अपराक p. 751.

वृद्धशङ्ख m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि.

वृद्धशातातप m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. I. 221), दायभाग, व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड); pr. in Anan. Sm. pp. 232-235.

वृद्धशौनक.

वृद्धहारीत m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 254), अपराक (pp. 1072, 1107).

वृद्धाङ्गिरस्.

वृद्धात्रि m. by हरदत्त.

वृद्धापस्तम्ब m. in the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of इलायुध.

वृन्दावन a. of वृन्दावनपद्धति.

वृन्दावन a. of वृत्तिवृत्तपद्धति.

वृन्दावनशुक्ल a. of तीर्थसेतु, of com. on दत्तकमीमांसा, of com. on दायतत्त्व, प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता, of com. on मलमासतत्त्व.

वैगराज a. of वैगयजसंहिता (composed in 1503 A. D.).

वैकुण्ठनाथ a. of सच्चरितरक्षा.



- वेङ्कटनाथ a. of वर्याहारविवेक.  
 वेङ्कटनाथ a. of सच्चरितरक्षा.  
 वेङ्कटयज्वन् a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.  
 वेङ्कटयज्वन् a. of कालावृत्त and com.  
 उज्ज्वला.  
 वेङ्कटयोगिन्, son of कोण्डपाचार्य; a.  
 of वैखानससूत्राद्यक्रमदीपिका.  
 वेङ्कटराय a. of सर्वप्रमाणार्थसंग्रह.  
 वेङ्कटविजयिन् a. of कर्मप्रायश्चित्त.  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य, son of शतक्रतुताताचार्य;  
 a. of आचार्यगुणादर्श.  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of प्रणवदर्पण.  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of संध्याभाष्य.  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रङ्गनाथ  
 of the हारीतगोत्र. Later than  
 1200 A. D.; a. of com. on  
 आशौचदशक, of आशौचशतक or  
 अघनिर्णय and com. thereon,  
 of स्मृतिरत्नाकर, दशनिर्णय, दर्श-  
 निर्णय and गृह्यरत्न and its com.  
 विबुधकण्ठभूषण, of पितृमेघसार and  
 its com.  
 वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त-  
 विनिर्णय.  
 वेङ्कटाग्रि a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.  
 वेङ्कटाग्रि रायस a. of आशौचनिर्णय or  
 स्मृतिकौस्तुभ or स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व.  
 वेङ्कटेश a. of आशौचसंग्रह.  
 वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.  
 वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारमर्वस्व or  
 आशौचनिर्णय.  
 वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.  
 वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह; possibly  
 the same as above.
- वेङ्कटेशभट्ट a. of मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि.  
 वेङ्कटेश वाजपेयिन् of वत्सगोत्र. Earlier  
 than 1580 A. D.; a. of com.  
 on प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.  
 वेचुराम a. of स्मृतिरत्नावलि.  
 वेणीदत्त a. of औदीच्यप्रकाश.  
 वेणीदत्त a. of com. on तत्त्वमुक्तावली  
 of मन्दपरिडित.  
 वेणीराम शाकदीपिन् a. of जातिसाङ्ख्य-  
 वाद, मांसभक्षणदीपिका.  
 वेतालभट्ट ( reputed ) a. of नीतिप्रदीप.  
 वेदचूडालक्ष्मण a. of वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.  
 वेदमिश्र, son of विश्वरूपदीक्षित.  
 Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of  
 com. प्रकाश on पारस्करगृह्य and of  
 वासिष्ठी ( a. com. on astrological  
 वासिष्ठस्मृति ), which is also  
 called शान्तिभाष्य.  
 वेदाङ्गराय (formerly called मालाजित्)  
 son of तिगलाभट्ट or त्यगलामहोदय, son  
 of रत्नभट्ट of श्रीस्थल in Gujerat.  
 About 1643 A. D.; a. of आशौच-  
 चन्द्रिका, महारूपपद्धति or कर्त्तव्यन-  
 मञ्जरी, श्राद्धदीपिका.  
 वेदाचार्य ( between 1250-1500 A.  
 D. ); a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर ( written  
 under the patronage of the king  
 of कामरूप ).  
 वेदान्तदास ( बात्स्य ) a. of वृत्तरत्नप्र-  
 दीपिका.  
 वेदान्तदेशिक a. of हरिदिनतिलक. Later  
 than 1400 A. D.  
 वेदान्तरामानुज तातदास a. of सन्ध्यासि-  
 सापिण्ड्यविधि and आशौचनिर्णय.  
 वेदान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of हरितोषध.



वेङ्कटनायकाचार्य a. of गृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

वेस्वानस (reputed) a. of गृह्यसूत्र and धर्मप्रश्न.

वैदिकसार्वभौम the same as वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रङ्गनाथ.

वैदिकसार्वभौम an epithet applied to several scholars e. g. सुधीविलो-लोचन is ascribed to a वैदिकसार्वभौम, so also प्रयोगदर्पण, स्मृति-चन्द्रिका.

वैद्यनाथ a. of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि (of which तिथिनिर्णय is a part). D. C. ms. No. 112 of 1895-1902 was copied in संवत् 1719 (1662-63 A. D.).

वैद्यनाथ a. of दत्तात्रिधि.

वैद्यनाथ, son of दियाकर, son of महादेव. About 1675 A. D.; a. of अनुक्रमणी to several works of his father, such as आचारसार्क, तिथ्यर्क, दानहीराचलि, प्रायश्चित्तसुक्तायली, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका (all parts of दिवाकर's धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि).

वैद्यनाथ a. of कालनिरूपण, विवाह-निरूपण.

वैद्यनाथ a. of उपाकर्मपद्धति (कात्यायनीय).

वैद्यनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वैद्यनाथ, son of महादेव पायगुण्ड and वेणी and pupil of नागोजिभट्ट and father of बालम्भट्ट Sec. III. Aufrecht (I. p. 612) is wrong in identifying वैद्यनाथ with बालम्भट्ट (who was really वैद्यनाथ's son); a. of com. on पराक्षरस्मृति.

वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र तत्सत्, son of विठ्ठल; a. of अग्निहोत्रमन्वार्थचन्द्रिका and of com. on कालमाधवकरिका. He composed his उदाहरणचन्द्रिका in 1683 A. D.

वैद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव; a. of संस्थापद्धति.

वैद्यनाथ a. of आर्धचन्द्रिका.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित About 1600 A. D.; a. of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (parts of which are आह्निक, दायभाग, संस्कार etc.), दशाहविवाह.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of प्रक्रियाञ्जनटीका.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of वर्णसारमणि, वर्णो-अधर्म (both are probably identical).

वैयाघ्रपाद or वैयाघ्रपद्य a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 17), अपराक p. 41.

वैशम्पायन (reputed) a. of नीति-प्रकाशिका.

वैशम्पायन a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 326).

वापदेव, son of केशव, and pupil of घटेश and protegee of हेमाद्रि; vide under वापदेव.

वापदेव a. of आशौचसंग्रह or त्रिश-च्छोदी.

व्यङ्कटेश a. of हरिवासरनिर्णय.

व्याघ्र sec under वैयाघ्रपाद; m. by मिता<sup>०</sup>, अपराक (pp. 132, 133, 145, 521, 524, 1144, 1202), स्मृति-चन्द्रिका, हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. (23. 11). D. C. mss. No. 163 of 1884-86 contains a व्याघ्र-



- स्मृति in 388 verses on daily duties such as स्नान, तिलक, आभ्रमन, ब्रह्मयज्ञ, तर्पण, अतिथिपूजा, संध्यावन्दन and आरुद्र &c. A ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection has an incomplete text in 260 verses.
- व्याघ्रकण्ठ m. as स्मृतिकार (distinct from व्याघ्रपाद) in नित्याचारप्रदीप (p. 20).
- व्याघ्रपाद or -पाद. Probably same as व्याघ्र; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 30), अपराक (pp. 112, 467, 892).
- व्यास a. of स्मृति Sec. 52.
- व्यास a. of बृहत्संहिता.
- व्यास a. of तीर्थपरिभाषा.
- व्यास, pupil of नृसिंह; a. of मन्वन्तराभाष्य.
- व्यासदेव a. of दायभागनिर्णयविवेक or -निर्णय.
- व्रजनाथ विद्यागन a. of दनदायप्रकाश.
- व्रजराज a. of आह्निक (पुष्टिमार्ग for followers of बल्लभाचार्य).
- व्रजराज a. of सेवन्तरोमवकल्पवृत्ता, संवत्सरकल्पलता. He was a devotee of विठ्ठलेश son of बल्लभाचार्य; probably same as the preceding.
- व्रजराजशुक्ल a. of दायमन्त्री, नीतिविलास.
- शङ्कर, son of बल्लभ, surnamed घरे of the चित्तपावन subcaste; a. of गायत्रीपुरावरण, तीर्थकौमुदी, तीर्थयापन-कौमुदी and व्रतोपायनकौमुदी (composed in 1753 A. D.), देवस्थापन-कौमुदी, रुद्रावुद्धानपद्धति (referred to in व्रतो).
- शङ्कर a. of सदाचारविवरण.
- शङ्कर a. of वास्तुशिरोमणि (at the bidding of स्यामसाह, son of मान-नरेन्द्र).
- शङ्कर a. of कुरुक्षेत्ररत्नाकर.
- शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर, of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र; a. of आरुद्रपद्धति.
- शङ्कर a. of प्रतिष्ठाकौमुदी and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.
- शङ्कर तान्त्रिक a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी; probably same as the preceding. Vide ms. No. 7659 (Baroda O. I.). Mentions ज्योतिर्निबन्ध and प्रवरदीपिका.
- शङ्कर देवज्ञ, son of शिव; a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरीमारोद्धार.
- शङ्कर देवज्ञ a. of शालग्रामपरीक्षा.
- शङ्करपण्डित a. of मतोद्धार.
- शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट; flourished between 1540-1600 A. D.; a. of द्वैतनिर्णय or धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय, निर्णयचन्द्रिका, धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्मप्रकाश, आरुद्रकल्पसार and its com. (Stein's cat. p. 316).
- शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Flourished between 1620-1680 A. D.; a. of कर्मविपाक, कुण्डार्क, कुण्डभास्कर or कुण्डोदयोत्तदर्शन (composed in 1671 A. D.), व्रतार्क, संस्कारमण्डल (of his father was revised by him), सदाचारसंग्रह (of which एकादशीनिर्णय is a part).



शङ्करमिश्र a. of स्मृतिसुधाकर. Vide शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर below.

शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथ. He was probably the शङ्करमिश्र, who was a *guru* of वर्धमान. If so he flourished about 1450-1475 A. D.; 2. of छन्दोगाह्निकोद्धार, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, आर्यप्रदीप. Aufrecht (I. 625) assigns आर्यप्रदीप to him, but it is a work of दयाशङ्कर.

शङ्करशर्मन् a. of सुबुद्धस्तुत्यादिपद्धति.

शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर, son of सुधाकर, son of शुचिकर; a. of ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकुशम, स्मृतिसुधाकर, of वर्षकृत्यानिबन्ध (composed in गतकलि 4678).

शङ्कराचार्य a. of संन्यासकर्मन्, संन्यास-पद्धति and सप्तमष्टान्ताधिक, पञ्चमा-श्रमविधि, परमहंससन्ध्यापासन, सदा-चारप्रकरण.

शङ्करानन्द a. of यन्त्रसुखानपद्धति.

शङ्करानन्द a. of सर्वपुराणसार.

शङ्करार्य a. of पञ्जिका जयमङ्गला on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

शङ्क Vide sec. 12.

शङ्क a. of 2 स्मृति. Vide N. vol. I. p. 34 for a ms. of शङ्कस्मृति (in 6 अध्याय).

शङ्कधर. Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m. by कालधिवेक of जीमूतवाहन (pp. 139, 306), by हारलता (p. 117), by हेमाद्रि (III. 1 p. 412 and III. 2. 479, 594, 610), by आर्यधिवेक of शूलपाणि, in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (p. 498).

शङ्कलिखित Vide sec. 12.

शङ्ककोपदास a. of com. on आशौच-निर्णय of वैदिकसार्वभौम.

शतक्रतु a. of स्मृति; m. in मदन-परिजात.

शतानन्द a. of रत्नमाला (m. in ज्योति-स्तत्त्व vol. I. p. 596) and a शतानन्दसंग्रह (m. in the कालसार of गदाधर).

शत्रुघ्न a. of संख्याभाष्य.

शम्भराचार्य m. by निर्णयसिन्धु (on आशौच).

शम्भु Between 900 and 1100 A. D.; m. in the स्मृत्यर्थसार, in स्मृति-चन्द्रिका as a स्मृतिसमुच्चयकार along with श्रीकर and देवस्वामिन and by हेमाद्रि as refuting मेधा-तिथि (III. t. p. 1148). Aufrecht ascribes the कामधेनु to him. But this is wrong. Vide p. 295 above.

शम्भुदास a. of सारसंग्रह.

शम्भुनाथमिश्र a. of कालभास्कर.

शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश pandit at the court of कामरूप prince; a. of अकालभास्कर (composed in 1715 A. D.), दिनभास्कर, दुर्गोत्सवकृत्य-कौमुदी, देवीपूजनभास्कर, वर्षभास्कर (composed by order of king धर्म-देव), सङ्केतकौमुदी.

शम्भुनाथार्य a. of सङ्केतकौमुदी. Probably the same as the preceding.

शम्भुभट्ट कविमण्डन or सदाशिव, son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of स्रण्डवेव; (he wrote his com. on भाट्ट-दीपिका in 1708 A. D.); a. of



- कालतत्त्वविवेचनसारसंग्रह, त्रिशङ्कोरी-  
विवरणमारोद्धार, पाठ्यपत्रप्रयोग. In  
his com. on त्रिशङ्कोरी he men-  
tions निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका  
(vide No. 12589 of Baroda  
O. I.).
- शम्भुराज (He was Sambhaji, son of  
Shivaji, the great Maratha king  
and ruled from 1680-1689);  
(reputed) a. of बृधभूषण.
- शम्भुराज (a Tanjore prince); a.  
of नीतिमञ्जरी (of which दण्ड-  
नीतिप्रकरण is a part).
- शरभोजी (king of Tanjore, 1798-  
1833 A. D.); a. of व्यवहारप्रकाश,  
व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय (pro-  
bably same as preceding).
- शाकटायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि,  
निर्णयसिन्धु, आश्वमेय.
- शाकल m. in व्यवहारमयूख, दत्तक-  
मीमांसा.
- शाकलाचार्य a. of बहुचर्युहकारिका or  
बहुचर्युहप्रयोगकारिका.
- शाङ्खायन a. of गृह्यसूत्र.
- शाट्वायन m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत-  
वाहन (p. 303), हेमाद्रि, आचार-  
मयूख.
- शाट्वायनि (probably same as above)  
m. in अपराक (pp. 423, 424, 462,  
540), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधवा-  
चार्य, मदनपारिजात.
- शाण्डिल्य a. of गृह्य (m. by रुद्रदत्त  
on आप. श्रौ. सू. 9. 11. 21) and  
of स्मृति m. by हरदत्त on गौ. ध.
- सू. 23. 19, by मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ-  
III. 280, by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on  
आशौच p. 190).
- शातातप Sec. 28
- शामजित त्रिपाठि a. of नित्यदानादि-  
पद्धति.
- शार्ङ्गधर a. of विद्याहपटल m. in निर्णय-  
सिन्धु.
- शार्ङ्गधर a. of धनुर्वेदसंग्रह or वीर-  
चिन्तामणि.
- शालङ्कायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on  
आशौच p. 190), m. in आश्वमेय.
- शाश्वतेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of परमहंसधर्म-  
निरूपण.
- शिक्षण, son of मन्वन्तान्तर्य; a. of संस्कार-  
पद्धति.
- शिक्षणभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति.
- शिरोमणिभट्ट (a दाक्षिणात्य); a. of  
आह्निकरत्न, ऋग्वेदाह्निक and मुहूर्त-  
रत्न.
- शिव, son of विश्वकर्मेन्द्र; a. of राज्या-  
भियेकपद्धति.
- शिव, son of गोविन्द, of the चतुर्धर  
family, originally from कर्पूरग्राम  
(modern Kopergaon) on the  
Godavari; a. of धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश  
(composed at Benares in 1776  
A. D.).
- शिव a. of सङ्कतकौमुदी.
- शिवदत्त, son of सूर्यदाम; a. of com.  
on समरसार.
- शिवदत्त m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. p.  
594) and by रघुनन्दन.



शिवदत्त, son of उमादत्त of the खौ-  
आलवंश ; a. of स्मृतितत्त्वसार.

शिवदत्तशर्मान a. of गङ्गाभक्तिरसोदय.

शिवदास a. of com. on आशौचतत्त्व of  
महादेव,

शिवदास, son of सूर्यदास ; a. of com.  
on समरसार.

शिव दैवज्ञ, son of श्रीकृष्ण दैवज्ञ of the  
भाग्वाजगोत्र ; a. of सुहृत्तच्छामणि.

शिवनन्दन a. of सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय or  
तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व.

शिवनन्दननाम a. of तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व  
(probably same as the preced-  
ing).

शिवनारायणात्मन्दीर्थ a. of पञ्चकोश-  
पात्रा.

शिवप्रसाद a. of प्रयोगप्रदीप or प्रयोग-  
सार.

शिवप्रसाद, son of श्रीनिवास of पुष्करपुर ;  
a. of स्मार्तसिद्धांत. Ms. No. 11958  
(Baroda O. I.) was copied in  
1610 (खगोलप्रमिते शाके) and the  
work mentions मदनल and टाड-  
रानन्द and so was composed  
between 1585-1685 A. D.

शिवभट्ट a. of आर्यनिर्णय.

शिवभट्ट, son of गोविन्दपुरी (pos-  
sibly same as above). Later  
than 1650 A. D. ; a. of वर्णनपति-  
आर्यनिर्णय.

शिवराम, son of विश्राम of the Modha  
caste ; a. of सुषोभिनीपद्धति and  
कारिकार्थबोधिनी com. on the  
गोभिलकृतसूत्र, नवग्रहशान्तिपद्धति, of  
com. on कर्मप्रदीप, उन्दोगाग्निसाहिक,  
शान्तिसिद्धान्तमणि, आर्यचिन्तामणि,  
रुद्रचिन्तामणि, of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन  
and com. प्रकाशिका.

शिवराम a. of गायत्रीपुस्तकवर्णन.

शिवराम a. of दर्शनाद्यप्रयोग.

शिवराम a. of मन्त्रसागरसंग्रह.

शिवराम a. of आरामोभार्गवपद्धति, आह्निक-  
पद्धति and आह्निकसंज्ञेप, रुद्रचिन्ता-  
मणिप्रका.

शिवरामशुक्र, son of विश्राम ; a. of कृत्य-  
चिन्तामणि composed in 1578  
A. D. He is probably the  
same as above. B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 72 pp. 64-65  
gives 1562 शाके (कक्षतुंशरचन्द्रैश्च  
मिति शाके तु वसरे मुन्यङ्कमामितो etc.)  
as date of copying.

शिवराम शकुल (शुक्र ?) ; a. of जाति-  
याङ्ग्य.

शिवशङ्कर a. of विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका.

शिवस्यामिन् Earlier than 1150 A. D. ;  
m. in मद. पा. ( p. 619 ), in  
कालादर्श, स्मृतिचो ( on आशौच p.  
175 ), परा. मा. ( I. part 2 p.  
148 ).

शिवसुरि महाजन, son of उपम्बक ; a. of  
कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी and com. कुण्डा-  
लोक. Later than 1680 A. D.

शिवानन्द a. of उपपद्यतचिन्तामणि.

शिवानन्द, son of तारापति ठाकुर ; a.  
of निर्णयदर्पण.

शिवानन्दगोस्वामि a. of लक्ष्मीतन्त्र-  
पञ्चार्चकौमुदी

शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामि a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

शिवोपाध्याय a. of शिवगवतिर्णय.

शिवलदीक्षित a. of सुहृत्तच्छामि.

शुक्रदेव a. of विष्णुपूजाविधि. About  
1635 A. D.



कदेवमिभ, son of विठ्ठलमिभ; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

शुक्राचार्य a. of नीतिसार.

शुक्लेश्वरनाथ (probably ईश्वरनाथशुक्ल); a. of स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम and com.

शुनःपुच्छ a. of स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 16), अपरार्क pp. 887, 902.

शुनःशेष m. in हेमाद्रि and प्रायश्चित्त-मयख.

शुभङ्कर a. of तिथिनिर्णय (one ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 1530 p. 163 is dated शके 1679).

शुभाकर m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

शूलपाणि Sec. 95; a. of दीपकलिका (com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति), of परिशिष्टदीपकलिका, स्मृतिविवेक (a digest of which at least 14 parts are known, vide p. 394). Aufrecht (I. 660) ascribes the समयप्रदीप to him, but this is not correct. Ms. No. 10849 प्रायश्चित्त-विवेक (Baroda O. I.) was copied in संवत् 1501 माघ (Feb. 1445 A. D.).

शेषाचार्य a. of अणुदलारिय.

शौनक (numerous works are attributed to him; the same शौनक cannot be the author of all); a. of अर्कविवाहपद्धति, अश्वत्थोवाहनपद्धति, अष्टासुखजननशान्ति, एकदण्डिम-न्यासाविधि, अद्भुतोत्पत्तिशान्ति, अना-वृष्टशान्ति, अपमृत्युश्रयशान्ति, जीव-चक्राद्धप्रयोग, कारिकावली, of यज्ञ and यज्ञपरिशिष्ट, of a धर्मशास्त्र

work (in which प्रयोगपरिजात is mentioned), of वृद्धकारिकाs, of a स्मृति, of गर्भाधानादिषोडशकर्म-पद्धति, नामवालि, पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रयोग, प्रणवकल्प, यूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग, सं-न्यासप्रहणपद्धति.

शौरिदत्त, son of रामभद्र; a. of वाग्मती-तीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.

श्यामसुन्दर, son of गङ्गाधर; a. of देव-प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग, समावर्तनप्रयोग.

श्यामसुन्दरभट्टाचार्य a. of आशौचदीपिका.

श्रीकण्ठ a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

श्रीकण्ठ Earlier than 1150 A. D.; m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार of श्रीधर, ढोण्डू's आह-विधि and by रघुनन्दन.

श्रीकण्ठ a. of प्रयोगमञ्जरीमंहिता.

श्रीकण्ठतर्धि, pupil of महादेवतर्धि; a. of भिक्षुतत्त्व.

श्रीकण्ठशर्मन् a. of श्राद्धिसार.

श्रीकण्ठायन a. of चातुराश्रमधर्म.

श्रीकर Sec. 62.

श्रीकराचार्य, father of श्रीनाथ आचार्य-चूडामणि. About 1475-1500 A.D.; a. of दायनिर्णय, विवादनर्णय (of which दायनिर्णय seems to be part). Seems to have been connected with आहविषेकटीका also.

श्रीकृष्ण a. of com. on आहविषेक of शूलपाणि.

श्रीकृष्ण a. of स्मृतिसार.

श्रीकृष्ण तर्कानुद्धार a. of दायक्रमसंग्रह, and of com. on दायभाग. About the middle of the 18th century.



श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, son of नारायणवन्द्य-  
चटीय ; a. of संवत्सरप्रयोगसार.

श्रीकृष्णत्रियावामीश a. of शान्तिकल्प-  
प्रदीप or कल्याणपल्लवदीपिका.

श्रीगर्भ a. of शूद्राद्विकाचार. Earlier  
than 1540 A. D.

श्रीदान Sec. 89. Between 1275-1310  
A. D. ; a. of आचारादर्श, छन्दोगा-  
ह्निक, पितृभक्ति ( for students of  
यजुर्वेद ), श्राद्धनिर्णय, श्राद्धकल्प ( for  
students of सामवेद ), समयप्रदीप,  
व्रतसार. Vide N. vol. III p. 34  
and vol. II p. 363 for श्राद्धकल्प  
and N. vol. V p. 250 for पितृ-  
भक्ति. Aufrecht ( I p. 668 ) is  
wrong in regarding पितृभक्ति as  
another name of श्राद्धकल्प ; vide  
Ulwar cat. extract No. 351 for  
व्रतसार.

श्रीदान, son of नागेश्वरमिश्र. Before  
1418 A. D. ; a. of एकाग्रिदानपद्धति,  
पुत्रश्रवणपद्धति, ( m. in the एकाग्रि-  
दानपद्धति ), आवसथ्याधानपद्धति ( pro-  
bably of this author and not of  
the preceding ).

श्रीदेव a. of स्मृतितत्त्वप्रकाश.

श्रीधर, son of नागभट्ट विश्वभट्ट, of  
विश्वामित्रगोत्र. Sec. 81. ; a. of  
स्मृत्यर्थसार and श्रीधरीय.

श्रीधर a. of आशौचदशकटीका.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधान.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधानपद्धति. Pro-  
bably the same as above.

श्रीधर son of बालचन्द्र, son of हौल  
who was sole minister of the king

of Delhi. About 1500 A. D. ; a.  
of जटमलविलास.

श्रीधर, son of प्रभाकरनाथक ; a. of  
नित्यकर्मपद्धति. He was a fol-  
lower of the माध्यान्दिन re-  
cension of शुक्यजुर्वेद and based  
his work on कात्यायन ; mentions  
रत्नकरण्डिका. Ms. No. 603 ( Ba-  
roda O. I. ) is dated संवत् 1547  
भाद्रपद ( 1490 A. D. ). He wrote  
also भाष्य on विनायकशान्तिपद्धति.  
Vide Ms. No. 5491 ( Baroda O.  
I. ). He mentions विज्ञानेश्वर  
therein. The ms. was copied  
in संवत् 1607 माघ शुद्ध १३ ( 1551  
A. D. ). D. C. Ms. No. 119 of  
1884-86 of the नित्यकर्मपद्धति is  
dated संवत् 1434 चैत्र वद्य १४ शनि-  
वासर ( i. e. 1378 A. D. ).

श्रीधर a. of विश्वामित्रसंहिता.

श्रीधर a. of ब्रह्मवैष्णवखण्डन.

श्रीधर, son of रामे वर and younger  
brother of नारायणभट्ट. About  
1520-1590 A. D. ; a. of सापिण्डच-  
दीपिका or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

श्रीधर ( अग्निहोत्रिण ), son of श्रीसूर्य, son  
of नागेश ; a. of कुण्डार्णव.

श्रीधरपति a. of दानचान्द्रिकावली.

श्रीधरभट्ट a. of व्यवहारदशश्लोकी or दाय-  
दशक.

श्रीधरमिश्र a. of दानपरीक्षा.

श्रीधरसूरी a. of आचारपद्धति.

श्रीधरस्वामिन m. by रघुनन्दन in एका-  
दशीतत्त्व ( vol. II p. 25 ), in मल-  
मासतत्त्व ( vol. I. p. 820, as the  
author of a समुच्चय ).



श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर; a. of कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव or कृत्यकालाधिर्णय, विवेकार्णव and शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव, आचार-चन्द्रिका, दानचन्द्रिका, and आशु-चन्द्रिका, गृहदीपिका and उन्मेषाशु-दीपिका or आशुदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्त-विवेक, दुर्गास्तवविवेक, आदि-विवेक and of तात्पर्यदीपिका (com. on तिथि-विवेक of शूलपाणि), दावभगविष्णुनी (com. on द्वायभाग), आदि-विवेक-व्याख्या (com. on शूलपाणि's आशु-विवेक), सारमञ्जरी (com. on छन्दो-गपरिशिष्टप्रकाश of नारायण). Be-  
tween 1470-1540 A. D. as he quotes कुलुक, मदनपाणिनात and शुद्धिचिन्तामणि of धाचर्य and as his शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव is quoted in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and as रघुनन्दन speaks of him as his guru and mentions his आशुचन्द्रिका in the यजुर्वेदियाशुतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 393).

श्रीनाथयष्ट a. of दत्तकनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवास a. of लक्ष्मीसर्पासार.

श्रीनिवास a. of सुबोधिनी com. on जैमिनिपुत्र and of सुबोधिनी on ब्राह्मणपुत्र.

श्रीनिवास a. of मक्तिविवेक.

श्रीनिवास a. of शुद्धिदीपिका (com-  
posed in 1159-60 A. D.).

श्रीनिवास a. of सदाचारस्मृति. Pro-  
bly same as above.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of यादवाचार्य; a. of आशुचन्द्रिका a com. on सदा-  
चारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ.

H. D. 95.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of कृष्ण; a. of स्मृति-  
सिन्धु.

श्रीनिवासतर्कवागीश a. of आशीचनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवासतीर्थ a. of सन्ध्याचन्द्रनभाष्य.

श्रीनिवासदीक्षित a. of ब्रह्मोदनप्राय-  
श्चित्त.

श्रीनिवासपण्डित a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.

श्रीनिवासभट्ट, son of श्रीनिकेतन; a. of  
शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका and भैरवाचारपरि-  
जात.

श्रीनिवासमस्त्रिण a. of प्रायश्चित्तसुबोधिनी

श्रीनिवासाशेष, brother of सीताराम;  
a. of प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

श्रीनिवासाचार्य a. of दत्ततन्त्रप्रदीपिका.

श्रीनिवासाचार्य a. of प्रणवदर्पण.

श्रीनिवासाचार्य, son of गोविन्दार्य of the  
कौशिकगोत्र; a. of तिथिनिर्णयकारिका  
and of श्रीनिवासदीक्षितीय (on वेत्ता-  
नसूत्र).

श्रीपति a. of अष्टतन्त्रसागरसार.

श्रीपति or नीलकण्ठ a. of वैद्यज्ञानलुभ.

श्रीपति a. of मुहूर्तरत्नमाला m. by रघु-  
नन्दन.

श्रीपति a. of अष्टादशनिर्णय m. by रघु-  
नन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p.  
59) and in मलमासतत्त्व.

श्रीपति a. of व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in  
संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 928)

श्रीभीम vide under भीम.

श्रीबलभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र, same  
as बलभाचार्य; a. of जगद्बलभा.

श्रीशैलताताचार्य, son of मुन्दार्य; a. of  
वचनसारसंग्रह.



श्रीहर्षदीक्षित a. of हर्षकौस्तुभ com. on  
शारदातिलक.

श्लोककान्यायन m. by अपराक (p. 485).

श्लोकगोभिल m. by हेमाद्रि.

श्लोकगौतम m. by कालविवेक of  
जीमूतवाहन, अपराक (p. 483), काल-  
माधव (p. 153).

श्लोकव्यास m. in मद. पा.

श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in आचारमयूख.

श्वेतकेतु m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13.  
19.

संकर्षणशरण a. of घण्यवधर्मपुरदुममञ्जरी.

सचलामिश्र a. of स्मृतिसार (B. O. mss.  
cat. vol. I. No. 447 p. 524).

सचिदानन्द a. of वैदिकाचारनिर्णय.

सचिदानन्दनाथ a. of ललितार्थनचन्द्रिका.

सचिदानन्दमरस्वती a. of प्रतिसिद्धान्त-  
निर्णय.

सत्य (probably a purely astronomi-  
cal writer) m. in कालविवेक (p.  
191) of जीमूतवाहन, अपराक (p. 550).  
A 'सत्याचार्य' is mentioned by  
बराहमिहिर (6th century) in his  
बृहज्जातक.

सत्यतपस् a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृति-  
चन्द्रिका, in कालमाधव (p. 88), in  
नि. सि.

सत्यनाथतीर्थ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका (com.  
on जयतीर्थ's टीका on कर्मनिर्णय of  
आनन्दतीर्थ).

सत्यव्रत a. of स्मृति; m. by कालविवेक of  
जीमूतवाहन (p. 141), आद्वैताचार्य of

कुल्लुक, स्मृतिच०, अपराक (pp. 134,  
527, 548).

सत्याशीशशिष्य a. of आशीचसंग्रह.

सदानन्द a. of com. on विष्णुपूजाक्रम-  
दीपिका.

सदानन्द a. of छन्दोगादिक

सदानन्द a. of दिव्यसंग्रह.

सदानन्दस्वामिन् a. of शैवसुधाकर (B.  
O. mss. cat vol. I No. 387 p.  
454)

सदाराम son of वेवेष्वर; a. of प्राय-  
श्चित्तसदोदय.

सदाराम a. of आचारचन्द्रोदय.

सदाराम a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

सदाशङ्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तसेतु.

सदाशिव, son of गदाधर of the दशपुत्र  
family. First quarter of 18th cen-  
tury A.D.; a. of आचारस्मृतिचन्द्रिका,  
आशीचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका (composed for  
king जयसिंह of जयनगर), लिङ्गा-  
चर्चनचन्द्रिका.

सदाशिव a. of चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रशस्ति.

सदाशिव, son of विपाटि परमानन्द; a. of  
दानमनोहर (composed in 1678-  
79 A. D. at the bidding of  
गोंडेश मनोहरदास).

सदाशिव a. of दायभागटीका.

सदाशिव (same as आपदेव q. v.);  
a. of साविण्यकल्पलतिका.

सदाशिवदीक्षित a. of ग्रहयज्ञदीपिका.

सदाशिवद्विवेदिन् a. of शालग्रामलक्षण.



सनत्कुमार m. in नि. सि., निर्णयासुत,  
त्रिस्थलीसिंह.

सनातनगोशामिन, son of कुमार and  
pupil of चैतन्य and brother of  
रूप and वल्लभ. About 1500-1550  
A. D.; a. of भक्तिरसासुतसिन्धु and  
हरिभक्तिचिलासटीका.

सप्तर्षि- a स्मृति is ascribed to them.  
Vide under सप्तर्षिसंमतस्मृति.

समुद्रकर a. of भाष्य on! श्रान्तसूत्र  
(कात्यायनीय); m. in श्रान्तसूत्र  
(vol. I pp. 194, 220), आह्निक-  
तत्त्व (vol. I pp. 336, 388),  
तिथितत्त्व (vol. I p. 171), छुद्धि-  
तत्त्व (vol. II p. 311).

संघममट्ट About 1000 A. D.; m.  
in कालविवेक of जीसूत (pp. 240,  
255).

सरस्वतीतीर्थ or नरहरि a. of स्मृतिदर्पण.  
About 1300 A. D.

सर्वज्ञानारायण vide under नारायण-  
सर्वज्ञ.

सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वर, son of  
भूतेश्वर; a. of न्ययहारसर्वस्व.

सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर; a. of  
संख्याकारिका.

सर्वोक्त त्रिवेदिन् a. of विशादसाराण्य  
(compiled for Sir William  
Jones in 1789).

महम्मदामिन m. in com. on आशी-  
चाष्टक of धरुचि.

सांख्यायन vide under आह्वयन.

सामराज a. of व्रतरत्नाकर.

साम्बभट्ट a. of मायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग.

साम्बाजी or साबाजी प्रतापराज, son of  
पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवन्त-  
गोत्र. He was a protegee of  
तिजामराह; a. of परशुरामप्रताप and  
भार्गवार्चनदीपिका (vide ms. No.  
5887 Baroda O. I. for राजवल्लभ-  
काण्ड of the परशुरामप्रताप and  
दानकाण्डपर्य is a part of it).

सायण, brother of माधवाचार्य and  
son of मायण. Vide sec. 92.  
Several works are attributed to  
him, but one cannot be certain  
of their authenticity; a. of गो-  
भिलयुद्धसूत्रभाष्य, जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न,  
पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि, मंघ्याभाष्य, प्राय-  
श्चित्तसुधानिधि, रामतत्त्वप्रकाश, स्मृति-  
संग्रह.

सारङ्गपाणि, son of मुकुन्द; a. of  
विवाहपटल.

सार्वभौम (this is a mere title);  
a. of स्मृतिग्रन्थराज, दायभागव्यवस्था.

साहेबराम a. of तीर्थसंग्रह.

सिद्धनाथ a. of तुलादानप्रकरण.

सिद्धलक्ष्मण a. of तिथिनिर्णय (com-  
posed by order of king प्रतापदेव  
of Kālpi).

सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन a. of चाक्यतत्त्व (part  
of द्वैततत्त्व).

सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of श्रीहर्षाचार्य; a.  
of छुद्ध्यालोक com. on मिताक्षरा  
(B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 383  
p. 448).

सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य. Not later  
than 1610 A. D.; a. of तीर्थ-  
कौमुदी, छल्यकौमुदी, व्यवहारकौमुदी,  
शुद्धिकौमुदी, संक्रान्तिकौमुदी.



सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिमकरन्द.

सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1630-1670 A.D.; a. of संस्कारभास्कर or संस्कारमयूख, संस्कारासुत.

सीताराम, son of मञ्जुपट्ट of कौण्डिन्य-गोत्र; a. of तरंगविभूति com. on नीतिप्रकाश of वेशम्पायन.

सीतारामचन्द्र, son of श्रीधरमहद्वि and कामका and grandson of चूडिह, of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र; a. of कालनिर्णय-चन्द्रिका.

सीतारामशास्त्रिन a. of दत्तभार्षण.

सुदर्शनाचार्य, son of वासुदेव. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of तान्यर्थदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बसूत्र (pr. in Kashi S. series); आ-ह्निकमार, तिथिनिर्णय, आह्निकनिर्णय; m. in भट्टोजि's com. on अतुल्यश-निमत and in विधातपत्रिजाल, by नारायणभट्ट in his प्रयोगरत्न, in the द्वैतनिर्णय of हर्षभट्ट. He men- tions कर्पद्विभाष in the तान्यर्थ- दर्शन.

सुन्दर, son of राघव; a. of वाराणसी-वर्षण.

सुन्दरसेन m. in com. on नीतिवाक्या-सुत.

सुबल्लण्य, son of श्रेष्ठेश. Later than 1400 A.D.; a. अभिनवपदशीति with com. धर्मप्रदीपिका.

सुमन्तु Sec. 29.

सुरेश्वर a. of यतिसंख्यावार्तिक.

सुरेश्वर a. of तिथिम्बरूप or सर्वतिथि-स्वरूप.

सुरेश्वर उग्ररत्नाय. Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of श्रवहारोच्चय.

सुरेश्वरस्वामि, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ; a. of उपन्यासोद्धारलमाला and महादेवपरिचर्याप्रयोग.

सुरेश्वराचार्य a. of काशीसूतिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय.

सुगन्तपाचार्य a. of पिष्णुतीर्थीयन्याख्यान.

सुरमिश्र a. of जगन्नाथप्रकाश (com- piled under orders of जगन्नाथ, king of हज्जोङ).

सुरभट्टलक्ष्मीरामिह a. of कालासुत.

सुर्यपण्डित. Later than 1500 A.D.; a. of com. on कालनिर्णयदीपिका of रामचन्द्राचार्य.

सुर्यकरशर्मन् a. of दानवजी (compiled at the bidding of नवराज).

सुर्यनारायण (इन्द्रगण्ड) a. of आह्निक-भास्कर.

सुर्यराम a. of कर्मविपाकसार.

सुर्यसेन (reputed) a. of निर्णयासुत.

सोढदेव, son of गौतमवैष्णवाथ, son of कुचदेव who was treasurer (कोडा-धिकारी) to a गौड prince; a. of शैवासुत (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 389 p. 156).

सोमकीर्ति आचार्य a. of सप्तव्यसनकथा-समुच्चय.

सोमवन्त m. in हेमाद्रि (कालसङ्गठ p. 79).

सोमदेव a. of नीतिवाक्यासुत. He wrote his यज्ञस्तिलक in Śāke 881 (969-70 A.D.).



सोमनाथ a. of भक्तिरहस्य.

सोमनाथ, son of सुहृल and द्वापायिका and surnamed सकलकल and a resident of जलद्वार; a. of जाति माला (D. C. No. 302 of 1884-1886 is a work in about 160 verses in various metres on लक्ष्मीनिन्दा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति, but not on धर्मशास्त्र or castes).

सोमनाथभट्ट, son of दुरभट्ट of the निस्तल family; a. of सोमनाथीय.

सोममिश्र m. in अष्टिवाल's शुद्धपद्धति.

सोमनाथ a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

सोमनाथ, pupil of अच्युत, pupil of ईशान; a. of कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (composed in 1073 A. D.). HP. cat. p. XI.

सोमसुन्दराक्षिप्य a. of त्रिवाहपटलस्तवक.

सोमेश्वर भूलोकमल्ल Calukya king, son of विक्रमादित्य. Reigned 1127-1138 A. D.; a. of अभिलक्षितार्थचिन्तामणि or मानसोद्धास (composed in śaka 1051 i. e. 1129 A. D.).

सौम्य m. in स्मृतिच०.

स्थूलशीर्ष m. in नि. सि.

स्मार्त i. e. गृह्यसूत्रभट्टाचार्य m. in the व्य. म.

स्वल्पयोगलोक m. in कालधिवेद of जीमूत-वाहन; vide p. 286 n. 631.

स्वल्पमधर्त m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

हरजीभट्ट About 1610 A. D.; a. of सुवृत्तचन्द्रकला.

हरदत्त Sec. 86; a. of अनाकुला (com. on आप. घृ. सू.), अनाधिला (com. on आश्व. घृ. सू.), उज्ज्वला (com. on आप. घृ. सू.), com. on आप-स्तम्बीय मन्त्रप्रश्न or मन्त्रपाठ (or एकादशिकाण्डमन्त्र), मिताक्षरा (com. on गौ. घृ. सू.), com. on आपस्तम्ब-परिभाषासूत्र.

हरदत्त a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

हरि a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

हरि a. of सहस्रय.

हरि, son of नरसिंह of the अष्टयुग family; a. of एकादशीनिर्णय (composed at विराटनगर, modern Wai, on the Kṛṣṇa river).

हरि a. of शिवाराधनदीपिका.

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हरिदत्त son of सुधर; a. of कर्मदीपिका (ms. No. 6892, Baroda O. L.).

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of तिथिचमित्रका.

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of व्यवहारपरिभाषा.

हरिदास, son of पुरुषोत्तम; a. of प्रस्ता-वर्त्ताकर (composed in संवत् 1614 i. e. 1557-58 A. D.).

हरिदास, son of बत्तराज; a. of लेख-मुक्तामणि. Earlier than 1625 A. D.

हरिदासतर्काचार्य m. by रघुनन्दन in सुवृत्तच (ip. 243)

हरिवीक्षित a. of com. on दायभाग.



हरिदेवभट्ट m. in *श्राद्धसागर* of कुल्लुक-  
भट्ट.

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posed in 1795-96 A. D. ).

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-सारसमुच्चय.

हरिनाथमिश्र a. of *दत्तकतत्त्वनिर्णय* or  
-विनिर्णय.

हरिनाथाचार्य a. of *सङ्केतकौमुदी*, *मस्ता-  
नदीपिका*.

हरिनारायण a. of *सुदृढमञ्जरी*.

हरिनारायण a. of *वर्षकृत्य*.

हरिनारायण a. of *शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका*  
( based on *रघुनन्दन*'s work ).

हरिनारायण ( a title of *भैरवसिंह* king of  
*मिथिला* ) a. of *महार्णव* divided  
into seven *तरङ्ग*s on *कृत्य*, *आचार*,  
*विवाद*, *व्यवहार*, *दान*, *शुद्धि* and *श्राद्ध*.  
B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 76  
p. 69 contains the first viz. on  
*कृत्य*.

हरिप्रसाद, son of *मकरन्द*; a. of *आचार-  
तत्त्व*.

हरिप्रसाद, son of *गङ्गेश* or *गङ्गेश्वर* of  
*मथुरा*; a. of *सद्धर्मतत्त्वाद्वि* in 62  
verses.

हरिप्रसादशर्मन a. of *प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश*.

हरिभट्ट a. of *सुहृत्तरत्नावली*.

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हरिभास्करशर्मन, son of *आपाजिभट्ट* or  
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शर्मन*.

हरिमिश्र a. of *विधवाविवाहविचार*.

हरिराम Later than 1600 A. D. ; a. of  
com. on *अत्रिस्मृति*, of *आह्निकसार*, of  
com. on *छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश* of  
*नारायण*, of *प्रायश्चित्तसार*, of com.  
on *बुधस्मृति*, of com. on *मलमास-  
तत्त्व*, of *व्यवहारप्रकाश*, *श्राद्धवर्णन*,  
*पदकर्मविवेक*.

हरिराय a. of *शिवपूजनपद्धति*.

हरिराय गोस्वामिन a. of *तत्त्वमुद्रापिबेक*.

हरिलाल a. of *दीपिका* ( com. on  
*आचारादर्श* of *श्रीदत्त* ).

हरिलालमिश्र a. of *तिथ्युक्तिरत्नावली*.

हरिवंश m. as a predecessor in *काल-  
विवेक* of *जीमूत* and in *शुद्धितत्त्व*  
of *रघु* ( vol. II. p. 295 ).

हरिहाङ्कर a. of *यात्राप्रयोगतत्त्व*.

हरिशर्मन Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; m.  
in *प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व* of *रघु* ( vol. I p.  
531 ) as *भाष्यकार* of *पारस्करगृह्य*, in  
*शुद्धितत्त्व* ( vol. II. p. 305 ), *उद्वाह-  
तत्त्व* ( vol. II. p. 143 ) etc. ; in  
*यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व* ( vol. II. p. 488 )  
*हरिहर* and *हरिशर्म* are separately  
mentioned in the same sentence  
on a passage of the *कातीयपृथ*.

हरिश्रवन् a. of *धर्मसंग्रह*.

हरि सामन्तराज, son of *कृष्ण* ; a. of  
*सूर्यप्रकाश*.



हरिसेन of Benares ; a. of राजनीति.

हरिहर a. of com. on आशीचदशक or दशश्लोकी. Ms. (Baroda O. I.) No. 1526 is dated शके 1448.

हरिहर (probably the same as हरिहर above) a jurist m. in वि. र.

हरिहर a. of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट-प्रकाश of नारायण.

हरिहर a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

हरिहर, son of भास्कर alias भानुभट्ट ; a. of अभ्युदयपद्धति (following the भारद्वाजसूत्र).

हरिहर आग्नेहोत्रिन् Sec. 84. Between 1275-1400 ; a. of भाष्य on पारस्करयज्ञसूत्र and पद्धति thereon and of com. on स्नानविधिसूत्र of कात्यायन.

हरिहरपाण्डित, son of नारायण ; a. of आचारसंग्रह.

हरिहरभट्टाचार्य a. of समयप्रदीप (composed in śake 1481 i. e. 1559-60 A. D.).

हरीश्वर a. of शास्त्रिपरिच्छेद (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 379 p. 434). Later than 1450, as he mentions रत्नाकर and शास्त्रिविवेक.

हर्ष or श्रीहर्षदीक्षित a. of हर्षकौमुदी (com.) on शारदातिलक.

हर्षणभट्ट m. in आश्वसागर of कुल्लुक.

हलधरदीक्षित, son of पद्मनाभ ; a. of स्मृतिवर्षण.

हलायुध 1000-1100 A. D. ; a jurist m. in कल्पतरु, वि. र., स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

हलायुध, son of धनञ्जय of the वत्सगोत्र, brother of ईशान and पशुपति. Sec. 72. ; a. of ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व, पाण्डितसर्वस्व, वैष्णवसर्वस्व, शैब्यसर्वस्व, कर्मोपदेशिनी.

हलायुध a. of com. on आश्वपद्धति of पशुपति.

हलायुध, son of सङ्कर्षण. Between 1200-1400 A. D. ; a. of com. प्रकाश on the आश्वकल्पसूत्र of कात्यायन. Vide p. 301 above.

हलायुध, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; a. of पुराणसर्वस्व (composed in 1474 A.D.).

हलायुध a. of संघांतरप्रदीप (mentioned in the एकादशीतत्त्व and शुद्धितत्त्व).

हलायुधभट्ट a. of com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर.

हलिरामशर्मेन a. of कामरूपयात्रापद्धति.

हारीत. Sec. 11, 56 ; a. of धर्मसूत्र and (another हारीत) a. of a स्मृति in verse on स्वयंभार &c.

हिरण्यकेतु m. in आश्वसागर of कुल्लुक.

हिरण्यकोशिन् a. of धर्मसूत्र, पितृमेघसूत्र, यज्ञसूत्र.

हृदयनाथ a. of नान्दीमुखनिरूपण (B. O. mss. cat. No. 242 p. 264) ; ms. dated शके 1753.

हृदयानन्द विद्यालङ्कार a. of ज्योतिःसार संग्रह.



हेमकरभट्ट m. by कुल्लूक in आश्वसागर.

हेमाचार्य a. of अहंसीति. Flourished between 1088-1172 A. D.

हेमाद्रि, son of कामदेव, son of धातु-  
देव. Sec. 87; a. of चतुर्वर्गचिन्ता-  
मणि, आश्वकल्प (according to  
कात्यायन).

हेमाद्रि a. of त्रिस्थलीविधि.

हेमाद्रि a. of लक्षणसमुच्चय.

होरिलमिश्र (or होलिल); a. of परमे-  
श्वरीदासाधि or स्मृतिसंग्रह, आश्व-  
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